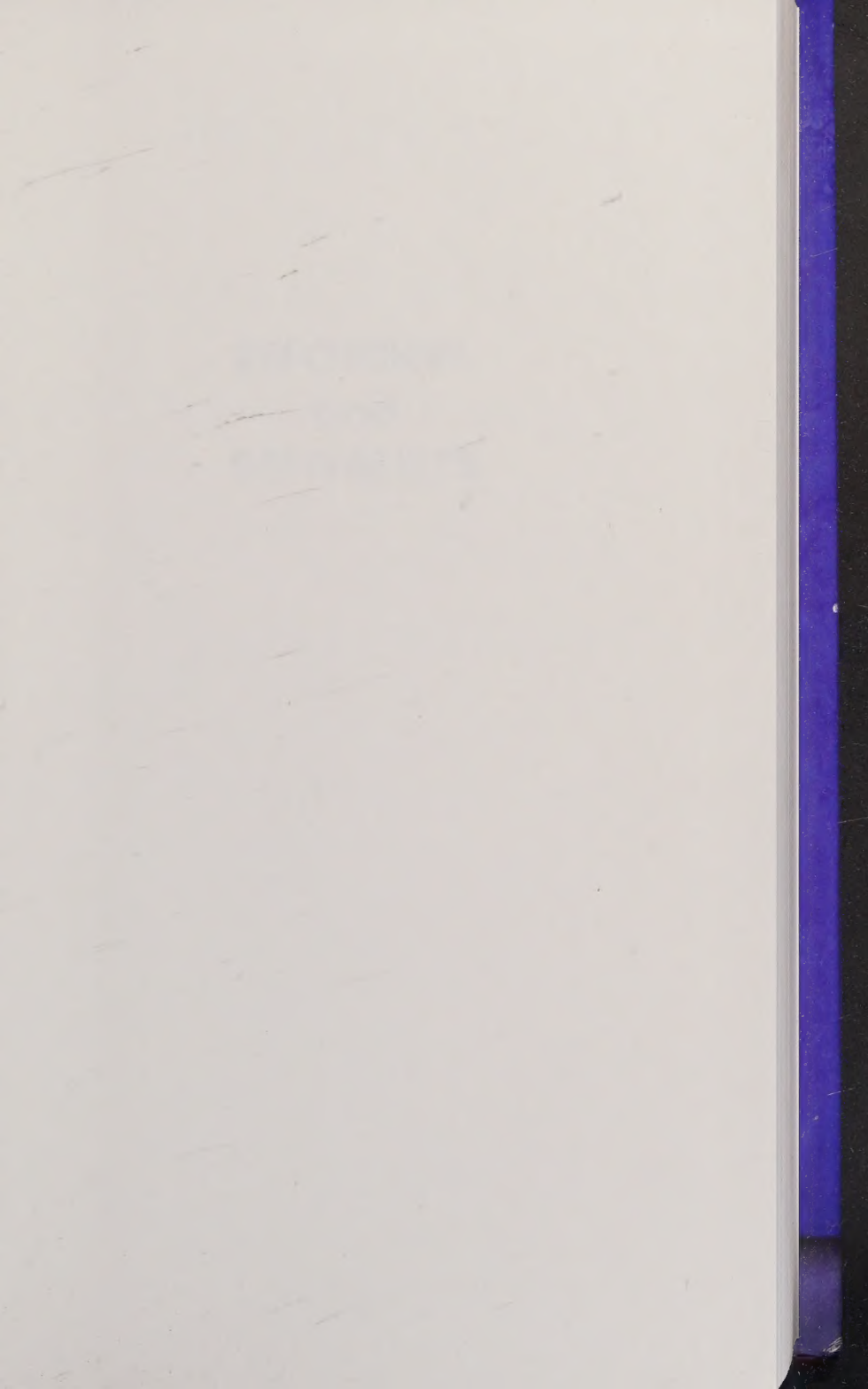


Reformers and Revivalists

History of
The
Wesleyan
Church

Edited by Wayne E. Caldwell





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REFORMERS
and
REVIVALISTS

WESLEYAN HISTORY SERIES

A project of —

The History Committee of The Wesleyan Church

Lee M. Haines, Chairman

Nathan D. Birky

Harold W. Boyce

Ronald R. Brannon

Wayne E. Caldwell

Kenneth R. Heer

— As authorized by the

General Board of Administration

Volumes in Wesleyan History Series

Conscience and Commitment,

*The History of the Wesleyan Methodist
Church of America*

Wesley Press, 1976

The Days of Our Pilgrimage,

*The History of the Pilgrim
Holiness Church*

Wesley Press, 1976

Reformers and Revivalists,

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Robert E. Black
Norman N. Bonner
Joy Bray
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Paul W. Thomas
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Wayne E. Caldwell, Editor

Wesley Press
Indianapolis, Indiana
1992

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FOREWORD

The 1968 merger of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America and the Pilgrim Holiness Church to form The Wesleyan Church demanded an attempt to put the entire movement in historical perspective. Accordingly, in May 1974 the General Board of Administration authorized a three-volume Wesleyan History Series.

The first volume was *Conscience and Commitment: The History of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*, an updated and enlarged fourth revised edition of the work earlier produced by Dr. Ira Ford McLeister and twice revised by Dr. Roy Stephen Nicholson. This volume was published just prior to the 1976 General Conference of the merged Church.

The second volume was *The Days of Our Pilgrimage: The History of The Pilgrim Holiness Church*, written by Dr. Paul Westphal Thomas with heavy dependence upon a thesis produced by his son, Rev. Paul William Thomas. This volume was also published just prior to the 1976 General Conference.

The third volume was planned as a new overview of the history of the movement now embodied in The Wesleyan Church from the Wesleyan revival in the British Isles and the American colonies to the emerging synthesis of the merged Church. It was to be more of an interpretative history than a chronicle of persons and events, and to be written from the vantage point of the merged Church.

The writing of the third volume was assigned to the editors of the first two, and it was expected that the manuscript would be completed by 1978. The task turned out to be enormously more complex and time-consuming than anyone had expected. Eventually additional writers were assigned, and due to changes in the full-time ministries of the original authors/editors, a new editor had to be assigned.

At long last, eighteen years after the original authorization, and sixteen years after the publication of the other two volumes, *Reformers and Revivalists: The History of The Wesleyan Church* has been published. Its multiple authorship is reflected in a variety of styles. For some this may be disconcerting. But

most will find it enriching. The variety of perspectives represented by the writers gives this volume a dimension which will be to the advantage of all who read it.

Our past is exciting, inspiring, challenging. The God who has guided and protected through the history already recorded is the same God who even now is leading us into the history yet to be recorded. May we prove to be worthy heirs of our fathers and follow Him as faithfully as did they.

O. D. Emery

Lee M. Haines

Earle L. Wilson

H. C. Wilson

**General Superintendents
The Wesleyan Church**

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The faithful, patient, careful recording, reconstruction and interpretation of history indubitably helps us to understand the past. It also enables us to live better in today's world as we look to the future.

Robert T. Handy, professor emeritus of Church history at Union Theological Seminary, New York, in an address to the United Methodist Commission on Archives and History said, "If you want to control somebody, do not let them know anything of the past. Facts can be dangerous, and their interpretation can be worse."

It is my hope and prayer that as editor and we as writers of these essays on the history of The Wesleyan Church shall not have made matters worse, but that the composite record herein preserved shall help those who come after us better understand and appreciate from where we have come and where we believe under God we are going.

The first provision for a Wesleyan Church history committee was November 10, 1971 (GBA-1189). It was to be composed of two general superintendents, the director of the ministerial study course agency and the general publisher. The provision was never implemented.

A Wesleyan historical committee was provided for March 29, 1972 (GBA-1363). It was composed of D. Wayne Brown, chairman; Paul W. Thomas, secretary; Harold W. Boyce, Melvin E. Dieter and Robert W. McIntyre. Its function was largely as an advisory committee on the development of the Archives and Historical Library.

A Wesleyan Church history committee was then created November 15, 1973 (GBA-443), upon the recommendation of the Wesleyan Historical Committee, with membership as follows:

J. D. Abbott, chairman
D. Wayne Brown
George E. Failing
Raymond J. Halt

Melvin E. Dieter
Harold W. Boyce
Paul W. Thomas

On May 9, 1974, the General Board of Administration assigned the completion of the three volumes to the above persons, except that Melvin E. Dieter was named along with Lee M. Haines, as co-editor/co-author. Both were honorary members of the history committee.

Between 1974 and 1989, the following persons actually attended meetings and served on the committee, having succeeded in terms and offices of the persons named in parentheses:

Richard J. Halt (Raymond J. Halt)
Ronald R. Brannon (D. Wayne Brown)
Wayne E. Caldwell (George E. Failing)
Mark W. Batman (Richard J. Halt)
Daniel L. Burnett (Paul W. Thomas)

On August 22, 1989 (GBA-288), the committee was reconstituted as follows:

Lee M. Haines, chairman	Nathan D. Birky
Ronald R. Brannon	Kenneth R. Heer
Wayne E. Caldwell	Harold W. Boyce

In addition to the Church history committee the General Board also named an editorial board which consisted of the following persons, 1974-89:

J. D. Abbott, chairman	Paul W. Thomas
Roy S. Nicholson	Stephen W. Paine

The reorganized editorial board which actually edited the final complete manuscript included the following (1989-91):

J. D. Abbott, chairman	Virgil A. Mitchell
Melvin E. Dieter	Armor D. Peisker
Robert W. McIntyre	Paul W. Thomas

The official Church historians have been Lee M. Haines, 1975-89, and Wayne E. Caldwell, 1989—.

The editors of volume three have been Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, 1974-89 (Lee M. Haines was named primary or book editor 1984-89), and Wayne E. Caldwell, 1989-1992.

Special appreciation is expressed to the people who have served on the history committee, whether of long or brief duration; to the editorial board, the final members of which read the manuscripts at least twice and made significant suggestions for revisions, corrections or additions; and to Lee M. Haines, who served many long years as editor of this volume, as well as chairman of the history committee, and in addition gave many hours to reading the final manuscript with numerous suggestions and much encouragement to see this work completed.

To my editorial assistant, Mrs. Alberta Metz, who did research, rewriting and proof reading of the manuscript, final preparation of the notes and indexing, and to my secretary, Miss Arna Smith, who keyed and rekeyed the corrections and changes in the entire manuscript at least six times, a testimony to their patience, perseverance and devotion to the Lord and His Church is given. The pressmen, art, layout and camera personnel are also to be commended for their efficient labors.

It should be observed that each note to a reference where first used at the end of each chapter is given with complete data and thereafter abbreviated by the use of the author's last name only, followed by a shortened form of the title of the reference. In the case of references to the minutes of general conferences, to manuals or disciplines of denominations, only the sequential numbers and/or dates of the conferences or manuals/disciplines are given.

Wayne E. Caldwell, Editor

CHAPTER 1

THE WESLEYAN CHURCH AND WESLEYANISM

Melvin E. Dieter, Lee M. Haines

INTRODUCTION

The Wesleyan Church was formed by the merger of The Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Pilgrim Holiness Church at Anderson, Indiana, in 1968. The Wesleyan Methodists originally had separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1843 because of the failure of Methodism to espouse the immediate abolition of slavery and because of the arbitrary action of the bishops. The Pilgrim Holiness Church was a child of the Methodist-led National Holiness Association camp meeting movement. It, however, represented a blend of basic Methodist polity, ritual and Wesleyan-Arminian theology intermingled with other elements which became significant in all of late nineteenth-century evangelical revivalism such as premillennialism and divine healing.

The choice of the name "Wesleyan" for the new denomination created by the merger of these two bodies testified to their sense of a continuing historical and theological identity with the religious revival movement begun by John Wesley and his fellow Church of England priests in eighteenth-century England and the American Wesleyan-Methodist tradition which developed out of the English revival movement.

It could be considered both arrogant and presumptuous for a modern religious movement to identify itself so specifically with the heritage created by John Wesley and his friends of the now famous Evangelical Revival in eighteenth-century England. It might appear to be arrogant, because no contemporary group

that claims allegiance to Wesleyan principles can fully reproduce or even understand all of the dynamics of a religious movement which began over two hundred years ago. Furthermore, the charge of presumption might be made, because of the tendency of all ongoing traditions to fail to accurately represent the integrity of the founder's teachings. As a result, among the many churches which consider themselves to be in the tradition of Wesley, no two may be found which will interpret the teachings and meaning of the Wesleyan Revival in exactly the same way. It well may be that all of them together do not represent the teaching and ministry of the original movement; nevertheless, each of them recognizes its Wesleyan origins as the most significant factor in its identity and self-understanding.

This dilemma of discovering one's true roots has proved to be a problem for all movements which seek to keep alive the genius of great leaders. Followers of Martin Luther have had a number of different pictures of what Lutheranism really is as they have tried to be Lutherans in the world today. The same may be said for Calvin, Calvinists, and the Reformed movement. Frequently, with the passage of time, such groups realize how narrow their focus has been as they come to understand more about their movement's founder. Followers of Wesley, too, have forgotten the intricacies of both the man and his religious understanding as they try to represent him. Continuing differences in historical interpretation of Wesley by students both within and without the Wesleyan tradition constantly demonstrate this.¹ In spite of such potential for error the names of prominent founders persist in contemporary religious movements because they provide historical continuity and an identification which nothing else can.

The willingness of the Wesleyan Methodist and Pilgrim Holiness Churches to accept the name Wesleyan for their new denomination in itself reveals much of the dynamic which made their merger possible. The name was not agreed upon without difficulty or distress on the part of many in both uniting groups. Some were uncomfortable with any name other than the one with which they were already associated. But the prevailing concern was for a name which would preserve the sense of belonging and hope which both churches felt as part of the

Methodist and holiness families. There was also a strong sense of responsibility for the future of those traditions. Not all the concern for the preservation of the name "Methodist" lay on the Wesleyan Methodist side with its more direct roots in classical American Methodism; not all the concern for the term "holiness" lay on the Pilgrim Holiness side with its taproot in the holiness revival of the past century. Ultimately there was enough sentiment for compromise on both parts to choose a name which would recognize the significant theological and historical roots of both bodies in the Methodist tradition and at the same time preserve the identity of both as expressions of the nineteenth-century Wesleyan-holiness movement.² For both churches, the long association of the term, Wesleyan, with the theology of the American holiness revival gave added content to the new name. Reformers, historic Methodists and camp meeting Methodists joined as *Wesleyans*; the name was large enough to catch up the past, give identity in the present and provide direction and dynamic for the future.

The account which follows, then, is an attempt to develop some insight into the themes which have been prominent in the history of The Wesleyan Church and the Churches out of which it emerged. Understanding will have to come from references to the contributions of the Wesleys themselves, along with those leaders who subsequently shaped American Methodism as an institution which became the bearer of a significant theological tradition. As that main theme carries the story along, other themes will be introduced from many movements which were part of the American cultural context in which the history of the Churches which entered the 1968 merger developed. Intricate religious, social and political impulses such as pietism, abolitionism, perfectionism, revivalism, evangelicalism, prohibitionism, millennialism and fundamentalism, among others, are an essential part of the history. All of these movements and their part in the story will be identified in their place. The mainstream of Wesleyanism was strongly affected by, and sometimes, in turn, itself significantly affected these religious and social currents of American life as well. The story of The Wesleyan Church spans the history of America from the end of the Second Great Awakening to the present; to tell the story of the Church one must also tell much of the story of the nation.

THE WESLEYAN-ARMINIAN THEME

Although Wesleyans would acknowledge that all of the history of the Christian church is in some sense their history, the name Wesleyan relates them more specifically to the eighteenth-century English religious movement led by John and Charles Wesley and their friends; these men and women were responsible for the upsurge of the spiritual renewal commonly known as the Evangelical Revival. The revival stirred the society of England and her American colonies at their depths, gave birth to the Methodist movement in Christianity and eventually to the holiness movement of the nineteenth century.³

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, moral and religious conditions in the British Isles were extremely low. Spiritual lethargy was the order of the day both within the Church of England and the dissenting churches which opposed the official establishment of the Anglicans as the state Church. The gospel had been reduced to morality, but true Christian morality faltered everywhere in society, especially among the clergy. The experience of God had been divorced from life by the deism which prevailed both philosophically and practically among many of the learned and at least practically among the populace in general. Appointment to one of the wealthy parishes or better yet to a bishopric seemed to be the ruling ambition of many of the clergy. Choice positions were for sale or to be acquired by political maneuvering. Among the people, both rich and poor, drunkenness was more widespread than at any period in English history. Society was brutalized. Adults and even children could be hanged for 160 different offenses—anything from picking a pocket of more than a shilling to snaring a rabbit on a gentleman's estate. Hundreds of unfortunate people were imprisoned for minor debts. Hangings were the most popular amusements in London; people made holidays of such occasions, picnicking on the green in front of the gallows. The ills of society were especially devastating to the family. Three out of four children died before their fifth birthday. Of the orphans left to the "tender mercies" of the public workhouses even fewer survived. Gambling fever raged among the populace along with the fevers of physical disease, infecting those who could afford to wager extravagant amounts and those who

could afford to wager nothing without losing everything.

Some glimmerings of the spiritual light which was soon to break over this dismal scene had already begun to show at the end of the seventeenth century. "Religious societies" began to be formed in London as early as 1678 following closely in time the renewal groups begun by Jakob Spener and his associates within the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany.

These groups were devoted to prayer, Bible reading, the cultivation of religious life and service to those in need. We refer to them as pietists. In Scotland a burst of religious revival followed at the turn of the century; this also led to the formation of praying societies. And there was revival in Wales as the new century began.

THE WESLEY FAMILY

The real beginnings of the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century, however, are found in the ministry of the brothers John and Charles Wesley and of their friend and fellow Oxford University student, George Whitefield.

During the years of moral spiritual darkness in England prior to the Evangelical Revival, there were many isolated clergymen carrying on a faithful and effective ministry. Among these was Samuel Wesley, Sr., who with his wife, Susanna, served the village of Epworth, a sleepy little town in Lincolnshire, some 160 miles north of London.

To the Wesleys were born 19 children, of whom Samuel, Jr., was the oldest, John (born June 28, 1703) was the fifteenth, and Charles (born December 29, 1707) was the eighteenth.

John received his early education from his mother. Then at the age of 11 he was sent to Charterhouse, a famous school in London. In June 1720, the month of his seventeenth birthday, he enrolled at Christ Church, one of the colleges at Oxford University. He completed his A.B. degree in 1724.

By January 1725 John Wesley was thinking seriously about entering the ministry. He always had been religiously inclined, and as he read Thomas á Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, and William Law's *A Serious Call* and *Christian Perfection*, he committed himself to living a life in keeping with the divine will. He was ordained a

deacon in September 1725.

By the spring of 1726, John Wesley had been appointed fellow of Lincoln College at Oxford, meaning that he could serve as tutor and instructor and would be on salary as long as he remained single. By February 1727 he had earned the M.A. degree, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1728.

John served as assistant pastor under his father at Epworth and the nearby church at Wroote from 1727 to 1729. Then he was recalled to Oxford. Charles had meanwhile become a student there, and he and others had formed a small group devoted to Bible study and personal devotion. John joined the group and immediately became their leader. They were nicknamed the "Holy Club," the "Bible Moths" and even the "Methodists." A bit later a student who was eleven years younger than John, George Whitefield, became a part of the group.

THE WESLEYS IN GEORGIA

Samuel Wesley, Sr., died April 25, 1735. Shortly afterward John and Charles accepted service under Colonel James Oglethorpe who was establishing a new colony in Georgia. John hoped not only that the "noble savages" (the Indians) would profit, but perhaps he might be able to save his own soul as well. For all of his training, his dedication to the Christian ministry, his reading and his serious life with the Holy Club, he still lacked certainty about his own relationship with God. While John was to serve as a missionary, Charles was to serve as Oglethorpe's secretary.

The voyage to the New World lasted from December 10, 1735, to February 5, 1736. Three successive storms struck during the voyage, the third one being the worst of all. There were 26 Moravians from Germany on board, also on their way to America. John had questioned them closely about the warm, personal spiritual experiences to which they testified, and when he saw them continue calmly in worship while waves threatened to capsize the ship he was quite impressed.

John Wesley soon found that most of his time was given to pastoring colonists rather than evangelizing the "heathen." His strict interpretations of Anglican church law brought strong reactions from his parishioners. Eventually nine charges were

filed against him before a grand jury because of ecclesiastical usages, and a civil suit was filed against him because of an unsuccessful romance. Charles had left America in disgust in August 1736 and now John returned, December 22, 1737, disillusioned and frustrated. He was exonerated by the trustees of the colony but he was convinced more than ever that he needed salvation.

THE WESLEYS ON ALDERSGATE STREET

John Wesley spent some time in London after his return from Georgia; Charles was also there at that time. In less than a week after John's return, the brothers met a new group of Moravians, also on their way from Germany to America. Among them was a young man of 26, Peter Boehler. He had been converted under Count Zinzendorf, founder of Herrnhut and head of the Moravian Brethren. Boehler had been appointed Zinzendorf's commissioner for England and America. The Wesleys immediately liked him and spent much time in his company.

Peter Boehler helped John to focus clearly on his spiritual problem until he admitted that he did not have saving faith. He had not appropriated for himself personally and immediately that which he staunchly believed in general concerning Christ's atonement. Boehler admonished John, "Preach faith *till* you have it; and then, *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith."⁴ As Wesley followed his advice he was amazed to observe that his message struck home to needy hearts every time. Under Boehler's continued probing he searched the Scriptures and finally admitted that the New Testament revealed conversion to be an instantaneous experience. When he then tried to say that perhaps it was not for modern times, Boehler produced numerous living witnesses who testified that it was so with them. When Boehler left London on May 4, 1738, it was evident that both Wesley brothers were nearing the kingdom.

On Sunday, May 21, Charles Wesley, who was suffering from illness, found the peace of heart both brothers had been seeking. He had long striven to be a poet and shortly after his conversion he penned the first of some 8,000 hymns, "Where Shall My Wondering Soul Begin?"

On Wednesday, May 24, 1738, at about five o'clock in the morning, John Wesley opened his New Testament to 2 Peter 1:4, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature." A little later before leaving his room, he read, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." In the afternoon he went to services at St. Paul's Cathedral where the anthem ended with the words, "For with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And He shall redeem Israel from all his sins" (Ps. 130:7). In the evening he went quite unwillingly to a religious society in Aldersgate Street, not far from where his brother was recuperating amidst rejoicing. Here the leader was reading Luther's preface to his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Wesley wrote,

About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: And an assurance was given me, that he had taken my sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.⁵

John immediately testified to the little society what had happened, and in the days that followed he preached salvation by faith with a new certainty.

THE MESSAGE AND IMPACT OF THE WESLEYS

The Wesleys' evangelical conversion led them to share their experience of God with the multitude of ordinary English men and women who were beginning to feel the social disruptions of the developing Industrial Revolution but very little of its economic benefits. Those who would not go to the parish church or local chapel heard the gospel in the fields which they had to cross on their way to and from the mines and other places of work. This "field preaching," though embraced rather reluctantly by the Wesleys and bitterly opposed by their enemies, literally transformed English church life and society in general. Two new religious bodies were added to the English scene. The larger of the two was the Arminian Methodists led by the Wesleys and the smaller was the Calvinistic Methodists inspired by Lady Huntington and Whitefield. This surge of spiritual renewal also deeply affected the life of the Established

Church, giving rise to the Anglican evangelical movement. Dissenters — Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists — were greatly influenced as well. Virtually every aspect of English life was affected so significantly that political and cultural institutions began to express the morals and ethos of the revival. The great social reform movements which followed in the early decades of the nineteenth century in England rested heavily upon the moral and ethical principles fixed in the heart, mind and soul of the nation by the Evangelical Revival. The slave trade and slavery were abolished, the prison system was reformed, child labor laws and educational acts gave new hope to the nation's children, and temperance movements began to curb the drunkenness which had been the bane of the previous century.

John Wesley's conviction that the "good news of salvation" envisions the promise of free redeeming grace for all men and women, of full salvation from all willful sin, of the promise of actually loving God with one's whole body, mind, soul and strength and one's neighbor as oneself, set him apart first of all as an evangelist. Wesley's ministry, however, was firmly grounded in his conviction that what he preached was not only clearly scriptural but was confirmed by the experience and preaching of the primitive church, was rational and could be the experience of the church today by God's promise and grace. This evangelistic urgency and optimistic note in the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ inspired the ministry of the Methodists who transplanted Wesley's societies to the American colonies. They shaped the character of American Methodism in its formative years of membership explosion, and eventually were carried over into the teaching and spirituality of the newly formed Wesleyan Church through the historical bloodstream of the parent bodies.

An understanding of the more significant of the themes mentioned above is essential to establishing something of the content of the term "Wesleyan."

FREE GRACE

An understanding of the universality of God's gracious invitation to salvation as outlined in the teachings of the Dutch

theologian, James Arminius,⁶ and reshaped by Wesley out of Anglican tradition and his own understanding of Scripture and experience is a predominant characteristic of Methodism. Followers of this tradition believe that the Scriptures teach that the redemptive work of Christ is extended freely to every person, not only to an elect few. Election to salvation does not center on divine decrees concerning individual salvation or damnation made at some point in eternity, but rather centers on the life, death and resurrection of Christ, the second Adam, who opened up the way of salvation to whoever may will to receive it in faith. By the all-pervasive and ever-persistent activity of the Holy Spirit all persons in every place know a measure of the grace of God which is attempting to lead them on to salvation; all are able to respond to the measure of truth revealed to them if they will. "Prevenient grace," as Wesley called this general work of the Spirit, represented one of the revival's most significant theological emphases. In fact, it broke the logical determinism of the Reformed-Calvinistic understanding of the election of certain persons to individual salvation or damnation by divine decree, and became the key to integrating Wesley's understanding of the nature and extent of God's offer of salvation to humankind. For Wesley and his followers, there was overwhelming biblical evidence of abounding grace, and it was available to all; this was the key to their understanding that everyone had the God-given ability to freely accept or reject the Spirit's activity in the individual life. Free salvation by God's grace freely available to everyone who would repent and believe created the ready identification of Wesleyanism and Arminianism which is so commonly referred to today as Wesleyan-Arminianism. It constitutes a basic building block of Wesleyan theological understanding.⁷

BIBLICAL AND PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY

The Wesleyan Church's identification with the Wesleyan tradition was also a recognition of the strong pietistic elements which had been so significant throughout the history of both uniting bodies. In the century following the close of Martin Luther's life and ministry, his movement in Germany sank into what has been called "dead orthodoxy." Doctrines were

reduced to fixed, dogmatic statements. Faith was the intellectual acceptance of these statements. The layman was expected to play a passive role, accepting the dogmas the clergy defined, listening to sermons on the dogmas, partaking of the sacraments.

Reaction set in under the leadership of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). The movement known as pietism began with the organization of small circles of individuals within the church for Bible reading, prayer and the discussion of the Sunday sermons. It opposed government interference in religion, the low level of living demonstrated by some clergy, doctrinal disputes and immoral conduct of the laity. It revived the doctrine of the universal priesthood of the believers, calling for all Christians to watch over each other, demanded better training for the clergy and insisted that genuine Christianity is manifest in life—life that begins in the new birth and life that is different in spirit and content.

"Pietism," probably more than any other word, gathers up many of the essentials of the content and commitments of traditional American Methodism. The word is much abused and misused.⁸ To some, pietism is the cause of much of the failure of the Protestant churches to penetrate and reform society; these persons regard pietism as a movement which isolates itself in a world of inferior spirituality far removed from the everyday life of the real world. For these interpreters, pietists are people who live in a subjective world of personal experience patiently waiting for their release to the heavenly world. They see such people as defining their world in overly simplistic terms born largely out of uncritical understanding of the Scriptures. Caricatured as totally disdaining the culture and wisdom of their day, pietists are by them regarded as largely anti-intellectual reactionaries. Judging pietism to be individualistic and spiritually neurotic, its critics insist that a pietistic viewpoint fails to represent a balanced understanding of Christianity.

In historical perspective, pietism has at times confirmed all such fears of its critics. But history proves that these excesses, which at times seem all too representative of the movement, cannot account for the dynamic influence which evangelical pietism has had in the formation of Protestantism, especially in

America.⁹ It was pietism's genuine spiritual vitality which attracted Wesley to it through his contact with the Moravians. He did not accept these new insights into the nature of true Christianity uncritically. But from them he did find the validity of the biblical concerns of the pietistic tradition and incorporated them as central points in his own understanding of the nature of biblical faith and life. In summary these concerns were: (1) the conviction that in the Scriptures the way *to* life and the way *of* life are made plain for all to see; the Word of God is authoritative in faith and determines practice; (2) that to be biblical Christians, persons must experience a transforming spiritual rebirth; (3) that biblical Christianity always issues in the practical sanctification of life of the spiritually reborn person; (4) that these truths are so basic to vital Christianity that whenever the institutional church and established religion ignore and neglect to teach them for any extensive time, they will surface in an identifiable movement of reaction and protest against such neglect.¹⁰

Each of these essential components of a valid pietistic tradition came to play a central role in the Wesleyan revival. It was out of similar concerns that Wesley placed Scripture at the heart of his understanding of authority in the church. He gave to reason and experience and the early Christian tradition a place of authority which others in the Reformation tradition had not been willing to do, but the Bible was the final arbiter of God's will for the Christian and the church. Although Wesley was a man of many books, an avid reader and prolific writer, he was a "man of only one book," as he claimed.

It was through the Moravians also that Wesley learned of the faith that not only brings about acceptance with God by justification through faith in Christ, but which regenerates the individual and makes one spiritually alive through the personal renewal by the Holy Ghost.¹¹ Wesley himself experienced his life-transforming reality in his Aldersgate encounter. He marked the beginning of his journey in vital Christian life with that event, and throughout the remainder of his ministry he preached the reality and necessity of such faith commitment as a benchmark of true Christianity. The transforming power of God working within the hearts of persons who truly grasped Christ by faith became an essential element of the Wesleyan

message. Throughout his lifetime Wesley saw the remarkable changes brought about by such faith in the lives of working men and women who responded to his field preaching. All of England eventually felt its powerful effects. Above all he was an evangelist calling men and women to flee "the wrath to come" by fleeing to Christ. Full salvation from sin and the freedom to be true and wholehearted lovers of God and other people constituted his message and formed the backbone of his theology.

Wesley's followers in America along with other churches in American revivalistic tradition saw similar life-transforming results among their converts. These periods of spiritual renewal in society at large were so dynamic that students of American life can only call them "Great Awakenings."

THE GREAT AWAKENING IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

The religious outlook in the American colonies in the early decades of the eighteenth century was almost as bleak as that in Germany a little earlier and as that in England at the same time. To many it appeared "that the well-springs of religious fervor in America were rapidly drying up." The life of supposedly religious people was now marked by "self-satisfaction and lethargic indifference."¹² Conditions were at least partially due to the unique "transplanting" of the churches from Europe. As so often is true the second and third generations were not able to maintain the same zeal for the causes which had consumed their fathers. The greater freedom of the New World called for a new social structure—traditional church authority and even traditional doctrinal disputes seemed out of place. Only a minority of the people were really involved in the churches. Revival was needed for the church members and improved means of outreach were needed for those outside.¹³

The Great Awakening began with the revival ministry of Theodorus J. Frelinghuysen (1692-1747), among several Dutch Reformed congregations in New Jersey, beginning in 1720. It was given expanded expression through the ministry of Presbyterian William Tennent, Sr., and his sons and others trained by him in his famous Log College. Chief among these was Gilbert Tennent, who became a neighboring pastor to

Frelinghuysen's work in 1727, and caught the revival flame through his influence. A New England phase erupted spontaneously under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts, beginning in 1734. The man who brought these scattered pockets of revival together and fanned the sparks into a blaze that spread the whole length of the Atlantic seaboard was George Whitefield. Whitefield made seven trips to America, serving as a bridge between the Evangelical Revival in the homeland and the Great Awakening in the New World. His second journey, 1738-39, during which his preaching itinerary touched all sections of the colonies, was the most significant in its impact on the American revival.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences of the Great Awakening for church history in America from the eighteenth century on. It emphasized in a manner never before quite so intense the need for conversion as the normal method of entrance into the church.¹⁴ A peculiarly American evangelistic pattern was established for outreach which would become normative in much of American Protestantism from this time on. Church membership was significantly increased and congregations multiplied. Traditional Calvinism was modified to recognize more of the free choice of individual persons in response to God's invitation; in fact the revival tended to mold a common theology for most of the churches. It resulted in radical cultural transformations affecting American religion, politics, education and even economics.¹⁵ Politically the revival did more to make people throughout the colonies conscious of their common situation—preparing the way for the Revolution itself. These facts reinforce the claim that American religious life can be understood only when pietistic influences such as this are properly taken into account.¹⁶

THE MESSAGE OF ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION

It was at the point of the gospel's concern for the sanctification of life, both personal and collective, however, that Wesley made his greatest contribution to Protestantism and the Christian church as a whole. Five years before Aldersgate, Wesley preached before Oxford University at St. Mary's on "The Circumcision of the Heart." In it he described the

Christian's goal as

that habitual disposition of soul which, in the sacred writings, is termed holiness; and which directly implies, the being cleansed from sin, . . . and, by consequence, the being endued with those virtues which were also in Christ Jesus; the being so "renewed in the spirit of our mind," as to be "perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect."¹⁷

While it seems that Wesley expected his conversion to bring the realization of this perfection, such was not the case. He did not abandon his goal, however, but rather began an earnest search for the proper method by which it could be achieved. Not only did he search his own heart but he began to collect and tabulate accounts concerning the experiences of others as early as August 1738. His understanding underwent many changes. In 1740 he expected Christian perfection to bring mental perfection and freedom from temptation, both ideas which he later abandoned as neither scripturally nor experientially supported.

Wesley's faith in the possibility of entire sanctification was strengthened and many of his questions answered due to a tremendous revival in Yorkshire in 1760, a revival in which unprecedented numbers professed a second spiritual crisis leading to perfect love. The number of living witnesses was multiplied manyfold in the next few years and in fact a steady stream of them continued throughout the remainder of Wesley's ministry. In the aftermath of the revival, he wrote out in fuller fashion his understanding of Christian perfection, what it was and how to obtain it. He published in 1766 his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. By the fourth edition in 1777 it reached its final form which he included in the *Discipline* of 1789 without further change.¹⁸ The *Plain Account* ends with the following eleven-point summary:

- "(1.) There is such a thing as perfection; for it is again and again mentioned in Scripture.
- "(2.) It is not so early as justification; for justified persons are to 'go on unto perfection.' (Heb. vi. 1.)
- "(3.) It is not so late as death; for St. Paul speaks of living men that were perfect. (Philip. iii. 15.)
- "(4.) It is not absolute. Absolute perfection belongs not to man, nor to angels, but to God alone.

- "(5.) It does not make a man infallible: None is infallible, while he remains in the body.
- "(6.) Is it sinless? It is not worth while to contend for a term. It is 'salvation from sin.'
- "(7.) It is 'perfect love,' (I John iv. 18.) This is the essence of it; its properties, or inseparable fruits, are, rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks. (1 Thess. v. 16, &c.)
- "(8.) It is improvable. It is so far from lying in an indivisible point, from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love may grow in grace far swifter than he did before.
- "(9.) It is amissible, capable of being lost; of which we have numerous instances. . . .
- "(10.) It is constantly both preceded and followed by a gradual work.
- "(11.) But is it in itself instantaneous or not? . . .
- ". . . It is often difficult to perceive the instant when a man dies; yet there is an instant in which life ceases. And if ever sin ceases, there must be a last moment of its existence, and a first moment of our deliverance from it."¹⁹

Wesley insisted that justification by faith which brought a person acceptance before God can and should lead on to a second crisis of grace in the believing Christian's life. This would free individuals from sinful willfulness and free them to love God with their whole beings and reach out with the love of God himself to their neighbors. For such people, their neighbors were the whole world. This life of relationship to God and others was the purpose of the finished work of Christ on their behalf and mediated to them by the Holy Spirit. Justification was not only an imputation of Christ's righteousness to bring us the redemption from our sinfulness before a righteous God, but led to an implanting of Christ's righteousness within the heart and life of the individual by the indwelling Holy Spirit.

One of the foundation stones for Wesley was the witness of the Spirit or divine assurance, especially as based on 1 John and Romans 8. It is twofold in nature regarding salvation. First, there is an inner witness to one's own spirit, an inner impression of assurance called a direct witness of the Spirit, while the second is the testimony of a changed life which is an indirect witness. Thus, a believer may know that he is sanctified wholly in the same way that one knows he is justified, by the witness of

the Spirit that He has given. If Wesley was somewhat unclear concerning the inner consciousness of the Spirit's witness, Adam Clarke, a contemporary of Wesley, held a strong emphasis on adoption and the assurance that is given. Without question the fruit of the Spirit is being borne in every life where the Spirit dwells.

Wesley insisted that the end product of true Christianity was not pure belief but a Christlike life which demonstrated that belief. Because of this commitment to livable Christianity, Wesley was brought into a creative tension between faith and life, between Scripture and experience. In his theology, this meant that Scripture could not be believed by mere affirmation, but rather, only by an affirmation which resulted in a personal conformation to the truth affirmed. The end of the gospel was Christlikeness. If one's message did not bring to reality the clear expectations of Scripture such as the life revealed in the Sermon on the Mount, then one should re-examine the biblical understanding and seek clearer revelation. The gospel was meant to make a difference in the lives of Christians and in the world in which they lived as well as in the world to come.²⁰

Since Christ clearly taught that love for God and fellow persons was the only final evidence of true experiential faith, Wesley recognized his concern for Christian perfection or perfect love as the keystone of his theology. He looked on it as the special depositum of truth which God had providentially entrusted to the Methodist movement for zealous proclamation. The whole of God's "great salvation" was designed to recreate the moral image of Godlikeness in all who would believe on Jesus Christ and receive the fullness of His Spirit. Prevenient grace, repentance, justifying faith, regeneration and sanctification were one grand continuum of the lifelong acceptance of the grace of God which was designed to free persons from sin and to restore believers to the wholehearted love of God and men and women wherever they might live. What was lost in Eden had been more than restored through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

This was the promise of the "great salvation," which Wesleyans preached. They had the firm conviction that what God proposes as Christianity in Scripture is what God makes possible as Christianity in the life of the church. It was out of

this understanding of Scripture that Wesley declared against the Reformers that “entire sanctification” of the moral nature is possible in this life. Wesley drew heavily upon other Christian traditions for his teachings on the nature of the life of holiness. Among them were Macarius, interpreter of Cappadocian spirituality, as well as Catholic and Anglican spiritual writers. However, with the Reformers and against historic Catholicism he preached that “entire sanctification” or the wholehearted love of God and all people was not some mystical experience at the end of a long discipline of human effort but rather resulted from the grace of Jesus Christ alone by faith. The cleansing power of the Holy Spirit freed men and women from the sinfulness of an inordinate orientation toward self into the freedom of a wholehearted love of Christ and others. This cleansing of the inner nature was so significant a point in the pilgrimage of grace that Wesley called it a “second blessing.” The experience of perfection in love, he believed, was essential to the scriptural holiness which he challenged his followers to place at the center of their Christian life and mission.²¹

WESLEY’S MINISTRY

John Wesley’s success as a spiritual reformer and leader did not lie solely in the dynamic of his message. It was supported and advanced by his ability to organize his followers for effective personal and community growth and witness. He followed up his converts. He realized the potential for human development and ministry which could result from the freedom from sin and the fullness of perfect love wrought in believing men and women by the grace of God. He would not preach in a community unless he or his helpers could return and follow up on their converts. He took over and adapted the religious “society” system for the conservation and discipling of the converts of the revival. These “societies” were not meant to be new churches. They rapidly became centers of revival in the existing churches, especially the Anglican Church in which he was a priest. These religious societies were broken down into smaller classes or bands. Wesley appointed lay persons as “class leaders” who were responsible for overseeing the groups in spiritual nurture and common care for one another. Wesley met his

congregations in the streets, public squares, marketplaces, in castle precincts, on hills, on the moors, in hollows which provided natural amphitheaters, on village greens, in gardens, under the shade of large trees and in every kind of building imaginable. He preached from hillsides, rocks, windows, balconies, galleries, the steps of public buildings or market crosses, from chairs, tables, desks and even his father's tombstone. Crowds of ten to twenty thousand were frequent and Wesley estimated that on August 21, 1773, he preached to 32,000 at Gwennap.²²

John Wesley was quite small, standing less than five and one-half feet tall, and weighing only a little over 120 pounds. Yet his voice was as clear as a bell and could be heard by actual test for 140 yards. He often had to drown out the roar of wind, wave, rain, or even the sounds of organs, bells, or human voices that sought to choke off his message—but he was almost always heard. His sermons frequently were carefully thought-out expositions of the Scriptures and of deep doctrinal truths—such as might seem out of place with the uneducated throngs that came to hear and the settings in which he had to preach. But the people came and God blessed in an unusual way. John continued his outdoor ministry for over fifty years. Charles Wesley joined him quite effectively for about twenty years until after his marriage, April 8, 1749.

John considered the whole world to be his parish, and he put this into practice in the British Isles. He established a three-point circuit around which he attempted to cover both Great Britain and Ireland every two years. The home base was at London, in the Foundery from 1740-77 and then at City Road Chapel thereafter; the western point was at the New Room in the Horsefair at Bristol; and the northern point was at his Orphan House at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He traveled between four and five thousand miles a year, covering approximately a quarter of a million miles during his lifetime, on foot, on horseback and later in his chaise.

John Wesley believed that no man needed more than six hours of sleep. He normally rose at four and retired at ten. Every hour was regulated. He usually preached his first sermon at five in the morning, as the miners and laborers were on their way to work, and many times there were from one to four more

sermons that same day — at least 40,000 sermons in all. He studied and read incessantly. His interests covered every aspect of religion and indeed of human knowledge. He wrote or edited for publication between three and four hundred books, and carried on an enormous correspondence with people throughout the British Isles and in America and on the Continent.

There was violent opposition to Wesley, partly due to his methods and partly due to his message. In the early years he was occasionally under attack by mobs, and often in danger for his life. Through much of his ministry he was under constant attack through the press, through the sermons of other clergy, through the sneers of the higher classes of English society. But the common people increasingly turned to him with gladness.

John Wesley loved people and labored tirelessly for their well-being physically and mentally as well as spiritually. It is estimated that during his lifetime he gave away more than 30,000 English pounds to aid the poor and needy. He established dispensaries to provide some type of medical aid to a people among whom true physicians were rare and for whom the costs of conventional care were out of reach. He established a lending fund for poor workmen and tradesmen to prevent the loss of their tools and their imprisonment for debt—the loans were interest-free. He helped start several schools for the poor and heartily supported Robert Raikes in the creation of the Sunday school movement. He encouraged his Methodists to take their beliefs to the ballot box with them and sought to influence legislation for better regulation of child labor in the inhuman factories and mines of the time. He used all of the influence he had to hasten the end of human slavery in the British Empire and the American colonies. While he sought to redeem society by first of all redeeming individual man, he did not think it amiss to work on society as a whole at the same time.

TRANSATLANTIC METHODISM

Long before the founders of Methodism died, their Methodist message and life-style were transplanted in American soil. In 1760, Philip Embury and his wife, and his cousin Barbara Heck were among other Methodist colonists who landed at New York City. By 1766 Embury was preaching to a small

Methodist congregation in the city. The resulting class soon outgrew Embury's house, and a rigging loft in Williams Street, eighteen by sixty feet, was rented. They were joined here by Captain Thomas Webb, a British army officer, who was also a Methodist lay preacher and who attracted the attention of New York by preaching in full uniform. Soon they erected Wesley Chapel on John Street, with the dedication coming on October 30, 1768. New York had a population of 20,000 at that time, of which about 1,000 attended the dedication.

At about the same time that Embury began preaching, another Irish immigrant, Robert Strawbridge, arrived in Frederick County, Maryland. He began preaching immediately, a society was organized and a log meeting house was erected. This southern area had been the last one reached by the Great Awakening, and although the manifestations of the revival had somewhat subsided in the North, the coming of the Methodists prolonged its work in the South. Strawbridge's work spread through northern Virginia and into Maryland and Delaware. Soon he was joined by another Irishman, Robert Williams. Williams was associated by 1773 with Devereaux Jarratt, an Anglican pastor, in a revival that swept the area in spectacular fashion.

Methodism spread in other areas. Captain Webb started a work in Philadelphia in 1768, with St. George's Church being erected in 1770. Wesley soon heard of the new societies, and in 1769 he sent Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor as the first regular preachers. In 1771 Francis Asbury arrived. The work prospered especially in Virginia where the Anglican Church enjoyed favored status and where the Methodists were considered a movement within Anglicanism. Beginning at Philadelphia in 1773, the preachers met in an "annual conference." By the beginning of the Revolution there were 3,148 Methodists in the colonies, three-fourths of whom lived below the Mason-Dixon line.

During the Revolution the Methodists suffered much suspicion and some persecution. All of the preachers sent by Wesley left the country except for Asbury, who refused to take the oath of allegiance in Maryland and had to go into virtual hiding for a time. But in the South the work continued to grow so that the total membership in the colonies had more than tripled by the

end of the War, to 10,539.

Following the War, Wesley was eventually convinced that he must make provision for a ministry for American Methodists. Accordingly, in September 1784, Wesley and another Anglican elder, James Creighton, ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey first as deacons and then as elders, and Dr. Thomas Coke, who was already an Anglican elder, as superintendent. They arrived in New York, November 3, 1784, bearing a letter from Wesley stating his wish that Coke and Asbury serve as joint superintendents of the American churches.

When Coke met with Asbury, the latter proposed that a special Conference be called to pass judgment on Wesley's recommendations. Accordingly the ministers of the church met at Baltimore, Maryland, December 24, 1784, for the famous Christmas Conference. They organized as the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in spite of Asbury's objection elected him and Coke to the superintendency and ordained Asbury for that office. As long as Wesley lived, he was looked upon as the spiritual father of American Methodism. But he was not present nor organically related to the Church, and Coke absented himself from the United States most of the time. Asbury was left virtually in command. He soon began to refer to himself as bishop, and in spite of some opposition, including that of John Wesley, the title became fixed. The Christmas Conference also organized the new denomination around the traditional circuit and conference, adopted the Twenty-Four Articles which Wesley had excerpted from the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church (adding one relative to the rulers of the United States), and endorsed Wesley's *Sunday Service and Hymns*.

Methodism easily adapted to the Great Awakening's style of evangelism and concept of church membership. It had grown from a membership of 1,160 at the first annual conference in 1773 to between 15,000 and 18,000 members at the Christmas Conference. It now managed to prolong the effects of the Great Awakening in its own outreach for another five years, years of truly spectacular growth. By 1790 there were 57,631 members with a net increase of more than 14,000 in 1790 alone. At the Christmas Conference, the Methodist Episcopal Church extended northward through Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania into the corner of New York. West of the

Alleghenies there were circuits in the Redstone region of western Pennsylvania and northwestern Virginia, and the Holston area of southwestern Virginia and eastern Tennessee. To the south there were Methodists in Virginia and North Carolina and they were poised to advance into South Carolina and Georgia. They immediately began to spread into new territories as well as intensify their strength in areas already occupied. One of the most significant advances was into New England under the leadership of Jesse Lee. On the Western frontier it was discovered that Methodism's Arminian theology and the flexibility of the circuit rider perfectly matched the social conditions among the settlers. In 1785 three conferences were held; by 1790 there were fourteen conferences scattered from New York to Georgia.²³

The period from 1790 to 1799 clearly marked a lull following the close of the Great Awakening. Methodism's membership stayed almost on a plateau, with the only exception coming in New England. Partially responsible for the lag in growth was the first schism from the body. It occurred in 1792 under the leadership of James O'Kelly and eventuated in the organization of the Republican Methodists; the schism was in protest over the bishops' power to appoint all pastors.

THE SECOND AWAKENING AND METHODISM

The period following the conclusion of the American Revolution witnessed a general deterioration of spiritual life in the new nation. The war itself had contributed to this with its brutalizing effects. Liberal tendencies, including not only unitarianism and universalism, but even deism, had crept into organized Christianity. Morals declined and church discipline lagged. Yale's graduating class in 1800 numbered only one church member. Even more serious was the religious indifference which caused church attendance to decline and outreach virtually to cease. On the frontier, the extremely hard and dangerous life, a lack of established communities and the past history of some of the settlers fleeing from consequences of their crimes in more settled areas, often combined to create a general picture of irreligion and dissipation.²⁴

Just as somewhat parallel conditions had led some eighty

years earlier to the First Great Awakening, the post-War situation led to the initial stirrings of the Second Awakening in the last decade of eighteenth-century America. Revival began in the South as early as 1786, with the kindling of the first embers of renewal at Hampden-Sidney and Washington Colleges in Virginia. In New England, the revival came in the 1790s, partially through the work of Methodist circuit riders, but largely through the Congregational Churches of the region.²⁵

The most spectacular effects of the new revival, however, flared up on the frontier. It began in Logan County, Kentucky, in 1797 in meetings conducted by a Presbyterian minister, James McCready. These meetings resulted in a new American institution — the camp meeting — beginning in the summer of 1800. The "colossus" among these new field meetings was held at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801. Perhaps 20,000 or more persons, or nearly one-tenth of the population of the state, attended this meeting. Extraordinary phenomena were observed, including waves of emotion, the "jerks," persons "slain by the Spirit," and a strange spiritual singing.²⁶ Although the camp meeting had been started by the Presbyterians, both the Baptists and the Methodists hastened to take advantage of the new method. The institution became especially typical of the Methodists and was continued and used effectively by them long after other groups had given up on its usefulness.²⁷

The years from 1799 to 1840 were years of growth for the Methodist Episcopal Church unparalleled by any other American religious body. At the end of the Revolution, the Methodists were only a tiny sect not even worthy statistically to be compared with the major church bodies. But by 1840 they were the largest denomination in America with well over one million members. This was accomplished in spite of the departure of the Republican Methodists in 1792, the Reformed Methodists in 1814 and the Protestant Methodists in 1828-30, all three schisms resulting from differing opinions about church organization and government. The harvest of members which the Methodist Episcopal Church reaped during the second Great Awakening more than compensated for the members lost to these newly formed Methodist bodies.

Just as the First Great Awakening had been accompanied by a wave of charitable and benevolent enterprises, the

establishment of schools, and the inauguration of missionary work, so was the Second Awakening. The Methodists were among the leaders in virtually all of these areas except that of the schools. They had something of a suspicion of education in general and of theological education in particular. As a result they were among the last to start colleges and the last to start a theological seminary, barely having begun by 1840 what later became the School of Theology at Boston University.²⁸

The revivalistic methods which became the main tools by which most of the churches of America populated their folds in the nineteenth century caused no such abrupt changes in style and method for Methodism as it did for other churches. The "new methods" of the Congregationalists which called for direct preaching and an insistence upon public confession of personal commitment to Christ, and the "New Theology" of personal ability which supported the use of the "measures" or human action on behalf of the salvation of the lost, had been a part of Methodism from its beginnings. A movement which had been born in field preaching to the common people experienced little jar in quickly adopting such measures and the American camp meeting as effective tools for organizing the scattered population of the American frontier. As a result of the revivals new congregations sprouted everywhere. In a movement that had always provided its ministry out of its own ranks there was little difficulty in satisfying the urgent demand for pastoral leadership. There was also less difficulty for the Methodists than for most other churches to keep in contact with the highly mobile pioneer population in their persistent press to push the American frontier further and further west through a hostile wilderness. Aggressive Methodist circuit riders, like a troop of cavalry, ranged far and wide supporting religion and attacking immorality.

It is not difficult to understand the growth of Methodism during this period. The Arminianization of the American churches was well on its way. The ensuing years of American religious history were to be known as the Methodist era, so pervasive were the presence and influences of Methodist-Wesleyan-Arminianism to become in the nineteenth century.²⁹

THE REVIVAL OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

By the 1830s, however, some Methodists were wondering whether or not this rapid growth in membership and the ensuing social acceptance which accompanied the unrivaled successes of the movement had not been accompanied by a loss of spiritual vitality. Since the Wesleys and their immediate successors had held up the experience of Christian perfection and entire sanctification as the central concern of the spiritual life, it is not surprising that the fears about declining Methodist spirituality centered on the current status of that doctrine and its experience in the Church. Spiritually sensitive people were asking whether Methodists were as consistent in their preaching and testifying to the experience of Christian perfection as they once had been.

No doubt the American editions of John Fletcher's works, which were circulated here widely in 1836, helped to arouse new interest in this doctrine. Fletcher used Pentecostal imagery and the dynamic of the Holy Spirit to demonstrate his understanding of Christian perfection. Popular American editions of Adam Clarke's writings, with their explicit emphasis on the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification as a second work of grace distinct from and subsequent to one's conversion, appeared at about the same time. They became as influential in American Methodism as any other doctrinal resource. This new literature reinforced the consistent efforts of the Church, since its founding in America, to keep the teaching before its ministry and people through circulation of Wesley's sermons and officially sponsored editions of his tract on Christian Perfection. There has been some controversy among students of Methodist history as to how regularly Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* had been issued in the early years of the century, but apparently it was readily available throughout the period. Some historians attributed the decline in concern for holiness to a purported failure to keep the tract before the Church.³⁰

It is much more likely that the rapid growth of the movement from the organization of the Church in 1784 to 1840 occupied the attention of the Church and accounts for the growing concern expressed by bishops, preachers and lay people that there was need for a revival of the preaching of "entire

sanctification" within the Church. Thousands of new ministers and hundreds of thousands of new members had transformed the Church; the chief concern had been on evangelizing the largely unchurched people of the new nation. American Methodism had been successful in such evangelization to a degree that few other religious groups ever have been; it is understandable that a concern for the basic identity of the movement as it was and as it was to be, came to the fore. It is also understandable that the calls for revival focused at the point of the Church's most unique characteristic as one among other American churches—the promotion of Christian perfection. Had Methodism in 1840 forgotten that Wesley's concern was not only to get people converted but to lead them into a life of Christlike devotion and service? This question which was so much a part of the movement's self-understanding was to be a center of controversy among its adherents for the rest of the century.

Other forces both within and without the Methodist Episcopal Church prepared the way for putting the "holiness question" before the Church with renewed intensity following the great growth in members in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The Church, like the country, had come to a place of questioning what its mission was for the future. The churches and the nation began to sense that beginnings were just beginnings in spite of their dramatic nature. It was now incumbent upon both to define the social and spiritual dynamics which might bring the bright promises of birth to fulfillment and maturity.

Great social questions also demanded the attention of church and nation. How to Christianize the society? Moral issues such as war and peace, temperance and the abuse of alcohol, along with the most troubling of all—the future of human slavery—helped Americans to realize that more than intermittent surges of spiritual renewal were necessary to forge the future; renewal must be coupled with reform of both church and social structure if Americans were to be able to play the role of the "chosen nation" to which they commonly conceived themselves to be called.³¹

By the late 1830s no one knew better than revivalists such as Charles G. Finney and Asa Mahan that true reform could not

take place without a spiritual dynamic greater than that created by pulses of sporadic revival. While serving as Professor of Theology and President of Oberlin College respectively, out of their study of Scripture, they began to preach the necessity of a "second conversion" of regenerate Christians through a personal baptism of the Holy Ghost. This experience subsequent to justification would sanctify the moral nature of the believer so completely that the life of perfect love for God and others could become the fixed reality of Christian experience. Anything less than such an infusion of spiritual power to do God's will for oneself and on behalf of the well-being of the other persons must fail. Christian perfection by the power of the Holy Spirit was seen as essential not only to Christian stability and maturity but to bring to reality the reformation of the social order as well. With "Holiness to the Lord" flying on the evangelistic tents of Oberlin Congregationalists by the 1840s, some in Methodism (including Methodist bishops) felt impelled with a new zeal for Methodism's "grand depositum" of concern for Christian Perfection.

Within these broad patterns a native Methodist concern for Christian holiness promoted a revival of interest in holiness over the next twenty years. This developing interest was shaped by the "new methods" of revivalism which were almost universally accepted as a part of church life by most Americans by mid-nineteenth century. Centering at first in the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the leadership of the movement gradually moved into the hands of two New York City lay people, Walter and Phoebe Palmer. This physician and his wife had the zeal, the means and the time to coordinate the multifaceted phenomenon which came to be known as the American Holiness Revival. For thirty years following the beginning of the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness held weekly at their New York City home,³² the Palmers, particularly Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, by their periodical, the *Guide to Holiness*, by their successful evangelism, camp meetings, and special meetings, coordinated and advanced the renewal of Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification in Methodism and thrust it out into other American churches. There, as in its native Methodism, the dynamism of this new revival often created tensions and conflict as a host of converts caught its

optimistic vision.

It is significant to the birth of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection in 1843 that this movement already was well under way in the Methodist Episcopal Church at the time. It is also significant that the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was the focus of the earliest and greatest emphasis on the need for the renewal of holiness preaching, was also the home of Orange Scott, who became the most decisive force in the formative years of the new church. Nor is it insignificant that side by side with the strong emphasis on the perfection of the inner spiritual life in love there had been in Wesley, and was now also strongly affirmed in the Finney wing of the new movement, there was the insistence that a holiness which is not a social holiness is a retarded holiness. The stage was set for Orange Scott, Luther Lee and La Roy Sunderland, all Methodist Episcopal pastors who had espoused the doctrines of Christian Perfection, to try to extend God's concern for righteousness to American society and especially to the most pressing moral issue of the times, American slavery.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 2

RADICAL REFORM AND LIVING PIETY: THE STORY OF EARLIER WESLEYAN METHODISM, 1843-1867

Lee M. Haines

INTRODUCTION

In 1861, when Lucius C. Matlack, one of the founders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, was considering the scheduling of a string of camp meetings across Illinois, he said that he would do it "to vindicate the identity of radical Reform with living piety."¹ This phrase succinctly sums up the early years of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, the oldest tributary body now merged in The Wesleyan Church, from its origin in 1843 to the 1867 session of the general conference.

The groundwork for this had already been laid in German Pietism, the Evangelical Revival in England, and the Great Awakening in the American colonies. All three movements had led to charitable, benevolent and missionary activity on a scale hardly witnessed since the days of the New Testament church. Indeed John Wesley and his followers had sought not only to Christianize the individual church member and the church itself, but even the society in which it existed. Wesley said that God's design in raising up the preachers called Methodists was not to form a new denomination "but to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread scriptural holiness over the land."² The Methodist Episcopal Church had carried this concern to America, broadening Wesley's wording and making it "to reform the continent."³ The three movements had intertwined in America, and the Second Awakening in the early

years of the nineteenth century had rekindled the earlier tendencies to reform. In fact, the mid-nineteenth century saw a virtual explosion of Christian activity bent on reforming all of society, thereby establishing the kingdom of God in a practical way on earth.⁴ It was out of this milieu that the Wesleyan Methodist Connection came.

AMERICAN METHODISM AND SLAVERY

Original Radicalism

From its formation in 1784, the Methodist Episcopal Church had grown by 1844 from a tiny sect to the largest religious body in America. "In fact, aside from the Federal government and the political parties, the Methodist Episcopal Church was the largest single national institution."⁵ As a result, the Church was increasingly becoming a part of the establishment and was finding it difficult to maintain its status as an agency of reform. In nothing was this so evident as in the question of American slavery.

John Wesley had described the slave trade as practiced by the "Christian" nations of western Europe against the natives of Africa as the "execrable sum of all villanies."⁶ His exposure firsthand to slavery while in Georgia is reflected in his "Thoughts Upon Slavery," published in 1774.⁷ He favored political action against slavery, and four days before he died he wrote a letter of encouragement, supposedly to William Wilberforce, who eventually led the British Parliament to abolish the slave trade.

Unless the divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius against the world, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villany, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But "if God be for you, who can be against you?" . . . Go on, in the name of God and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.⁸

Francis Asbury and other early American Methodist leaders

hated slavery as violently as did Wesley, and dealt strongly with it from the beginning. In 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, the Christmas Conference declared slavery to be contrary to the Golden Rule and to the inalienable rights of mankind. The Conference proposed to "extirpate" slavery and adopted strict regulations to bring this about.⁹ In 1789, when the *Discipline* for the first time included the General Rules, a new one had been added on slavery which had not been in Wesley's original ones in 1743. It required Methodists to evidence their desire for salvation by refraining from "the buying or selling the bodies and souls of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them."¹⁰

The Forging of a Compromise

The regulations for ridding Methodism of slavery adopted by the Christmas Conference brought a swift and negative reaction. Methodist preachers found that slaveholders would no longer permit them to preach to the slaves. So in June 1785 a conference of preachers held at Baltimore suspended these items.¹¹

Subsequently, until 1824, new regulations were repeatedly adopted, each set a little less stringent than the one before. Some were rendered null and void by state laws. Some hindered the ministry of the Church to the slaves or even in the South. The mushrooming growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church, along with the drastic increase in the economic advantage of slavery due to the invention of the cotton gin, intensified pressure on Methodism to be silent about slavery.

By 1824 the *Discipline* contained the General Rule against slavery in a weakened form, a statement that the Church was as convinced as ever that slavery was a great evil, a requirement that traveling preachers and officeholders free their slaves (but state laws in the South prohibited this), provision for slaves to hear God's Word and attend public worship, and provision for Negro preachers and members to have equal rights with whites where such was legal and for Negro preachers to be used where judged necessary.¹²

The Rise of Methodist Abolitionism

With the dawning of the 1830s, several factors combined to challenge the 40-year compromise the Methodists had worked out. Wesley's dream of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire was realized through legislation in 1833; this brought emancipation in the West Indies, just off the American coast. Countries in Latin America had also begun abolishing slavery. In the U.S., William Lloyd Garrison began publishing his *Liberator* in January 1831, announcing in the first issue that he was calling for immediate emancipation of all slaves and for the granting of full rights to all Negroes. By December 1833 the new abolition movement with its emphasis on immediatism found form in the American Anti-Slavery Society.¹³

Among the first Methodists to join with Garrison was LaRoy Sunderland, a little 27-year-old preacher who was pastoring at Andover, Massachusetts, when he joined the abolitionist ranks in 1831. He attempted to combine Methodism's historical opposition to slavery with the new abolitionism and to infuse the whole with a fiery evangelism.¹⁴

On December 19, 1834, Sunderland and four other ministers drew up "An Appeal on the Subject of Slavery Addressed to the members of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences." This was published at the authors' expense on February 4, 1835, as an extra edition of *Zion's Herald*, Methodist periodical issued at Boston. It declared slaveholding to be a sin against God under all circumstances and called for immediate and absolute emancipation. It attacked the Methodist Episcopal Church for condoning the existence of such an "unjust and violent system of oppression." Early in April, through the columns of the *Herald*, Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University, and some associates responded with a "Counter-Appeal." A bitter struggle between the radical abolitionists and the conservative defenders of the status quo had indeed begun.¹⁵

Meanwhile another strong Methodist minister had joined the abolitionists in the person of Orange Scott. He had risen through the ranks to become a presiding elder (equivalent to a district superintendent) at the age of 30 and a delegate to the

general conference for the first time at the age of 32.¹⁶ Many thought he would become a bishop. Scott had given himself primarily to the task of evangelism and the sale of Methodist literature until the summer of 1833. Then he heard of Garrison and abolitionism. The next time he was in Boston, he subscribed to the *Liberator* and purchased some antislavery books and tracts. By 1834 he was a confirmed abolitionist.¹⁷

During the summer and fall months of 1834, Scott was involved in several camp meetings and persuaded the preachers to adopt resolutions calling for *Zion's Herald* to open its columns to a temperate discussion of the antislavery question. The paper's managers agreed to such a discussion, with Scott to represent the abolitionists and D. D. Whedon the more conservative approach. The articles appeared beginning in January 1835. During this period Scott also subscribed at his own expense to the *Liberator* for three months for one hundred preachers of the New England Conference.¹⁸ The effect was all that Scott could have desired. He "abolitionized" the entire conference.

On January 1, 1836, the New York Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society began publication in New York City of *Zion's Watchman* under the editorship of LaRoy Sunderland. One writer refers to it as "probably the most radical publication in the entire history of American Methodism."¹⁹ Sunderland was never known for moderation in expressing himself and he soon became a controversial figure nationwide.²⁰

The Conservative Counterattack

The 1836 session of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference convened on May 2 in Cincinnati, Ohio. It was evident that the abolitionist controversy was of keen interest and that three parties were developing within Methodism: the abolitionists (consisting at the conference almost exclusively of delegates from the New England and New Hampshire Conferences, of whom Orange Scott was the natural leader), the defenders of slavery from the South, and the largest group, which could best be characterized as conservative, many of them opposed to slavery but believing that the abolitionists were irresponsible extremists whose approach was too harsh, unproductive, and

destined only for the destruction of the Church.

The final word on the abolition issue at the 1836 General Conference was heard in the Pastoral Address signed by the bishops.

We have been agitated much in some portions of our work with the very excitable subject of what is called Abolitionism. . . . From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of the ground, we have come to the solemn conviction, that the only safe, scriptural, and prudent way, for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is, wholly to refrain from this agitating subject.²¹

The victory had been won completely by the proslavery forces with the support of the conservatives.

The bishops and presiding elders immediately followed up on the advice of the Pastoral Address, and the next four years saw a concerted effort to silence the abolitionists.

One means used by the leaders to still the abolitionist storm amounted to a "gag rule." The bishops presided over the annual conferences and assumed sole power to decide whether a resolution was in order—they allowed no appeal from their decision. Orange Scott and his friends at the New England Conference in 1836 had a report opposing slavery ready but the bishop refused to allow it to be considered.²² This was repeated in conference after conference. As a result, Orange Scott and his associates began to study the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Articles on "conference rights" and "lay rights" began to appear in the various periodicals. Scott fully expected that his challenge of such an abuse of authority would eventually win the battle for abolition.²³ Events were to prove him wrong.

A second means used against the abolitionists amounted to economic coercion. Those ministers who had been vocal on abolition were now faced with the possible loss of employment or being assigned to a less desirable field with reduced remuneration. Since the bishops had complete power over pastoral appointments, they were well able to apply this pressure.

At the 1836 session of the New England Conference Orange Scott was removed from his office as presiding elder and assigned as pastor at Lowell, Massachusetts.²⁴ Following that year, Scott was released at his request from pastoral duties

and for the following two years he was employed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, serving as one of the famous seventy agents.²⁵

Another Methodist preacher who learned the cost of abolitionism was Luther Lee, a minister in the Black River Conference in New York State.²⁶ Lee had been far removed from the abolition strife until reports of the 1836 General Conference reached him, and by the time he heard of Editor Elijah Lovejoy's murder by a mob while defending his abolitionist press in Alton, Illinois, in November 1837 he could be silent no longer. His writings began to appear in *Zion's Watchman*. At the 1838 session of his conference Lee heard rumors that he was to be sent to a pastorate which probably could not support him, so he asked to step out of the traveling ministry for the time and began two years service as an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society.²⁷

Not only were experienced ministers made to suffer for their abolitionism through undesirable assignments, but new men coming in were denied reception and employment on the same basis. Most important of these was Lucius C. Matlack, born in 1816. By the time he was 21 he was granted a local preacher's license and recommended to travel in the Philadelphia Annual Conference. But he helped organize the Philadelphia Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society and served as its secretary. As a result the conference, in both 1837 and 1838, refused to receive him unless he would cease all active participation in the abolitionist cause; this he refused to do. Next he lost his local preacher's license, and when he persisted in preaching to a Negro congregation, he was threatened by his pastor with expulsion from the church. At the beginning of June 1839 he was rescued by an invitation to come to Lowell, Massachusetts, and serve under Orange Scott who was returning to the pastorate there. At the 1840 session of the New England Conference, difficulties were overcome and Matlack was voted reception into that conference.²⁸

One of the most frightening means of quieting Methodist abolitionists was that of filing charges against them and bringing them to trial. The man who had to suffer the most prolonged harassment through the trial process was the fiery little editor of *Zion's Watchman*, LaRoy Sunderland. Sunderland was a

member of the New England Conference, but he resided in New York City within the bounds of the New York Conference in his role as editor. At the 1836, 1837, 1838, and 1839 sessions of the New England Conference, charges were made against Sunderland by people from outside the conference. In each case Sunderland was acquitted, although at least once he was admonished to be more temperate in statements about those who differed with him. Early in 1840 the presiding elder of the New York District appointed a council which tried Sunderland and suspended him from the ministry until the meeting of the New England Conference. At the 1840 session of that conference the matter was set aside. But a representative of the New York Conference persisted with another set of charges. This one included a charge of slander against Bishop Soule who presided over both the conference session and the trial. Sunderland was cleared of everything except the charge of slander against Soule which involved the printing of a poem addressed to the bishop in rebuke for his suspected involvement in slaveholding. The last stanza read:

Receive this truth—deep, dark thy stain!
Thy very soul is tinged with blood!
Go, do thy first works o'er again;
Go, cleanse thee in thy Saviour's blood!

Sunderland was instructed to sign a statement that he had behaved inconsistently with the character of a Christian minister and to publish the results of the trial without comment in his paper. At the end of the session, Sunderland withdrew from the traveling ministry of the Church.²⁹

Perhaps the most severe penalty imposed upon any minister important to the future Wesleyan Methodist Connection was that imposed upon Edward Smith. Smith was a giant of a man who had served for a time as presiding elder over the Barnesville District in eastern Ohio. While refusing to accept appointment as an antislavery lecturer, he had become active in the abolitionist cause. The 1838 session of the Pittsburgh Conference adopted a resolution prohibiting its preachers from attending abolitionist conventions, delivering lectures, or even circulating literature. Smith condemned such action in the columns of *Zion's Watchman*. At the 1840 session of the

Pittsburgh Conference, Smith was charged with speaking slanderously of the Church and its ministry. The conference was not permitted to vote on a motion to censure Smith but was held to a motion to suspend him from all official relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church, which carried by a vote of 62 to 17.³⁰

A Period of Discouragement

In 1839 Orange Scott returned to the pastorate at Lowell, Massachusetts, and he and his friend and fellow-abolitionist, Jotham Horton, were elected as delegates to the upcoming 1840 General Conference. In anticipation of the general conference, Scott and Horton began the publication of an antislavery paper at Lowell, the *American Wesleyan Observer*.³¹

The 1840 General Conference was held in Baltimore, Maryland, where proslavery feeling was strong and antiabolitionist actions were taken. A presiding elder in New England had refused to allow a quarterly conference to pass resolutions against slavery. The New England Conference had found him guilty of maladministration. He had appealed to the general conference. This of course raised the issue of conference and lay rights which Scott had hoped would be the key to abolitionist victory. Instead, the general conference reversed the decision of the New England Conference. It went even further, adopting specific legislation authorizing a bishop when presiding over an annual conference and a presiding elder when presiding over a quarterly conference to decide all questions of law, to decline to put to a vote any matter he did not believe to be the business of the body, and to adjourn a conference when he thought its work was done; conferences could only record their dissent in their journals.³²

Orange Scott issued a call for a general antislavery convention to be held in New York City. At that convention, October 6-8, 1840, the abolitionists formed the American Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society. Cyrus Prindle was elected president; the vice presidents included Edward Smith, the corresponding secretary was LaRoy Sunderland, and the board of managers included Orange Scott and Luther Lee.³³ Shortly afterward, Scott established a Laymen's Wesleyan Association at Lowell,

Massachusetts, which began publishing the antislavery *New England Christian Advocate*, with Luther Lee editor.³⁴ And a bit later, Edward Smith began publishing and editing his own *Spirit of Liberty* in Pittsburgh.³⁵ On May 16, 1841, the leaders went a step further and organized an American Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Missionary Society pledged not to accept contributions of funds earned by slave labor or to appoint missionaries who were in any way sympathetic with slavery.³⁶

In spite of all this activity, however, not all was well within the abolitionist camp. Many who had spoken out on the issue fell silent. Others were skeptical of the "conference rights" and "lay rights" issues and began to look on Scott and his associates as rebels against the denomination.³⁷ The American Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society survived for only a little over one year, and the Missionary Society apparently never got past the organizational stage. The *New England Christian Advocate* folded in fifteen months.³⁸ A cloud of discouragement seemed to settle down upon all the leaders as far as any hoped-for reform within the denomination was concerned.³⁹

WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNECTION

Formation

Some groups and individuals became convinced rather early that there was no hope for reform within the existing Methodist structure. As a result, they began withdrawing. Probably the first congregation formed by such "seceders" was at Cleveland, Ohio, where some fifty persons withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church in protest of slavery and church government and organized an independent church September 1, 1839. By 1843 they had a building completed, located on Euclid Avenue near the public square.⁴⁰ Another early congregation was in Utica, New York, where a number had seceded shortly after the 1840 General Conference and organized "the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Utica." They adopted a *Discipline* and by early 1841 were publishing a paper called the *Wesleyan Methodist*.⁴¹

Secessions began in Michigan in 1839. Marcus Swift and Samuel Bebbens were refused ordination that year by Michigan

Methodists because they were abolitionists. They and perhaps most of their congregations then seceded. In 1840 William M. Sullivan, a minister who had stepped out of pastoral service and was editing the *Michigan Freeman*, was threatened with a trial for criticizing the refusal of ordination. A meeting was apparently held in Bebben's cabinet shop in Plymouth, Michigan, sometime in 1840, to discuss a new organization, and it was determined to use the discipline of the Utica church with some modifications and to take the name of Wesleyan Methodist. In February 1841 another meeting revealed other groups interested, and on May 13, 1841, at Thayers' Corner, Plymouth Township, Wayne County, the Wesleyan Methodist Church was formed and a *Discipline* was adopted. Five churches with a total of 80 members were represented, and by early 1843 this had grown to 20 preachers and 600 members.⁴²

As news of these withdrawals and organizations spread, and reports were received of other individuals as well as groups in Ohio and western Pennsylvania withdrawing,⁴³ pressure began to build on Scott and the other leaders. Not only was he under bitter attack by conservatives within his denomination, but many fellow Methodist abolitionists, some of whom had already left the Church, were asking if Scott had given up the struggle and compromised his principles.⁴⁴

On November 8, 1842, Orange Scott, Jotham Horton, and LaRoy Sunderland withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church. They announced this and their reasons to the public on November 12, 1842, in the first number of a new periodical, the *True Wesleyan*, published by Scott and Horton at Lowell, Massachusetts, but moved soon after to Boston.⁴⁵ In the first number of the paper, under the title "Our Course," having testified to their belief in the Bible's "infallible inspiration" and their willingness to decide all questions by the Word, the publishers announced that they would be antislavery and anti-episcopal in emphasis. The temperance reform was to have their "most cordial cooperation," and also to be emphasized were the "advancement of sound learning," the Sabbath school cause, the Bible cause, and the missionary enterprise. Not only would the traditional Wesleyan message on Christian holiness be expounded but also the revival of it which was then being kindled would be reported and promoted.⁴⁶

The second issue of the *True Wesleyan* announced Luther Lee's withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church on December 12, 1842,⁴⁷ and the third announced Lucius C. Matlack's withdrawal on December 26, 1842.⁴⁸ The second also announced a convention to be held at Andover, Massachusetts, February 1, 1843, to discuss the eventual formation of a Wesleyan Methodist Church, "free from Episcopacy and Slavery." All ministers and laymen interested in such were invited.⁴⁹

Now reports of withdrawals and the formation of local congregations began to multiply. Not only were there additional reports from Ohio, New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania where earlier secessions had occurred, but reports came from Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Indiana, Vermont, Connecticut, and Maine. Especially numerous were withdrawals in the New England states and that part of western New York known as the "burned over district," due to its frequent revivals and the radical movements originating there.⁵⁰

The Andover Convention was held as scheduled. It consisted entirely of persons from the New England states, and was quite largely a lay convention—9 ministers and 43 laymen are listed in the minutes. The convention called for another convention to be held at Utica, New York, beginning May 31, 1843, for the actual organization of a new church. It approved of local groups already organized and called for more such organizations, and it appointed a committee of correspondence consisting of Horton, Scott, and Lee to help ministers and churches to make pastoral arrangements. It appointed a committee to prepare a tentative discipline. And it issued special invitations to the Michigan Wesleyan Methodists and other groups to be represented at Utica.⁵¹

The call for the Utica Convention was as follows:

All seceding Methodists and other Christian believers, who are in favor of forming a Church free from Episcopacy and slavery, and embracing a system of itinerancy, under proper limitations and restrictions, with such disciplinary regulations as are necessary to preserve and promote experimental and practical godliness, are invited to be present and co-operate with us, in the formation of such church.⁵²

George Pegler, the host pastor, who had withdrawn from

the Methodist Protestant Church in protest over its conservative position on slavery, declared, "We believe there is sufficient piety and radicalism to entertain all who will attend."⁵³

The Utica Convention ran from May 31 to June 8, 1843. While it convened at the Wesleyan Methodist Church as announced, it was soon evident that the tiny chapel at the corner of Pearl and Broadway⁵⁴ was too small to accommodate the delegates and visitors. So beginning on June 1, the Convention moved to the Broad Street Baptist Church.⁵⁵ And some later meetings were held in the Universalist Church on Bleeker Street.⁵⁶

Orange Scott was elected president of the convention. Laymen were again in the majority, with 35 ministers and 117 laymen listed on the roll. All of the New England states except Maine were represented, along with New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan; Ireland was given as the home of one delegate.

The convention formally organized the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America and adopted a new book of discipline. It recognized six annual conferences, including New England, Champlain (northeastern New York and western Vermont), New York (including eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey), Allegheny (western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, and western Virginia), Miami (western Ohio plus Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin), and Michigan. It was estimated that the new Connection contained approximately 200 ministers and 6,000 members.⁵⁷

The convention was made up of strong-minded men from various backgrounds, and decisions were not arrived at easily or without strong differences. The three matters which apparently involved the most controversy related to infant baptism, secret societies and the name of the new body.⁵⁸ The article of religion "Of Baptism" was adopted in the identical form in which it had appeared in the old discipline. But the last sentence, "The baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church," brought extended debate before it was at last accepted. But later, when the candidates for ordination were being examined, one declared he had scruples as to his duty to baptize infants, and debate erupted again. Luther Lee proposed the following:

Resolved,—That it is not the design of this convention, that the Article on Baptism, and the rule making it the duty of ministers to baptize, shall be so construed, as to censure ministers for declining to baptize infants; or for baptizing persons who are not satisfied with their infant baptism, or for declining to baptize by immersion.⁵⁹

Edward Smith strongly opposed the resolution, but it carried by a vote of 38 to 36. When the count was questioned, it carried on the recount by a vote of 44 to 39.⁶⁰

Distinguishing Characteristics

The new *Discipline* of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection opened with three basic documents: Elementary Principles, Articles of Religion, and General Rules.⁶¹

The Elementary Principles were taken over almost verbatim from the Methodist Protestant Church's *Discipline*. That body, in departing from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1828-31, had protested against the form of church government, introducing its Constitution with eleven principles of church government it held to be important. The new Connection adopted the first ten virtually as they were.⁶²

The Articles of Religion were originally derived from the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, which John Wesley had reduced to twenty-four for the American Methodists. At the Christmas Conference in 1784, the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted the twenty-four plus one relative to the rulers of the United States. Of these twenty-five, the new Connection dropped nine, almost all of which protested abuses practiced by the Roman Catholic Church, "as it was thought only desirable to express what should be believed, rather than enter into a detail of errors to be rejected."⁶³ Three new articles were added. One was entitled "Of Relative Duties" and provided a theological basis for social reform. It called for families and nations as well as individuals to be guided by the twin commandments of love for God and neighbor, and declared:

Wherefore all men are bound so to order all their individual and social acts, as to render to God entire and absolute obedience, and to secure to all men the enjoyment of every natural right, as well as to promote the greatest happiness of each in the possession and exercise of such rights.⁶⁴

The other two added were entitled, "Of the Resurrection of the Dead," and "Of the General Judgment." No eschatological articles had previously been included. The additions no doubt reflected the Millerite or Adventist excitement then at its peak in New England and the "burned-over district" of western New York. Miller was preaching premillennialism and predicting the return of Christ between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. He had swept many abolitionists into his movement and the columns of *Zion's Watchman* had been used to discuss his teachings. The little Wesleyan Methodist Church at Utica had lost nearly half of its members to the movement.⁶⁵ The Wesleyan Methodist Connection was striking a blow for orthodoxy and rejecting Millerism.

The General Rules had originally been drawn up by John Wesley in 1743 for his societies in Great Britain. The Methodist Episcopal Church had subsequently added one on slavery. The new Connection took over the General Rules with only two major amendments. The old *Discipline* prohibited drunkenness and the use of "spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity"; the new one went farther and prohibited the manufacture, buying, selling, or using of intoxicating liquors except "for mechanical, chemical, or medicinal purposes," and also ruled against aiding others to do so. With reference to slavery, the new *Discipline* went back to the rule as it first appeared in 1789, and also prohibited "holding them as slaves; or claiming that it is right so to do."⁶⁶

The most drastic changes initiated by the new body were in the area of polity. The modified episcopal polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church was abandoned entirely, and what resulted was somewhat between a presbyterian polity and a congregational polity. The change is seen even in the name. The Methodist Episcopal Church was a connection of local societies, with the denomination being the Church. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection was a connection of local churches, and

throughout the *Discipline* "societies" is replaced with "churches." In the first of the Elementary Principles, the new Connection had modified the Methodist Protestant definition of "church" by inserting the italicized words: "A Christian church is a society of believers in Jesus Christ, *assembled in any one place for religious worship*, and is of Divine institution." So the emphasis was on the local congregation.

The new *Discipline* did away with the former classification of ministers as bishops, elders, and deacons, and provided for "parity of the ministry," with provision being made for only one ordination, that of elders. Another principle was that of "the equal authority of the laity." Methodist conferences had consisted only of ministers. The new Connection provided that both general and annual conferences would consist of an equal number of ministers and laymen.

The new Connection did not plan to leave room for the development of leaders who would usurp control of the denomination. The general conference was to elect its own president (he did not have to be a minister) from among its members and his office ceased at adjournment. In both general and annual conferences, upon call of one-fourth of the members, the body would divide on the final vote on any question with separate majorities of both ministry and laity required for passage, thus taking the deciding vote out of the chairman's hands. No supervisory leaders were provided for on the general level, and there was no provision for continuing general officers of any kind until the 1844 General Conference provided for a publishing enterprise with an editor and a publishing agent.

The annual conference (called a district conference after 1968) was also to elect its own president from among its members. He was to be an elder, was to preside at the conference and decide questions of law and order subject to appeal, was to preside in the council for stationing the preachers, was to be coordinator for employing and changing preachers between sessions of the conference, and could be employed to serve the conference on a full-time basis. Pastoral appointments were to be made by a stationing committee consisting of the conference president and three ministers and three laymen, confirming as far as practicable all arrangements made between ministers and people. No minister was to be appointed to a pastorate against

the wishes of the people, nor was he to be appointed more than three successive years nor be returned there until after an intermission of three years.⁶⁷

On the local level, not only were there to be quarterly conferences of ministers and officers, but also business meetings of the members were provided for. Classes were to elect their own class leaders. Members were to be received and dismissed by the church. Under the old *Discipline*, members had virtually no protection against the authority of the pastor who appointed and removed officers and received and dismissed members with little if any recourse from his decisions. But not only was the authority now assigned elsewhere, but the individual was given ample protection with the addition of "Judiciary Rules," spelling out trial procedures, including the right of appeal from a trial committee to the church itself.⁶⁸

Reform Emphases

Importance. The major distinguishing characteristic of the new body, however, was still that identification earlier mentioned of "radical Reform with living piety." Reform was popular in society as a whole, with local, state, national, and even world conventions on Christian reform. There was a community of reformers, some church-related and some not, but all active in a host of causes in which the Wesleyan Methodist Connection also took an interest.⁶⁹ In the first issue of the *True Wesleyan*, in outlining the course of the new paper, Scott and Horton declared:

The real moral reforms of the age, though in a sense subordinate to vital godliness, are nevertheless so closely allied to it, that the advancement of the latter is essential to the progress of the former. They are but the application of Christian truth to existing evils.⁷⁰

In fact, the new Connection preferred to call itself a "band of reformers." One writer declared that "Reform and Anti-Reform, are the two great antagonistic forces in the moral world."⁷¹ H. B. Knight, publishing agent 1856-58, declared that the reformatory principle was "anti-sin" and that the position of the Wesleyan Methodists was to reprove "sin, and seek its

destruction, even if complicated with civil government and surrounding denominational sanction."⁷² As a result of this emphasis, Wesleyan Methodists wore with pride the appellations of "radical," "liberal," "progressive," and "aggressive." They were suspicious of "conservatism," for this so often meant maintaining the status quo even if "principle" had to be sacrificed to "expediency," which to them was "compromise" or "accommodation." And so confident were they in the eventual triumph of their principles, that they fully expected reform to usher in the millennial age of righteousness, justice, and peace.⁷³

Luther Lee made it clear that to the Wesleyan reformer, sin had no place in the church, and once anything was identified as sin, no one practicing that could be allowed to continue in the church unless he reformed.⁷⁴ Traditionally in Methodism, it was the General Rules not the Articles of Religion which had been the tests for maintaining membership.⁷⁵ Lee indicates that for Wesleyan Methodists this was still largely true,⁷⁶ that reformed practice was more prized than orthodox belief. Wesleyan Methodists tightened requirements for church membership at Utica, by redirecting John Wesley's sole requirement for entrance ("a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins") from members to probationary members, and making it clear that only those who demonstrated conformity to the General Rules would be admitted to full membership.⁷⁷ However, the 1860 General Conference provided for a regular ritual of admission to church membership which put some stress on orthodox belief for those being admitted to full membership.⁷⁸

Slavery. The reform which of course was most important to Wesleyan Methodists was that calling for the abolition of slavery. The attack on slavery involved a fourfold appeal. One appeal was to Methodist tradition, beginning with Wesley's well-known opposition to slavery and continuing with that of Asbury and other early American Methodists. A second appeal could perhaps be characterized as social-political, involving something of the natural rights philosophy incorporated in the Declaration of Independence, and also appealing to the example of civilized behavior set in British and Latin American

emancipation of the slaves. A third appeal was to the Scriptures, especially as proslavery men began to defend slavery from the Scriptures where it was claimed that slavery existed with divine approval and slaves were commanded to obey their masters. The Wesleyan answer not only appealed to the Golden Rule and scriptural denunciations of oppression, and to such key texts as Exodus 21:16 and Revelation 18:13, but also attempted exegetically to prove that neither Old Testament nor New Testament slavery was like the "chattel slavery" existing in America.⁷⁹ They also pointed out that a man who belonged to another would not be free to put obedience to God above all other loyalties and relationships, and that slavery often made it impossible for the slave to keep the commandments concerning honoring parents and avoiding adultery, by its arbitrary breakup of families. A fourth appeal was to the basic humanity of the reader, his feelings for those experiencing the abuses of slavery; this often took the form of stories of slaves and their mistreatment, both as news items and as children's stories.

It was probably inevitable that those who took their reform so seriously also became involved at least unofficially with political parties. Wesleyans were often urged to use their ballots to elect men pledged to abolitionism. The 1852 General Conference amended the Article of Religion "Of Relative Duties" by inserting the words "and political" making it now say that men are bound to use not only their individual and social acts, but also their *political* acts, to obey God and to secure for all other men the full enjoyment of their natural rights.⁸⁰ In 1855, Lucius C. Matlack, now editor of *The Wesleyan*, declared that he had always voted in favor of nominees pledged to freedom. He traced the political heritage of abolitionism from the Liberty Party through the Free Soil Party and the Free Democrats to the Republicans.⁸¹

Wesleyan Methodists responded to slavery with what would later have been called civil disobedience. From the time that the British Empire emancipated its slaves, Canada became a haven for escaped slaves from the United States. And the so-called "underground railroad" that developed to assist the fugitives ran through the areas where Wesleyans were most numerous—through Pennsylvania and New York, through Ohio and across Lake Erie, through either Ohio or Indiana and then

Michigan. When the U. S. Congress adopted the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, requiring the citizens of the northern states to assist southern masters to recover their "property," Wesleyan indignation knew no bounds. Not only did the denominational paper and the preachers denounce the law, but Wesleyans announced their intention to violate it at every opportunity.⁸²

Perhaps the most famous Wesleyan agent for the underground railroad was Laura Smith Haviland of southeastern Michigan. She began and ended life as a member of the Society of Friends but during her years of fighting slavery she joined the Wesleyan Methodists. In spite of the fact that she was left a widow in 1845 at the age of 36, with seven children and a mortgaged farm, she found time to take trips to Cincinnati to work with Levi Coffin, the so-called superintendent of the underground railroad. She even slipped across the Ohio River into Kentucky to aid slaves to escape, and made one bold but fruitless trip clear to Arkansas for the same purpose. She also traveled to Canada to help teach the fugitives who had made their escape.⁸³ Another Wesleyan Methodist, William Lacy, later president of the Indiana Conference, is identified by widespread legend as the agent of the antislavery society that assisted Eliza of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* up the bank of the Ohio River on the Indiana side after her electrifying escape across the ice.⁸⁴

Abolitionists were divided as to their attitude toward black persons; all fought for them to be set free but only some were ready to accept them as equals and associate with them on a regular basis. Some of this same division of opinion existed among the Wesleyan Methodists. It is true that when drawing up the new *Discipline*, the Utica Convention had added to the restrictions on the powers of the general conference by saying, "nor shall they make any distinctions, in the rights and privileges of our ministers and members, on account of ancestry or color."⁸⁵ And some Wesleyan Methodists scoffed at the "color-phobia" which they observed in the North as well as the South.⁸⁶ But a Wesleyan Methodist church in New Bedford, Massachusetts, lost 19 members (apparently a majority) because they wanted to segregate the pews with whites seated in the "body pews" and blacks in the "wall pews."⁸⁷ And J. P. Campbell, a black preacher in the New York Conference, wrote

about his own experience of color prejudice among Wesleyan Methodists.⁸⁸ There was integration in many places, including not only whites and blacks but in some places the red man as well.⁸⁹ And even following the Civil War, Adam Crooks, formerly antislavery missionary to North Carolina in 1847-51, now editor of the *American Wesleyan*, declared that the paper was to be dedicated to acquiring absolutely equal rights for all, regardless of ancestry or color.⁹⁰

Alcoholic Beverages. Behind slavery, the next most important reform to Wesleyan Methodists was that of opposition to alcoholic beverages. The crusade against intemperance had been the first of the great moral crusades to emerge. It began at about the time of the War of 1812 and grew slowly in strength with the American Temperance Union formed in 1836 on a platform of total abstinence. By 1846 the temperance forces had won passage of the Maine Law, the first statewide prohibition law, and soon other states followed.⁹¹ It was between these last two dates that the Wesleyan Methodist Connection was organized, and it became the first religious body to require total abstinence as a test of membership. Wesleyans were increasingly committed to total prohibition, and they worked to pass such laws wherever they could.⁹²

Secret Societies. The antimasonic or antisecret society movement had its origin in 1826 with the apparent murder of Captain William Morgan of Batavia, New York. He had been about to publish the secrets of the Masonic order in *Illustrations of Masonry*. He was the victim of several unpleasant incidents, and after being jailed on a trumped-up charge he was kidnapped on September 12, apparently by Masons, and rumor had it that he was tied in a weighted cable and dropped in the Niagara River. This came at a time when the common people of western New York were attacking every form of privilege. And in the reaction which followed Morgan's murder, many became suspicious that Masons controlled public offices, juries, and even the state legislature. A wave of antimasonry swept across New York and produced political repercussions felt across the nation. In New York the number of lodges dwindled from 480 to 49 and the members from 20,000 to 3,000, and

Charles Finney later estimated that 2,000 lodges and 45,000 members suspended fraternal activity nationally. Political anti-masonry eventually was absorbed into the new Whig organization. But behind the political aspect there was a deeper moral and religious reaction to Masonry. Many churchmen believed that Masons had committed a crime to cover up their secrets and had then conspired to cover up the crime. Furthermore, Masonry had replaced the church for many of its members. Its oaths were considered profane. It was rumored to use alcoholic beverages with abandon. Its titles and rituals reminded religious Americans of monarchy as well as infidelity. Its secrecy was thought to be hiding even worse secrets. Religious antimasonry found a champion in Charles G. Finney, the great Presbyterian evangelist of the mid-nineteenth century, and also took root among some of the developing denominations.⁹³

Opposition to secret societies found strong support in New England as well as in western New York, and it was in these two areas particularly that Wesleyan Methodism sprang up. Even before the Utica Convention, letters in the *True Wesleyan* called for a general rule against secret societies.⁹⁴ Orange Scott responded to this and other suggestions for reform by saying that it would be best not to meddle with these.⁹⁵ But at the Utica Convention it was soon evident that the topic could not be avoided.⁹⁶ Edward Smith led the forces who opposed secrecy. The debate was one of the most heated of the convention and occupied some four hours of the last day. During the debate, Scott, Sunderland, Horton, and Lee apparently acknowledged they had earlier joined the Masons, although there is little reason to believe that any of them were still active in the lodge.⁹⁷ For the time being a compromise was worked out, leaving the question of secret societies to the annual conferences and local churches.⁹⁸

When the First General Conference assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, October 2-11, 1844, it was soon evident that this was still the most controversial topic. By a vote of 22 to 15, the general conference voted to replace the old statement which left the matter to the annual conferences and local churches with the following:

We will on no account tolerate our ministers and members in joining secret oath-bound societies, or holding fellowship with

them, as in the judgment of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, it is inconsistent with our duties to God and Christianity to hold such connections.⁹⁹

The majority would not agree to this being handed down to the annual conferences for ratification as a new test of membership. As a result, some said the new rule was admonitory, others that it was a law to be enforced.

LaRoy Sunderland withdrew from the Connection because of the new rule, even though he was no longer active in any lodge.¹⁰⁰ The 1852 General Conference added a footnote to the 1844 statement saying, "This section the General Conference ordains as law."¹⁰¹ But those who had questioned the general conference's power to adopt the rule without annual conference ratification were not at all convinced.

Near the end of the 1850s, the Wesleyan Methodists were discussing merger with the Protestant Methodists, and this heated up the whole secret society question again. So when the 1860 General Conference met October 3-10 at Fulton, New York, this was again a leading subject of debate. The following was adopted by a vote of 33 to 15 and sent down to the annual conferences for ratification:

We will on no account tolerate our ministers or members in joining or holding fellowship with Secret Societies, such as Free Masonry or Odd Fellowship; as in the Judgment of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, it is inconsistent with our duties to God to hold such connection.¹⁰²

By early 1862 the ratification was complete, carrying on the annual conference level by a vote of 294 to 74.¹⁰³

War. The so-called "Peace Crusade" had its beginnings with the Society of Friends as did many of the reform movements. Their activity led to the organization of the American Peace Society in 1828, the New England Nonresistance Society in 1838, and the League of Universal Brotherhood in 1846.¹⁰⁴

There was much overlapping of membership in the various reform efforts and it is not strange that the Methodist abolitionists who became Wesleyan Methodists also had something to say for peace and against war. At the Utica Convention, the new Connection incorporated in its new *Discipline* this

statement:

ON PEACE.

We believe the gospel of Christ to be every way opposed to the practice of war, in all its forms; and those customs which tend to foster and perpetuate the war spirit to be inconsistent with the benevolent designs of the Christian Religion.¹⁰⁵

Opposition to war was put to the test in times of strife. Wesleyans were strongly and uniformly opposed to the war with Mexico, although this opposition may have been intensified by proslavery support of the war and the fear that expansion in the Southwest would bring more slave territory. Luther Lee called the American commander in that conflict the "chief" of "murderers and robbers."¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, some Wesleyans felt that antislavery men in Kansas had a right to defend themselves. In fact, when Rev. William C. Clark was brutally assaulted because of his abolitionist stand by proslavery men in Missouri while returning from Kansas, he said that he still believed in peace principles toward men but in Colt's revolvers for the two-legged beasts of Missouri!¹⁰⁷

The Civil War proved to be too much of a test for most Wesleyan pacifism since Wesleyan hatred for slavery was stronger than Wesleyan hatred for war. Matlack saw the war as a judgment on the whole nation:

All will suffer. All classes, sections, parties have sinned. The patriot and the traitor—both must die. The sin of the American people is too deep, to [sic] dreadful to be atoned for now by repentance. Without shedding of blood there cannot be remission.¹⁰⁸

When one reader protested that support of the war effort in the columns of the *American Wesleyan* was a violation of the *Discipline* statement against war, Prindle replied that this was not war, it was the putting down of treason.

. . . we rejoice to see a united people coming to face them before God and the world, and repel their unprovoked aggressions. May God judge between us and our foes, and give triumph to the right.¹⁰⁹

And with this Matlack agreed:

The present struggle is not a war between nations. It is the resistance of an armed mob of felons against the Chief

Magistrate of the Nation. . . . With all my anti-war sentiment I am unable to cry peace to the wicked traitors, or admonish Abraham to put up his sword.¹¹⁰

Wesleyans not only gave verbal support to the war, but many took up arms and went to the front. Matlack himself went in for a time as chaplain and then later commanded a regiment in the field.¹¹¹ W. W. Lyle, who served for a time as a corresponding editor of the denominational paper,¹¹² and Nathan Wardner, who was later to be editor and president of many sessions of the general conference,¹¹³ both served as chaplains. There were still those like Elijah Coate of Indiana who wrote that he wished that the first smoke of gunfire at Fort Sumter had not blown away Wesleyan antiwar sentiments.¹¹⁴

Perhaps it is not surprising that with many Wesleyans accommodating their antiwar principles to allow their participation in putting down the Southern "rebellion," the 1864 General Conference softened the statement in the *Discipline* somewhat.

ON PEACE.

We believe the Gospel of Christ to be intended to extirpate the practice of war, and hence we cannot but deprecate those customs which needlessly foster and perpetuate the war spirit; we will not cease to pray and labor that the period may arrive when "Nations shall learn war no more."¹¹⁵

Tobacco. While Wesleyan Methodists were involved in reforms that were attracting support from other segments of society, they were also involved in some against which very few voices of protest were being raised. One of these was opposition to the use of tobacco. John Wesley had prohibited the use of tobacco and snuff as well as "spiritous liquor" for the bands, his inner circle.¹¹⁶ Early American Methodists often attempted to discourage its use.¹¹⁷ It was not surprising that the "reformers" followed suit.

Much of the action was taken by the annual conferences. But by 1860 the denomination as a whole expressed its concern through a portion of the report of the Committee on Reforms adopted by the general conference.

The basis of opposition to tobacco was in part a concern about its effect on the body, although the scientific proof of its evil effects was still largely in the future. There was also a

concern over stewardship, the waste of money on tobacco at the expense of things more wholesome and important. There was also concern about its addictive nature. But perhaps the theme played on the most was that of the filthiness of tobacco, for the most common use of it at that time was chewing, even more than smoking, and the crude way in which the chewing was done is evident from some of the articles and even the actions of the conferences. This was especially so in the frontier areas of the country. On L. C. Matlack's first visit to Indiana, he had a violent reaction to the untidiness of many he saw there, and tobacco contributed to the general effect.

The continual grinding of the weed in their bread mills, keeps up a spouting stream of discolored saliva which they are as careless to keep off their chins and shirt bosoms, as they are to keep the mud off their boots.¹¹⁸

The indiscriminate spitting did not exempt the interior of the church building either. This caused the Indiana Conference in 1853 to say that the use of tobacco "also defiles the house of God, rendering it unfit for the worship of God, especially for those who kneel in time of prayer."¹¹⁹ And in 1859, the same conference, when its session was held at the new Lee Chapel, had to "request the members who use tobacco not to spit upon the floor of the new Church."¹²⁰

Women's Rights. The women's rights movement in America had its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, and primarily grew out of the active role of women in the temperance, abolitionist, and other reform movements.¹²¹ It was but natural that the abolitionist Wesleyans should also play a part in winning for women their rights. The way was prepared by their associates in reform, Evangelist Charles G. Finney, who encouraged his women converts to speak in public for Christ, and Oberlin College, the first coeducational school, which under Asa Mahan as president and Finney as theology professor graduated some of the future leaders of the women's rights movement.

Wesleyan support of women's rights was not universal, nor was it always unreserved. As late as 1849, Luther Lee advised Wesleyan Methodists against appointing women class leaders

except for classes made up solely of women.¹²² And when the first Woman's Rights Convention, traditionally marking the launching of the movement, was held in the Wesleyan Methodist chapel in Seneca Falls, New York, July 19-20, 1848, the women arrived at the appointed hour to discover that the pastor had had second thoughts and the building was locked. They put a small boy through an open window, he unlocked the door, and the convention proceeded as scheduled.¹²³

Gradually Wesleyan support for the movement intensified. In 1852, when the New York State Temperance Convention was held in Syracuse, it refused to recognize the delegates of the Woman's State Temperance Society or to hear Miss Susan B. Anthony. Luther Lee defended the women's right to participate, and when his efforts failed he invited them to the Syracuse Wesleyan Methodist chapel, where he was pastor, for an evening service.¹²⁴

By 1853 L. C. Matlack, then editor of *The Wesleyan*, declared that he was for women having the right to vote.¹²⁵ Some Wesleyans agreed with him for reasons other than just a concern for women's rights—the votes of the women would help to bring prohibition of alcoholic beverages and other reform laws!¹²⁶ By 1867, the general conference itself adopted a "Report on the State of the Country" which supported Kansas in its attempt to give the franchise to women.¹²⁷

In 1853 it became evident that Luther Lee's views of women's place in the church had changed remarkably. He preached the ordination sermon of Miss Antoinette L. Brown, the first woman to graduate from the theological course at Oberlin College, and traditionally counted as the first woman to be fully ordained to the ministry. His text was Galatians 3:28, which was also a favorite antislavery text. He argued exegetically that there was no valid objection to the ordination of women on biblical grounds, pointing out their major role in the New Testament, and arguing that in the Pauline passages often arrayed against women as preachers, "the apostle's injunction was not given as a general rule, but as a remedy for a specific difficulty."¹²⁸ The sermon was immediately published and its sale announced in the denominational paper.¹²⁹ Editor Matlack followed up with a strong editorial.

Woman is our equal in all respects. Her rights, as ours are to be known by her ability and opportunity to act. She may appear, fittingly in the highest professional positions, as in the common pursuits of life. We concede her right to free thought, free speech, freedom of the platform, forum, pulpit, bar, and ballot-box.

He went on to cite Lee's sermon, and gave a lengthy quote from Edward Smith's *Christian Statesman*. Smith had expressed his delight over the sermon, and added:

We are much encouraged to hope that the day is not far distant when woman will take her proper place in the church of God. That day must come before the world can be saved.¹³⁰

Within the Wesleyan Methodist Connection itself, women had an increasing sphere of service. In 1843 the New England Conference provided for a committee of three females to be appointed in each church to collect money for missions.¹³¹ By 1845 a Dorcas Society had been started at Troy, Ohio, which was active in providing for the needs of former slaves escaped to Canada, and a ladies society made up of Wesleyans and Antislavery Friends was involved in similar work in Fountain City, Indiana, by 1849.¹³² In 1851 a Ladies Benevolent Society helped raise money for a new church bell by holding a "festival."¹³³ While women apparently were not considered voting members of the local church at first,¹³⁴ voting rights were not limited to males in general conference amendments in 1844,¹³⁵ and within a few years women were voting in all of the local churches.¹³⁶ By 1863 a woman served as a voting lay delegate of the Indiana Annual Conference.¹³⁷ As early as 1852, Edward Smith declared that he was in favor of women delegates to the general conference if they were properly elected.¹³⁸ The Utica Convention itself provided in the first *Discipline* for "female members" to be protected by having the right if accused to ask for a female trial committee.¹³⁹ And Wesleyan schools were uniformly coeducational.¹⁴⁰

As to women's leadership in the church, acceptance of this also came gradually. In 1843, Mary P. Cooke wrote to Orange Scott asking if he knew of a place where she could serve on a full-time basis, but received no reply through the periodical.¹⁴¹ A writer in the *True Wesleyan* in 1847 knew of no women in the meetings of class leaders or stewards or in the quarterly

conferences which were composed of officers, nor in "the ministerial ranks,"¹⁴² and Luther Lee questioned the legality of women class leaders in 1849.¹⁴³ But in 1851, Edward Smith reported his pleasure over the election of a woman as steward of a circuit near Cleveland,¹⁴⁴ and by 1862 the Cleveland church had a woman as Sunday school superintendent.¹⁴⁵ By 1860, the Illinois Conference had granted a ministerial license to Mrs. Mary A. Will, and in 1861 it ordained her—the first woman in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection to be granted full standing as an elder.¹⁴⁶

The ordination of Mrs. Will set off a controversy in the 1864 General Conference. But the general conference by a vote of 38 to 8 declined to take any action on the matter and left it with the annual conference. The same session tabled a resolution that would have disapproved of licensing and ordaining women, and also declined to provide for such licensing and ordaining on the basis that the Scriptures were not sufficiently clear to warrant it.¹⁴⁷

Miscellaneous Reforms. The Utica Convention committed the ministers and members of the new Church to simplicity in lifestyle. To the rather brief section in the Methodist Episcopal *Discipline* on dress, two further questions and answers were added, calling for "cheap, as well as plain dress," and "plain and cheap" furniture and "carriages."¹⁴⁸

The First General Conference, in 1844, adopted a rule on instrumental music as follows: "We recommend the churches to dispense with instrumental music."¹⁴⁹ This rule was to be carried in the *Discipline* until it was deleted in 1899.¹⁵⁰ It again was stressed more in the early years of the Connection's history, although it was debated occasionally in the columns of the periodical even in the 1850s.

The Utica Convention in 1843 touched the area of funeral customs by inserting a note at the end of the section on dress and furniture: "We disapprove of Christians changing their apparel in mourning for the dead."¹⁵¹ The 1844 General Conference adopted a resolution relative to Sunday observance: "Resolved. That we will not tolerate in any of our people, the becoming stockholders in Sabbath breaking companies or corporations."¹⁵²

At the Utica Convention in 1843, George Pegler presented a resolution on "Free Seats" which was not adopted;¹⁵³ however, while many New England Wesleyan Methodist churches did follow the custom of "renting" or leasing their pews for a certain amount each year in order to underwrite local expenses, many Wesleyans opposed the practice and the Rochester Conference stated its opposition officially. The 1867 General Conference established a Church Building Aid Association and provided that only free-seated churches would secure aid.¹⁵⁴

The 1852 General Conference adopted a report from its Committee on Reform which included a statement denouncing the "Land Monopoly";¹⁵⁵ this concern for free or cheap land for settlers moving westward also shows up in *Miriam's Timbrel*, a Wesleyan songbook featuring reform hymns and songs, in the lines:

Yet thousands of hands want acres,
And thousands of acres want hands.¹⁵⁶

In keeping with this, beginning with the January 3, 1855, issue of *The Wesleyan*, each issue for an extended period carried in the upper left-hand corner a statement of what the paper advocated which ended with the following: "The rightfulness of the universal claim to a homestead, in order that the Scripture may be fulfilled which predicts that 'they shall sit every man under his vine and fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid.'"

Many reports on reform adopted by the conferences denounced "lasciviousness" and there was unofficial support of the American Female Moral Reform Society which sought to minister to the "fallen girl" in various ways. In a related concern, the Utica Convention carried over into the new *Discipline* much of the Methodist Episcopal Church's statement about discouraging the marriage of Christians with unsaved persons;¹⁵⁷ the 1860 General Conference went further and added the following statement on divorce and remarriage:

We regard no justifiable cause of divorce, except adultery; and if any of the members of our churches dissolve the marriage contract for any other cause, and either party shall marry during the lifetime of the other, he or she shall be expelled as for other immoralities.¹⁵⁸

This amendment was handed down to the annual conferences

for ratification since it amounted to a new membership requirement, and it was approved by those voting in the annual conferences by a vote of 291 to 6.¹⁵⁹

DENOMINATIONAL LIFE

Origins of the Wesleyan Methodists

Roots in the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the very beginning of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, the majority of ministers and members came from the Methodist Episcopal Church. L. C. Matlack said that of the 6,000 members identified by the time of the Utica Convention, most had seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁶⁰ Some of these had deep roots in Methodism, with a few claiming to have heard John Wesley himself,¹⁶¹ and some claiming to have heard and entertained Francis Asbury and his contemporaries.¹⁶²

Many thousands more would have joined the new Connection if it had not been for developments within the older body. The more conservative northern Methodists who had attempted to muzzle the abolitionists became alarmed over the formation of an antislavery denomination. They were fearful lest much of the North, particularly New England, would join the new movement. As a result, the conservatives became more radical. Between the announcement of the exodus by Scott and his comrades in November 1842, and the Utica Convention in May 1843, New England Methodists held four antislavery conventions.¹⁶³ Furthermore, there was a virtual cessation of attempts to silence antislavery speeches or resolutions in the annual conferences or to penalize abolitionists. This change in attitude by the North caused alarm among Methodists in the South. As a result of this and a series of anti-slavery actions passed at the 1844 General Conference, an impasse was reached which caused both North and South to agree to a division of the Methodist Episcopal Church into two denominations. The formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South took place in May 1845 in Louisville, Kentucky. The Wesleyan Methodists claimed credit for this schism, and some historians of the larger bodies tended to agree with them.¹⁶⁴

As a result of the change in Northern Methodism's

statements about slavery, large numbers of Methodists who had joined the new Wesleyan Methodist Connection returned to the older body, especially from 1844 to 1848. Even Jotham Horton, cofounder of the *True Wesleyan*, returned in 1851. L. C. Matlack in 1860 said that there were not more than forty of the old Methodist Episcopal itinerant preachers left in Wesleyan Methodist ranks, and of an estimated 25,000 Wesleyans at that time only 5,000 had been Methodists previously.¹⁶⁵

Roots in Other Bodies. At the Utica Convention, according to host pastor George Pegler, there were present persons from many denominational backgrounds: Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Methodist, Primitive Methodist, Congregational Methodist, Free-Will Baptist, Congregational, and Christian Churches.¹⁶⁶ And the Utica Convention anticipated perhaps entire bodies wanting to join the new Connection, and adopted terms of union with other seceding Methodist bodies.¹⁶⁷

A second source of Wesleyan Methodists was the Methodist Protestant Church, which had separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1826-30 over matters of church government. Although this Church was quite compatible with the Wesleyans in polity, it was not thoroughly antislavery nor was it devoted to radical reform as were the Wesleyans. Even so, individual Protestant Methodists and even congregations joined the new body. One entire annual conference, the Champlain Conference in northeastern New York and western Vermont, joined with seceders from the Methodist Episcopal Church in forming a new Champlain Conference of Wesleyan Methodists.¹⁶⁸

A third source was the Reformed Methodist Church. This body had formed in 1814 under the leadership of Pliny Brett and Elijah Bailey. In government, antislavery sentiments, anti-war position, and emphasis on entire sanctification, it was quite in harmony with the new Connection. Elijah Bailey was one of the delegates to the Utica Convention. While many of the Reformed Methodists had already or eventually did join the Protestant Methodists, about half of their Massachusetts Conference (particularly the churches on Cape Cod) and other congregations and groupings joined the Wesleyans.¹⁶⁹

Smaller contributions to the new Connection came from three other Methodist bodies. The Methodist Societies or Society Methodists appear to have grown out of the Stillwellites and other forerunners of the Methodist Protestant Church.¹⁷⁰ Some of their congregations, apparently including the entire Erie Annual Conference and such ministers as Daniel Smith, father of the famous abolitionist, Laura Smith Haviland, and Amzi W. Curtis, later president of the Wesleyans' Michigan Conference, joined the Wesleyan Methodist Connection.¹⁷¹

The United Ancient Wesleyan Methodist Societies may have made some contribution to the new Connection. They apparently had organized in the 1836-40 period, although possibly as early as 1820, concentrating in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. They were also known as "Howardites." They discussed joining the Wesleyans for at least a decade, but the evidence is unclear as to whether any sizable body actually did so.¹⁷²

The Primitive Methodist Church had originated in England in 1805 through the preaching of the eccentric American evangelist, Lorenzo Dow, and had spread to the United States in 1829. Apparently some individuals and perhaps churches joined the Wesleyan Methodists in 1843. In 1856 and 1857 there were accessions from this group in Ohio.¹⁷³

A small but attention-provoking source of American Wesleyan Methodists was provided by English Wesleyan Methodists who migrated to America and reacted strongly to the lack of antislavery sentiments among the major Methodist bodies.¹⁷⁴

As might be expected, the multiple sources of Wesleyans brought disadvantages as well as advantages. Luther Lee wrote, "Our weakness as a denomination, lies in a want of harmony of views." He blamed this on differences which distinguished the communions from which they had come, on regional differences within the Methodist Episcopal Church, and on the characteristics of the people who had left other groups to form their own—radical, independent, fearless. He admitted that it was difficult for this mixed group to distinguish "between fundamentals and non-essentials."¹⁷⁵

Local Fellowships

On the local level, Wesleyan Methodists experienced two quite different types of fellowship. In their beginnings in New England and New York particularly, there were fairly strong congregations with their own pastors and buildings. But in most of the country Wesleyans were located in rural and frontier regions and were organized in circuits.

Even in the northeastern conferences the Wesleyans were schismatic and therefore had to start in most cases without church buildings. However, the deeding of church properties still varied considerably. Some groups brought buildings with them, as did the Society Methodists in Sandusky, Ohio.¹⁷⁶ Some buildings formerly used by the Methodist Episcopal Church appear to have ended up in Wesleyan hands, mostly in New England, although litigation followed in some of these cases and frequently the Wesleyans would relinquish their claims to avoid unpleasantness.¹⁷⁷

On the frontier the circuit was frequently a geographical area rather than simply a cluster of churches. The Wesleyans met in homes, in school buildings or in churches that were available to any denomination considered to be in the mainstream of Protestant thought and life. The pastor was responsible for all the Wesleyans in his territory, which might include a whole county or even several counties. He might find them scattered throughout the circuit with very few of them living close enough together to form congregations. He would establish a series of preaching appointments which would carry him around the circuit in a two-week to four-week period, "appointing" before he left a time and place to meet the people again. An appointment could grow into an organized congregation, and if this grew strong enough, eventually a log or frame or even a small brick "meetinghouse" would be erected.

Once each quarter all of the people on a circuit would gather for a quarterly meeting, usually with the conference evangelist as the guest speaker. The Lord's Supper was observed, and frequently the quarterly conference or business meeting (which during this period involved only the preachers and officers) would be held. Most meetings consisted largely of hymn-singing (unaccompanied), Scripture reading, prayer,

personal testimony and preaching. In the winters "protracted meetings" were held, usually for eight to ten days. In the summers, at least one camp meeting was frequently held on each circuit, in a grove belonging to one of the members. As congregations developed within the circuits and buildings were erected, when the pastor was absent caring for another part of his circuit, services would be conducted by a class leader, by a minister not currently serving a pastorate, or by a local preacher licensed by the quarterly conference.

Annual Conferences (Districts)

The term "annual conference" applied during this period to the geographical area now called "district," as well as to the annual session of ministers and delegates within that area. Usually the president and secretary elected at an annual conference served simply during the session, although the president did have some ongoing responsibilities and might be employed by the conference on a full-time basis. Usually the president was one of the pastors, and if any full-time officers were provided for they were designated by such titles as "conference evangelist" (later the more descriptive term "quarterly meeting evangelist" was used) or "conference missionary" (charged with adding new circuits to the conference).

The annual conference sessions, like those of the general conference, were held at one of the local churches which had issued an invitation, usually a year in advance. The resulting experience included not only the excitement of some very lively business meetings, but also the thrill of a camp meeting atmosphere, and the stimulation of social contacts that were often quite rare and deeply appreciated. The entertainment of the ministers, lay delegates, and visitors was usually a community enterprise, with the small number of local Wesleyans and broad-minded members of other denominations joining to provide shelter for their guests. Houses were small, but especially on the frontier the guests did not mind sleeping on the floor. The hosts apparently supplied the food, and the well-stocked tables provided occasion for satisfying and enriching social contacts. The church buildings were frequently too small to hold all of the people, and on Sundays in particular the crowds

would spill over into other churches.

The annual conference conducted much of its business through committees. Part of these were functional in nature, including the committees on credentials, religious exercises (devotions), pastoral relations (which also served to set the boundaries of the circuits), on itinerancy and elders' orders (dealing with the licensing and ordaining of ministers), ministerial character (which heard complaints against the ministers), finances, statistics, obituaries (to commemorate deceased ministers and outstanding laymen), and on vacancy in the presidency. Other committees which were more involved with philosophy and policy included the committees on moral reform, education, missions, book concern, and Sabbath schools.

One trend which was quite obvious during this period was the marked shift in the strength of the denomination from the New England-New York City area to the western conferences.

The trend is perhaps more dramatically evident in the decline in Wesleyan strength in New England. Without a doubt, this conference started with the greatest promise. In 1843 there were two Wesleyan churches in Providence, Rhode Island, two in Lowell, Massachusetts, and apparently two in Boston, Massachusetts. By 1845 there were 51 churches in the New England Conference, with over 2,200 members, and 6 other churches which did not report their statistics. The largest churches were the two in Lowell, with 416 and 200 members respectively, one in Boston with 145 members, and the First Church in Providence with 120.¹⁷⁸

However, with the rapid shift of Methodist Episcopal leaders to a more radical antislavery position, the Wesleyan tide in New England began to ebb. By the summer of 1845 the pastor of the larger church in Lowell had issued more than 100 letters to members transferring out in a period of a few weeks.¹⁷⁹ By 1853, Boston no longer appeared on the list of pastoral appointments.¹⁸⁰ By 1858 there were no services being held in Providence.¹⁸¹ In 1859 there was an attempt to "fuse" the work with that of the Protestant Methodists, although this was not approved by the local churches.¹⁸² In 1861 the first attempt to hold a conference session had to be adjourned for lack of a quorum.¹⁸³ By 1866 the conference was extinct except for a few churches, some of which subsequently joined the Methodist

Episcopal Church, and one or two of which struggled on for years in an attempt to maintain the Wesleyan tradition.¹⁸⁴

The reasons for the dramatic decline in New England and the somewhat parallel decline of Wesleyan strength in the New York City area become apparent as one studies the times carefully. The quick counter-reform by the Methodists on the slavery issue helped to slow the exodus to the Wesleyans and in fact reversed it. The removal westward of the publishing interests of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, from Boston to New York City in 1844, and again from New York City to Syracuse, New York, at the end of 1852, tended to disassociate the New Englanders from the center of Church life; rural elements were coming into dominance in the new denomination and this tended to alienate the city people. Migration itself was a serious problem, with people from New England and New York moving westward by the thousands, sometimes virtually eliminating whole congregations.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, the great waves of immigrants from Europe were flooding Boston and New York City with an altogether different type of replacement for the Yankees heading west; the newcomers were in many instances Roman Catholics, and their cultural and language differences presented obstacles to evangelism with which Wesleyans were ill-prepared to deal.¹⁸⁶ Another problem was the multiplicity of issues debated by Wesleyans; New Englanders and people around New York were strong against slavery, but their unanimity ended at that point, and many, especially in the later years, were not in agreement with Wesleyan opposition to secret societies.¹⁸⁷

Publishing Enterprise

As far as day-by-day activity was concerned, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection manifested its identity as a whole most visibly through its publishing enterprise. In fact, since the structure of the new denomination did not provide for any kind of centralized general leadership or employed personnel, it is doubtful that it would have had any visibility as a national body if it had not been for its publishing ministry.

John Wesley himself had demonstrated the value of the printed page for the promotion of religious revival and social

and moral reform in a manner perhaps never before equaled in church history. His spiritual descendants in America had followed his example and by the 1830s had reached a high level of literary maturity. In American society generally, from the 1820s on, there had been a virtual explosion of literary activity, with presses pouring out pamphlets, books, magazines, and newspapers. All newspapers and many magazines existed to promote a cause, either political or religious. One authority says that by 1840 three-fourths of the reading material of Americans was religious.¹⁸⁸

It was therefore not surprising that the pioneers of Wesleyan Methodism launched the movement with the publication of a new periodical, the *True Wesleyan*. Thus the publishing venture began before the denomination as such was formed. While others joined Orange Scott in editing the new paper, it appears that he personally financed its publication, and continued to bear responsibility as its proprietor and publisher until the First General Conference of the new Connection in October 1844. At that time the denomination purchased the paper and whatever else was involved in Scott's printing business; the terms were sacrificial on Scott's part, but proved to be almost impossible for the Church to meet, even to satisfy the claims of his estate after his premature death in 1847. The name of the periodical was changed to *The Wesleyan* at the beginning of 1853, and again to the *American Wesleyan* at the beginning of 1861.

Since there was no type of denominational superintendency, and at this time no departmental executives, the men who served during these early years as editors and publishers were the only "general officers" the Church had. Due to the constant struggle for economic survival experienced by the publishing enterprise, the offices were frequently combined into one. These officers not only looked after the publishing interests, but also attempted to represent the denomination at the sessions of the various annual (district) conferences, represent the denomination in community and ecumenical affairs and the dedication of church buildings, counsel annual conference (district) leaders and pastors and churches, direct the course of the Connection, promote special offerings and projects, and carry on a personal preaching ministry, sometimes even serving as interim pastors. Frequently one of these officers also served as president of a

general conference session. But while L. C. Matlack, in the heat of a later debate, described the editor and publisher as practically general superintendents,¹⁸⁹ the mood of the denomination was against any authoritative leadership, and each could only exercise the leadership inspired by his own character and personality or earned by his power of persuasion.

Scott had established his publishing business first in Lowell, Massachusetts, and had then moved shortly afterward to Boston. With the purchase of the paper by the denomination, the publishing concern began a westward march. It moved first to New York City, 1844 through 1852. Then it moved to Syracuse, New York, publishing the first issue of 1853 in that city, and remaining there over a century until 1957. In Syracuse the publishing concern had several homes. In 1858 an addition was built on the First Wesleyan Methodist Church of Syracuse in which was located the office of the editor-publisher and the bookroom.¹⁹⁰ Then in 1862 the Wesleyans purchased their own press and a lot on which they erected a small building to house it. The church building with office and bookroom, as well as the building housing the press, stood in the same block where later in 1882 the four-story building was erected that served for three-quarters of a century as the denominational headquarters.

Serving as an advisory body to the publisher, and gradually evolving into a board of control, was the Book Committee. It was elected at first by the New York Conference and later by the general conference. In 1862, with the acquisition of real estate and a building for the press, the Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association was formally incorporated in the State of New York. For the time being, the corporation had a separate board of directors elected by local members of the corporation. This meant that the publisher was responsible to both the Book Committee and the corporate board for different aspects of his business, although the distinctions were not always clear.

Besides the denominational organ, there were several other periodicals produced by Wesleyans during the 1843-67 period. The longest running of these periodicals was the *Juvenile Wesleyan*, the official semimonthly Sunday school paper, published from 1843 to 1844 and again from 1845 through 1865; at the beginning of 1853 its name was changed to the *Juvenile*

Instructor. It was acknowledged to be the first antislavery "juvenile paper" in the country, and reached a peak of 12,000 subscriptions in 1855. (Other antislavery children's papers appeared and the beginning of the Civil War brought winter closings of rural Sunday schools, crippling the subscription list.) The end of the war, with the end of slavery, brought the suspension of the paper. The denomination joined the mushrooming number of publishers promoting the holiness revival on June 1, 1863, with the issuance of the first number of the *Way of Holiness*; at the beginning of 1866 it was renamed the *Way of Holiness and Revival Advocate*.

Wesleyan presses were not only pouring out periodicals in a stream out of all proportion to the limited membership of the denomination, but were also kept busy producing books. Between 1843 and 1867 more than 160 different works were published. Included were disciplines, hymnals, denominational histories and apologies, minutes of annual conferences and general conferences, a plan of study for ministerial students, books on church government and administration, antislavery books, analyses of Methodist Episcopal and other meetings, books on the Sabbath, universalism, come-outism, secret societies, the use of tobacco, the Trinity, Christian perfection, Christian union, reprints of Wesley's writings, sermons, biographies, theologies, books on revivals, Bible study, poetry, popular literature and children's books. In addition the book room advertised and sold many other books, including books by Wesleyan authors published on other presses. Some of the most noteworthy of the publications included: *Miriam's Timbrel: or Sacred Songs, suited to Revival occasions, and also for Anti-Slavery, Peace, Temperance and Reform Meetings*, published in 1849 and revised in 1853; an 86-volume Sunday school library; a 6-volume series of Sunday school books called *Uncle Tom's Kindred*; a 10-volume series for children called *Uncle Lucius' Story Books*; and the *Wesleyan Tracts, Large Series* (8 in number) and *Small Series* (3 in number).

The smallness of the denomination, teamed with the zeal for publishing demonstrated by its leaders, resulted in recurring financial crises for the publishing enterprise. At the beginning, shares of stock were sold, but only limited funds were actually realized. Orange Scott declared in 1847, shortly before his

death, that the only way to keep the business solvent was to publish and sell a lot of books.¹⁹¹ His zeal to get the message out took priority over prudent business management, and at his death it was evident that he had exhausted both his own financial resources and those of the publishing concern. The 1848 General Conference expressed a different perspective when it called for publishing no more books than were absolutely necessary for the benefit of the Connection.¹⁹² In the years that followed, there was a drive to collect accounts, the requirement for advance payment for subscriptions, the termination of credit business, further restrictions on book publishing, special financial campaigns, the concentration of both editorial and publishing assignments in one executive much of the time, and a great deal of personal sacrifice on the part of the executives. By 1862 conditions were sufficiently improved to allow the acquisition of a lot, building, and presses as indicated above. The numerous departures of leaders, ministers, and members from the Connection following the Civil War, which will be described below, renewed the crisis in 1866. But Adam Crooks brought an encouraging report to the 1867 General Conference, as a result of special offerings commemorating the centennial of American Methodism and as a result of his own careful business practices.

Education

The denomination did achieve some visibility through its educational activities, but the economic survival of its schools proved to be even more tenuous than that of the publishing enterprise.

The Methodists were the last religious group in America to establish a college, and the last to establish a theological seminary. While the Wesley brothers were themselves university graduates, most early Methodists in England and America were from the lower social classes and had experienced persecution and ridicule from the educated clergy of the Anglican Church and of other denominations in America. Early attempts to establish an American Methodist college under Coke and Asbury had ended in failure, many felt providentially.¹⁹³

By the time the Wesleyan Methodist Connection was

established, Methodists had overcome their fears of colleges and had established thirteen of them between 1822 and 1844.¹⁹⁴ But opposition to theological education still prevailed. In the 1844 General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, not one of the bishops or delegates had had any formal theological education. Furthermore, not one of the Methodist colleges had established a chair in Bible or religion prior to 1844.¹⁹⁵ Forces had already been set in motion that would force a change in this attitude, and the primary person responsible was LaRoy Sunderland, who was one of the chief founders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. Like most of the pioneer Wesleyans, he was a self-educated man. In 1833 Sunderland led in the formation of a "Junior Preacher's Society" in the New England Conference. The following year, at the request of the Society, he wrote an "Essay on Theological Education." It appeared in the fall issue of the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*. A storm of controversy erupted almost as violent as the later reaction to Sunderland's extreme abolitionist writings in *Zion's Watchman*. In fact, Sunderland used the *Watchman* to continue the debate on theological education, and the tide began to turn. Following Sunderland's withdrawal from the Methodist ministry, official theological instruction began at a conference academy at Newbury, Vermont, and this later evolved into the Boston Theological Seminary which became a part of Boston University. Today Sunderland is recognized as the "father of theological education" in Methodism.¹⁹⁶

Practically all of the leading founders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection shared Sunderland's strong support for education in general and for theological education in particular. While Orange Scott had received only thirteen months of formal schooling spread over a fifteen-year period, he had driven himself to go without sleep and to study on his own until his accomplishments exceeded those of many with master's degrees. Luther Lee never attended school at all, learning the letters of the alphabet through the crude marks of his older brother's knife on a pine shingle; but he overcame his deprivation by sheer persistence, and became a prolific writer, an able debater (he was nicknamed "Logical Lee"), and a college professor who richly deserved the doctor of divinity degree with

which he was honored. These men and their colleagues were determined that others would have better opportunities.

The First General Conference, held in 1844, expressed Wesleyan Methodism's desire for education which would be readily available for all of its youth, and particularly for its ministers. Optimistically, goals were set for one preparatory-level seminary or academy in each annual conference (district) and one central college; these were expected to be the early goals with more ambitious ones to follow!¹⁹⁷

The first school was Dracut Seminary, what would now be called an academy, located a ten-minute walk from the center of Lowell, Massachusetts. It was in operation from 1844 to 1846, with L. C. Matlack serving as its agent for the last year.

While one would have expected Wesleyan schools to develop in the more settled eastern conferences, it was in what was then the West that the more successful schools were located. The model for these schools and the origin of some of their faculty members had opened in 1833 in Ohio. It was Oberlin College, largely supported and staffed by Congregationalists, and made famous under Asa Mahan and Charles G. Finney. It had pioneered as a coeducational college which was also integrated racially, and it championed many of the social and political reforms supported by the Wesleyans. All of the Wesleyan schools also promoted reform and invited all to attend, regardless of sex or race. Permanent institutions were established in Michigan and Illinois, but they did not continue as Wesleyan schools. The effort in Michigan began shortly before the one in Illinois, but since the one in Illinois passed from under Wesleyan control sooner it is perhaps best to begin the account in Illinois.

Illinois Institute/Wheaton College. Although some have suggested even earlier plans for an educational institution in Illinois,¹⁹⁸ it is clear that by the 1851 session of the Illinois Annual Conference the Wesleyan Methodists appointed an agent to begin raising funds for a school.¹⁹⁹ By September 1851 a subscription list had been circulated and pledges had been secured totaling \$2,090.²⁰⁰ In 1852 the original site was purchased, and the Wesleyans for their part sealed the transaction by hastening through the tall prairie grass to the top of the knoll

and kneeling to dedicate to God the envisioned school.²⁰¹ In 1853 a three-story stone building was constructed, which remains to the present on the Wheaton College campus as the central part of Blanchard Hall.

The school opened on December 14, 1853. By the spring of 1855 there were 140 students enrolled.²⁰² On February 15, 1855, the state legislature chartered Illinois Institute as a collegiate institution. Later that year L. C. Matlack, one of the founders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, came to serve as president, continuing until the fall of 1859.

By the spring of 1857 the school reached its peak enrollment of 282 students. Nine of these were actually college students, with the rest registered in common school and preparatory programs.²⁰³ But the stock market crash in the fall of 1857 reduced the student body by the spring of 1858 to 260 students, and headed the school into a severe financial crisis.²⁰⁴

In the summer of 1859 the Illinois Conference invited the General Association of Congregationalists of Illinois to share with the Wesleyans the control and support of the school. This was agreed to, along with a promise to maintain a reform emphasis with opposition to "slave-holding, secret societies and their spurious worships, against intemperance, human inventions in church government, war, and whatever else shall clearly appear to contravene the kingdom and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁰⁵

Matlack resigned, and on January 9, 1860, Jonathan Blanchard, formerly president of Knox College, became president. The name of the school was changed to Wheaton College. For a time, ownership of the school remained joint, with the Wesleyan trustees in the majority. On July 4, 1860, the first commencement was held, with seven young men graduating, four who had begun at Illinois Institute and three who were transfers from Knox College.²⁰⁶ Gradually the control of the institution passed into the hands of the Congregationalists.

Leoni Institute/Adrian College. The Michigan Conference had actually organized two years before the Connection of which it became a part. And before 1843 had drawn to a close, this conference was planning to establish a preparatory school or academy.²⁰⁷ Early in 1845, an agreement was reached with

the citizens of Leoni, Michigan, that they would provide land and \$2,300 in cash if the school were located there.²⁰⁸ The school opened in the fall of 1845, as reported by Orange Scott when he visited the annual session of the conference.²⁰⁹

From here the progress of the school appears to have been a bit spasmodic for a few years. There is evidence that it may have closed, perhaps even changed location a time or two. It was incorporated by the state legislature in 1848 as Leoni Theological Institute and Leoni Seminary (meaning "Academy"), but it was more frequently referred to as Leoni Literary and Theological Institute. By April 3, 1850, some buildings had been erected.²¹⁰

In 1851 the school took the somewhat pretentious name of Michigan Wesleyan University, apparently expecting the state to issue it a college charter. In 1852 Cyrus Prindle, one of the chief founders of the denomination, joined the faculty. In 1854 a large three-story brick building was erected. In 1855 the name was changed to Michigan Union College, and the governance of the school was changed to remove all denominational features, apparently in the hope of state aid. The school was incorporated in the state under the new name in the spring of 1857. In actuality there were thought to be two schools—Michigan Union College and Leoni Theological Institute. In the 1855-56 school year a peak enrollment of 323 students was reached, although only a few of these would have been on the college level. Luther Lee, another of the chief founders of the denomination, became president at Leoni, apparently during the 1856-57 school year. In the spring of 1858, the college had its first graduating class—seven young men, one going into the ministry, two into law, and four into teaching.²¹¹

In the early years at Leoni, a method of fund-raising popular for schools at that time was adopted, virtually assuring financial problems. This was the perpetual scholarship plan. While the Illinois Institute later also used it in \$100 denominations, Leoni used it in its most impossible form—the \$25 perpetual scholarship. For \$25, paid in five equal installments (\$5 per year) plus 10 percent interest on the unpaid balance, a donor could maintain one student tuition-free at the school forever!²¹² For a time the growth of the school kept it solvent. But in the 1855-56

school year aid was desperately needed. And when the 1857 financial crisis struck the nation, it not only spelled the end of Wesleyan control at Wheaton but also at Leoni. By the fall of 1858 the enrollment had dropped sharply to a level of only 130 students.²¹³

In 1855 Asa Mahan, the president under whom Oberlin College had achieved fame, came to Jackson, Michigan, to pastor the First Congregational Church. While there, he gave lectures at the school in Leoni, apparently giving rise to false rumors that he had become the president. In 1857 he moved to a pastorate at the Plymouth Congregational Church in Adrian, Michigan. Reports that the Wesleyans were thinking of moving their school out of Leoni sparked interest in both Jackson and Adrian. Adrian was at this time the second largest city in Michigan, and Mahan rallied its citizens in a drive to bring the school there. The city offered twenty acres and \$30,000 if the Wesleyans would move there. The proposal was that there would be twelve trustees, with six of them to be Wesleyans and six citizens of Adrian. If in five years the total value of plant and endowment had been increased to \$100,000, the majority of the trustees would be selected from the Wesleyans; if the increase was not realized, the majority would be selected from a denomination that would provide the needed funds. The Wesleyans accepted the proposition.²¹⁴

The move was made and the school reincorporated as Adrian College, March 28, 1859. The libraries of the literary societies were hauled out of Leoni at night in an oxcart. The Wesleyans subsequently sold the buildings at Leoni to the United Brethren for \$6,000 and also raised several thousands of dollars themselves to satisfy the indebtedness accrued at Leoni.²¹⁵

Asa Mahan became president of the new Adrian College. Cyrus Prindle continued as a member of the faculty, and so did John McEldowney, a prominent Wesleyan who had joined the Leoni faculty in the later years. The construction of buildings was begun immediately. The opening of school was delayed until December 1, 1859. The following summer the cornerstone of the chapel was laid—a building which still stands on the Adrian campus. At the 1860 session of the general conference, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection officially adopted the

school as its central institution, and ordered that an annual offering be taken for the school in all churches on the Sunday after the third Thursday of February. During the second term of 1860-61, enrollment reached 150 students, with 120 in preparatory school and 30 in college. In 1861, the first graduates, three young men, received their degrees. The Civil War brought difficult times to the school, but following the war, early in 1866, enrollment reached 334 students.²¹⁶

The series of events by which Adrian College passed from Wesleyan control was the result of an exceedingly complex interplay of a variety of circumstances, conflicts, and movements. A major role was played in it by the Union Movement, which will be discussed more fully below. Economic pressures kept everything in turmoil. And the tensions which arise between the best of men who are strong leaders made their contributions.

At the exact time Wesleyans were transferring their school from Leoni to Adrian, committees on union were exploring the possibility of merger between the Wesleyan Methodists and the Methodist Protestant Church. As financial pressures mounted, the board of trustees in 1862 invited the Protestant Methodists to cooperate at Adrian with equal rights and responsibilities. But when Wesleyan opposition surfaced, the Protestant Methodists cut off negotiations. They formed a Collegiate Association, incorporated at Springfield, Ohio, and were looking for the right place to establish a school. Mahan, while still president at Adrian, began to work for the Association and absent himself from the campus. He was asked to resign from the presidency at Adrian, which he did, and John McEldowney was elected in his place. Early in 1866 the trustees who were citizens of Adrian were replaced on the board by six Protestant Methodists, and one-half of the assets of the school were deeded to the Collegiate Association. Mahan had either remained on the faculty or returned as a faculty member, and now tensions developed over the presidency, with some faculty and board members working to oust McEldowney and return Mahan to leadership. When this failed, the Protestant Methodist board members resigned and Adrian citizens returned to the board.

Most of the Wesleyan members of the board had now decided that the Union Movement had failed, there would be

no denominational merger, and with slavery a thing of the past they determined to return to the Methodist Episcopal Church and take as much of the Connection with them as possible. Accusations began to fly that they were opposing the Protestant Methodists only so they could take the school into the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Union Movement had itself complicated the financial picture, with those in favor so relieved that the Protestant Methodists might be joining in supporting Adrian that they quit giving, and with those opposed so concerned lest the property pass out of Wesleyan hands that they refused to risk any more money which might also thus be lost. The citizen trustees managed to vote through an invitation to the Collegiate Association to assume control of the college. With creditors pressing for payment, and the sheriff literally knocking at the doors of the trustees, some of the Wesleyan trustees resigned. The citizen majority then entered into an agreement with the Collegiate Association for it to pay \$12,000 on the debts within two weeks and to provide \$100,000 endowment within a year. This was agreed to, and a new board was formed with a Protestant Methodist majority. Mahan returned to the presidency and McEldowney moved to a faculty position at Albion College, a nearby Methodist Episcopal institution.²¹⁷

It is understandable that Wesleyans of that day, both those directly and emotionally involved in the controversy and the masses who could only get bits and pieces of the story, never saw the whole objectively. They felt that they had been betrayed and probably cheated by their own former leaders who now joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, by the Protestant Methodists, and by the citizens of Adrian. There was talk of legal action, and there were official delegations which visited the Adrian campus to make fuller investigation. But the loss remained a loss. The amount invested by Wesleyans at Adrian far exceeded their investments at Wheaton, and the cessation of control had been by no means conscious and voluntary as it had been at Wheaton. A grim determination settled upon the Church that any future school would be so firmly bound in governance to the denomination that no one would ever be able to alienate it from the Church.

Ministerial Education. Since the Methodist Episcopal Church was skeptical about formal theological education in the early part of the 1800s, it provided instead what was called a course of study. Up until 1844 this was a two-year course that ran concurrently with the two years a preacher spent on trial. This meant that the ministerial candidate was involved in on-the-job training, combining the theological and the practical. He read and studied while he rode and preached, and he took examinations from a conference committee made up of men who had secured their theological education the same way. The course of study actually delayed Methodism's move to more formal programs because the Church's leaders and preachers considered the course of study superior in its results.²¹⁸

While the Wesleyan Methodists were theoretically far more committed to formal theological education than the Church from which they had parted, the hard reality of their small numbers and limited financial resources meant that they could not move rapidly in establishing schools. So they too were dependent almost entirely during the 1843-67 period on various courses of study. Each annual conference (what would now be a district) was free to adopt its own course of study. This resulted in considerable variation in content and quality. Finally, the 1860 General Conference authorized a committee to draw up a uniform course of study for the entire Connection. When in 1864 the course was incorporated in the *Discipline*, it provided both for what was considered ideal and also for what in many cases proved to be the only way possible. It recommended that all young men contemplating the ministry graduate from college. They were first to acquaint themselves thoroughly "with the English branches of education"—the courses taught in common and preparatory schools, and then they were urged to pursue theological studies at Adrian College. For those who were unable to do the latter, a course of study was provided with textbooks listed for most areas. Six areas of study were called for: theology, mental philosophy, moral philosophy, ecclesiastical history, church government, and sacred rhetoric and pastoral theology.²¹⁹

There was also a kind of continuing education for ministers which developed among Wesleyan Methodists in the 1843-67

period. A proposed constitution for a "Preacher's Mutual Benefit Society" appeared in the *True Wesleyan* in 1846. By 1847 the first conferencewide society or association had been formed, and many others followed, some serving entire conferences (districts) and some serving geographical areas of smaller dimensions. They were known variously as "Preacher's Associations," "Mutual Improvement Associations" or "Ministerial Associations." Papers, essays, sermons, and experiences were shared, and the purposes seem to have included mutual support and encouragement, inspiration, and improvement in understanding social and moral issues, as well as theology, and in the practice of ministry.²²⁰

One of the tragedies accompanying the aftermath of the Union Movement, with the departure of former leaders from the denomination and the loss of Adrian College, was the emergence of a more skeptical attitude toward formal education. One correspondent wrote to the *American Wesleyan* that he was not too upset if the college was lost, since college-trained ministers are very seldom outstanding soul-winners.²²¹ The very men who were themselves the most learned and the strongest promoters of formal education had now returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many who on their own would not have felt so strongly in favor of education now were disillusioned and felt that they had good reason to be suspicious of schools and those who promoted them. This, along with other factors which would develop in the late nineteenth century, served to slow Wesleyan Methodism's advance toward a trained ministry.

Missions

Organization. Missions were discussed at the Utica Convention, and a board of foreign missions was appointed at the First General Conference in 1844, with Orange Scott as treasurer.²²² In 1845 a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed in New York City.²²³ It and various successor organizations served as channels for distributing contributions to various types of missionary endeavor.

In 1846 some radical antislavery Congregationalists organized the American Missionary Association (AMA).²²⁴ It was

described as standing for peace, temperance, freedom, and holiness.²²⁵ Almost immediately the Wesleyans began to identify with the new organization. At the 1856 General Conference, it was determined henceforth to cooperate officially with the AMA "in sending out and sustaining Christian missionaries, both in the home and foreign field."²²⁶

In 1861 a member of the Connection from within the Zanesville Conference left a legacy of over \$4,000 to the AMA, and a bit later a gift of \$500 was given to the Wesleyan Connection for missions. These gifts apparently led to a decision to form a corporation to be known as the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, which was carried out in July 1862.²²⁷ From this point on, even though some Wesleyans were elected to prominent positions in the AMA, less and less was heard of cooperative involvement.

Floating Bethels. In the mid-nineteenth century, there was a growing concern among American evangelicals for the spiritual welfare of seamen who spent much of their time far from the normal ministries of the church. As a result, ships were anchored in various harbors and turned into floating chapels or floating "Bethels" as they were frequently called. While it appears that the Methodist Episcopal Church did not get their first Bethel into operation until 1845, the Wesleyans had one in service in the harbor of New York City in 1844. John Miles of the New York Wesleyan Conference added a second floating Bethel at Albany in 1846, supported by a Bethel Association. He seems to have renewed his activity here at various times as late as 1862.²²⁸

Canada Mission. One of the earliest missionary concerns of Wesleyans was for escaped slaves who were trying to establish new lives in Canada. By 1845, J. N. Mars, himself a black man, was conducting a Wesleyan Canadian Mission in Ontario, then known as Upper Canada or Canada West. Most of the escaped slaves arrived in Canada completely destitute, and the mission work involved the distribution of clothes and other necessities, as well as the conducting of schools and the founding of churches. Cyrus Prindle toured the mission in 1846. He reported a "Colored Wesleyan Methodist Church of North

America" which had apparently been organized there. Edward Smith followed in late 1847, and he was appointed by the denominational missionary society as superintendent of the Canada Mission. Smith reported the existence of three black denominations in Canada, including the "True Wesleyan Methodist Connection of Canada." This group, probably the same one observed by Prindle, had adopted the American Wesleyan *Discipline*, but remained separate to gain the advantages natural to a Canadian body. The American Missionary Association was also active in Canada, and there was cooperation between the Wesleyans and the AMA. By 1852 there was talk of the Canadian Wesleyans being transferred to the Wesleyan Methodist New Connection of Canada, apparently an offshoot of the Methodist New Connection in England. It is possible that sometime after 1863 the work was merged with that carried on by the AMA.²²⁹

French Mission. From 1845 to 1847, if not longer, the Champlain Conference conducted a mission among the French-Canadians who had migrated across the border into northern New York and Vermont.²³⁰

Southern Missions. The most dangerous, and because of that perhaps the most exciting, of the early Wesleyan missions were those in which antislavery Wesleyans entered slave territory to preach the gospel and teach abolitionism.

A copy of a speech by Edward Smith, entitled "Love Worketh No Ill to His Neighbor" fell into the hands of a Quaker who had two thousand copies printed, some of which were circulated among the Friends in North Carolina. In Guilford County a Methodist pastor found his people reading the speech, and denounced it, only to have them read it with greater interest. Forty or more of them withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and organized what they called a "Free Methodist Church," long before the denomination of that name was formed. Hearing about the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, they wrote in October 1846 to the editor of the *True Wesleyan* for a subscription to the paper and for a copy of the *Discipline*. They also wrote to the Allegheny Conference, which Smith had served as first

president, and asked for a pastor.

On October 23, 1847, Adam Crooks, then twenty-three years old, arrived in Guilford County as the missionary from the Allegheny Conference. He found one organized congregation, many interested people, but no church buildings. By March 1848 the first Wesleyan church building in the South, a log structure, was dedicated. Others followed. By the summer of 1848 he had also started work in Grayson County, Virginia. In the fall of 1848 Crooks was joined by Jarvis C. Bacon, who worked mostly in Virginia, and in the fall of 1849 they were joined by Jesse McBride, who took over the work in Guilford County while Crooks attempted to broaden the scope in North Carolina. The North Carolina circuit soon included points in Guilford, Randolph, Alamance, Chatham, Forsyth, and Montgomery Counties.

As was to be expected, opposition to abolitionist doctrine was intense. Eventually all three of the preachers were arrested, primarily for the distribution of antislavery literature. Crooks and McBride were both poisoned but were saved by a doctor's providential arrival; both were attacked by mobs and suffered physical abuse. Crooks was jailed. In 1851 all three had to flee in order to save their lives and to avoid bloodshed for their followers and sympathizers. Even after the missionaries departed, violence continued for a time. In North Carolina bullets were fired into the Freedom's Hill church building before the missionaries left, and afterwards the Liberty Hill building was seriously damaged. And Wesleyans and others who had befriended them were physically attacked.

In the years that followed, hundreds of families, both Wesleyans and others, sickened by the lawlessness and violence which had exploded in reaction to their abolitionist activity, migrated from Virginia and North Carolina. Some went to Indiana or Ohio, others to points farther west. The work in North Carolina did survive, and preachers native to the region were able to carry on.

In 1857 a new missionary arrived. He was Daniel Worth, who had served as president of the 1848 session of the general conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. He was a native of Guilford County and a relative of several powerful political figures in the state. He had lived for many years in

Indiana, and had served in the legislature there. Now he came back to his native state to revive the Wesleyan work, sponsored both by Wesleysans and the American Missionary Association.

Worth's stature in society, his powerful connections, and the fact that he was a native of the region, provided him with a period of relative calm in which to start his work. But by Christmas 1859 he was in jail, arrested like his predecessors for distributing antislavery literature. He was kept in an unheated jail through the winter. His feet were frozen and his health permanently impaired. In the spring he was found guilty and sentenced to one year in prison. The verdict was appealed and he was released on bond. His bondsmen knew that his health would not allow him to continue the struggle, so they advised him to return to the North. This he did. The national press had long since taken hold of the story and Worth was a national hero in the North. He spoke in churches of all denominations, including Henry Ward Beecher's church and the Church of the Puritans in New York City, with offerings being taken until his bondsmen were repaid.

While Worth was on trial, lightning struck the courthouse. Others were alarmed, but Worth called out, "Continue with the trial; you will hear the thunder of cannons before the matter is settled." The words proved to be prophetic, for soon after his departure the Civil War broke out and the Wesleyan work in the South passed into a dark night of terror.

As always war made men more insensitive and brutal than would normally have been true. Wesleyan abolitionist sentiments were well known and the Wesleysans who remained in North Carolina were looked upon by many as traitors to the Southern cause. Micajah McPherson, one of the trustees of Freedom's Hill, continued to be outspoken in his opposition to slavery. Furthermore, his son Thomas avoided the draft and went into hiding near his father's farm. In a vain effort to extract from the father the whereabouts of the son, Confederate soldiers hung Micajah within sight of his wife and grandson. They cut him down too soon, and he revived and lived many years. Another Wesleyan family, the Hulens in Montgomery County, had two of their grown sons shot and killed when they refused to join the Confederate Army, and a twelve-year-old son was hung until dead as an additional act of spite to the parents who

had to watch in helpless horror.²³¹

In spite of all, some of the Wesleyans, individually and as congregations, did survive the Civil War. Micajah McPherson and others joined in establishing a strong and growing work in North Carolina in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Indian Missions. The Wesleyans became concerned about their responsibility to the American Indians at an early date. Two missions conducted by the Michigan Conference are mentioned in the denominational periodical in 1854—Saginaw (among the Ojibways) and Titabawasa; by the early 1860s these were joined by one at Pinconning and following the Civil War by another at Pentwater.²³² Stephen Blanchard, Jr., a native of Michigan, and evidently a Wesleyan, began a work among the Indians near Red Lake, Minnesota, in 1855-56; he served under a mission whose headquarters were apparently at Oberlin, Ohio.²³³ Wesleyan preaching began on or near the Onondaga Indian reservation in New York as early as 1844, and a Reformed Methodist church there was organized into a Wesleyan Methodist church in 1847.²³⁴ But this does not seem primarily to have been a mission to the Indians. However, a mission was established for the Indians there in 1858 and a church was organized in May 1859. A chapel was erected and it was dedicated on November 1, 1860.²³⁵ This proved to be a lasting work.

Western Missions. Wesleyans became involved in missionary work in the western part of the United States, partially because Wesleyans migrated there, partially because of the slavery-related controversy in Kansas, and partially through cooperation with the American Missionary Association.

A Wesleyan church was organized by D. H. Wheeler in Eldorado County, California, apparently among prospectors, in 1851, but the congregation had scattered by mid-1852.²³⁶ Levi B. Lathrop, a licensed minister of some financial means, developed a circuit of five appointments in and around San Jose and built a church in that city in the years beginning with 1855, but controversy seems to have stymied the endeavor.²³⁷

Amos Finch labored in Kansas from 1854 to about 1861. He was employed most of the time by the American Missionary

Association. By early 1856 three small Wesleyan congregations were apparently organized, but nothing permanent resulted.²³⁸

In 1860 Stephen Blanchard, who had served earlier as a missionary to the Indians in Minnesota, entered Missouri, along with Lucius Gould, to labor for the American Missionary Association. Both were members of the Illinois Conference. Again nothing permanent resulted from the work.²³⁹

City Missions. While the period of greatest activity in holiness rescue missions was still in the future, Wesleyans did become involved with city missions in the 1860s. A mission to German immigrants was carried on in Brooklyn under the joint sponsorship of the American Missionary Association and the New York Conference, beginning no later than 1860 and continuing even after the Civil War.²⁴⁰ And after the war J. P. Betker began a mission to the poverty-stricken masses in the tenements of New York City, with frequent reports on his experiences appearing in the denominational paper in 1866.²⁴¹

Overseas Missions. Early Wesleyans had no overseas missions of their own in the 1843-67 period. However, they did cooperate with the American Missionary Association, particularly on certain fields. Wesleyan representatives frequently saw the departure of AMA missionaries from New York harbor.

Early in 1848 Editor Luther Lee gave extensive coverage to the departure of two AMA missionaries for Kaw Mendi, West Africa. The territory of Mendi Mission was later incorporated in the nation of Sierra Leone. It was in another part of Sierra Leone that the Wesleyans many years later established their first overseas mission. Wesleyans contributed financially to the Mendi Mission. George Thompson, one of the missionaries whose departure Luther Lee had reported, visited the 1851 session of the Zanesville Conference. John S. Brooks, who had earlier served as a Wesleyan missionary to the escaped slaves in Canada, was in Mendi as a missionary by 1855, and carried on correspondence with the congregation in Lowell, Massachusetts, where he had earlier worshiped. In 1860 I. M. Williams, a former slave and former pastor of the Second Wesleyan Methodist Church in Detroit, was planning to accompany two young men who were going to Mendi; one of them

was Marcus Dale, Williams's son-in-law and a product of the Second Church.²⁴²

In 1851 P. M. Way resigned as president of the New York Conference to become a missionary to Jamaica under the American Missionary Association. Way was a medical doctor as well as a minister. He kept in touch with the Wesleyans through correspondence with the editor of the denominational paper, 1852-54. Other correspondence from the mission appeared as late as 1862.²⁴³

Growth and Merger Proposals

In 1842 Orange Scott predicted that the new Church might within one year draw together 20 ministers and 2000 members.²⁴⁴ But by the time of the Utica Convention the membership had reached approximately 6000; L. C. Matlack indicated that there were between 80 and 90 ministers but a later historian, Joel Martin, estimated that there were nearly 200.²⁴⁵ Later in 1843 Scott estimated that the Church had grown to 300 ministers and 15,000 members.²⁴⁶ The *American Almanac* for 1845 put the figure at 20,000.²⁴⁷ The high-water mark for the pre-Civil War period was apparently reached in the late 1850s when reports showed 21,000 members, 340 traveling preachers, and 225 unstationed preachers, for a total of 21,565.²⁴⁸

The new Connection had hardly been established when suggestions began to be heard of merger with the United Brethren in Christ. The question was discussed repeatedly in the columns of the *True Wesleyan* from 1845 to 1847. Then from 1850 to 1854 there was discussion of a merger of all anti-slavery churches, with Christian Union Conventions being held in Syracuse and Fulton, New York.²⁴⁹ This movement originated outside the Connection and received only scattered support. But it apparently revived interest in merger with the United Brethren, and much more serious discussions followed. Eventually the discussions also touched the Evangelical Association, the Free Presbyterians, the Freewill Baptists, and the Congregationalists. An "unofficial convention" was held at Dayton, Ohio, May 10, 1855, made up of about equal groups from the Wesleyans and United Brethren and token representation from other groups. A plan of union was drawn up. Support

was to be generated through a series of conventions of reform churches opposed to intemperance, slavery, war and secret societies. The first was to be held at Westerville, Ohio, early in November 1855. This was to be followed by a delegated convention in May 1856.²⁵⁰ The Westerville meeting was held. But the Evangelical Alliance General Conference tabled the matter, some of the United Brethren conferences were opposed, and some Wesleyan reluctance began to surface. Before the convention scheduled for May the merger effort was dead.²⁵¹ However, the Wesleyan Methodists, meeting in general conference in October 1856, did establish a standing Committee on Christian Union, which probably helped prepare the way for the ill-fated Union Movement which was to follow.²⁵²

The Methodist Protestant Church was about thirteen years older than the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, and its polity had provided the model after which the Wesleyans had constructed much of their own. However, the Protestant Methodists were not united in opposition to slavery in 1843. And due to their heavy losses of abolitionists, including their whole Champlain Conference, to the Wesleyans, relations between the two bodies were a bit strained at first.

Beginning in 1847 suggestions began to appear in the *True Wesleyan* concerning merger with antislavery Protestant Methodists. Agitation began to increase within the Methodist Protestant Church itself over slavery as departures to the Wesleyans continued. Finally, in 1858 representatives of the northern and western conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church met in Springfield, Ohio, severed all connections with slaveholding conferences and churches, and appointed a committee to explore merger with the Wesleyan Methodists.²⁵³ This committee and the Wesleyan committee on union met in Pittsburgh, February 18, 1859. But Wesleyan opposition to secret society membership proved to be too large an obstacle, and the discussions were terminated.²⁵⁴

It was also in 1859 that the Wesleyans joined with the citizens of Adrian, Michigan, to establish the school there, with ownership to pass fully to the Wesleyans when they had helped to raise \$70,000 additional assets, bringing the total to \$100,000. The Wesleyans found it to be no easy matter to raise the money under the wartime economy of the early 1860s. The

Protestant Methodists, who were about twice as numerous as the Wesleyans, wanted a college. Furthermore, the Civil War was also moving toward its inevitable conclusion and the cessation of slavery. Perhaps the Protestant Methodists thought that with slavery ended the Wesleyans would de-emphasize other reforms. In any event, at the 1864 Wesleyan Methodist General Conference, two fraternal delegates appeared with a proposal to consider union and the joint operation of Adrian College. The general conference received them warmly, but replied that anything which might previously have been said about these topics was the sentiment of individual Wesleyans, not the body as a whole.²⁵⁵

The general conference appointed its president, Luther Lee, and the publishing agent, Cyrus Prindle, as fraternal delegates to the next Protestant Methodist General Conference.²⁵⁶ In February 1865 Prindle met with some Protestant Methodists in Springfield, Ohio, and called for a convention of nonepiscopal Methodists to meet June 21, 1865, in Cleveland, Ohio. The convention was held with 53 Protestant Methodists, 63 Wesleyans, 2 Free Methodists, and 4 from independent churches in attendance. A plan for proceeding toward union was adopted, including the call for a delegated convention to meet in Cincinnati beginning May 9, 1866.²⁵⁷

Reaction on the part of Wesleyans set in quickly. Meetings in opposition to the proposed merger were held in Eagle Harbor, New York, November 8, 1865, and in Egypt, Michigan, February 14-15, 1866.²⁵⁸ The columns of the denominational periodical were almost monopolized during these months by the debate on the "Union Movement." Increasingly, Adam Crooks, who had become editor in 1864, expressed opposition to the proposed merger.

When the Union Convention actually met in Cincinnati, May 9-16, 1866, there were 141 Protestant Methodists, 38 Wesleyans, and 5 independents; the Free Methodists had dropped out. While all but three of the Wesleyan Methodist annual conferences had elected delegates, only three had full delegations at the convention and seven of the sixteen annual conferences had no delegates at all.²⁵⁹ As a result of the imbalance of representation, Wesleyan distinctives did not fare well. Polity brought about very little debate. But the Wesleyan

emphasis on reform did, as the Protestant Methodists left moral concerns to the local churches and annual conferences and did not speak on such issues in their general bodies. As a result, Wesleyan concerns over temperance and secret societies found no expression in the new *Discipline*.

The proposed merger as approved by the Union Convention was now submitted to the various annual conferences of the two denominations. One by one the Wesleyan Methodist conferences voted down the merger. In the Wisconsin and Minnesota Conferences, where the Protestant Methodists and Wesleyans virtually merged in 1866, in 1867 remnants rallied to rescind the previous year's action and to regroup under the Wesleyan banner.

In May 1867 the First General Conference of the new "Methodist Church" met in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio—by permission, not by invitation. The new body was virtually the old Protestant Methodist Church under the new name. The number of Wesleyans involved was indeed small, with two local churches represented (the Cleveland church was not involved), and estimates as to those entering the merger varying from 6 ministers and 100 members to 12 churches and 700 members. The most serious loss was Adrian College which was now under a board composed of a majority of "Methodists" with no Wesleyans.²⁶⁰

Perhaps the strangest effects of the Union Movement were yet to become apparent, however. Its aftermath was a much larger and more serious departure of ministers and members back to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting in Erie, Pennsylvania, in 1865, had expressed the hope that the Wesleyan Methodists and others who were one with the mother Church in doctrine, loyalty to the federal government, and opposition to slavery, would enter into a general union by the year marking American Methodism's centennial—1866. They had indicated that any returning would be treated as if they had always been a part of the larger body.²⁶¹ This invitation was apparently pressed on a personal basis to L. C. Matlack.²⁶²

Matlack, a deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church up to 1842, had been an assistant pastor to Orange Scott and was his disciple and protege. He was one of the five chief founders of

the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, had been ordained as an elder at the Utica Convention, had served as publishing agent 1848-56 and as editor 1852-56, and had been elected as president of the general conference in 1860. He had served as president of the Illinois Institute, the Wesleyan forerunner of Wheaton College, and was serving as president and holiness evangelist for the Illinois Conference at the beginning of the Civil War.

Matlack served as a chaplain with the Union Army from 1861 to 1862. It was apparently in 1863 that he returned as a combat officer, bringing his own company with a commission as major. He advanced to the rank of colonel and command of a regiment in the field, and served as district provost marshall for six months while controlling St. Louis, Missouri, and 22 adjacent Missouri counties.²⁶³ During the war he underwent a significant change.

During my absence in the army I was intimately associated with Ministers and Laymen of the M. E. Church. Together we talked and prayed, marched and camped, fought and triumphed. I learned to love them as dear brethren. And my distinctive Wesleyanism died.²⁶⁴

In a speech given after the war to Methodist ministers in Boston, he declared that old animosities were now resolved and in

the one great struggle . . . sorrow . . . triumph . . . , we have merged our religious partisanships. The shock of battle, perhaps, with me, has destroyed the distinctive Wesleyan, and caused a longing, for a unity that shall know no states rights, nor rival empires in the one commonwealth of Methodism.²⁶⁵

As a result of his traumatic experiences, Matlack came back to civilian life with the determination to lead the Wesleyan Methodists back into the Methodist Episcopal Church. He lent his support to the Union Movement, but made it clear that his eventual intention was to lead the Wesleyans, merged or unmerged, back to the larger Methodist body. The two patriarchs of the Connection, Cyrus Prindle, publishing agent until he resigned in October 1866, and Luther Lee, president of the preceding general conference, were soon caught up in Matlack's enthusiasm, especially as they saw the proposed

merger with the Protestant Methodists going down to defeat. Both were now elderly men, exhausted by a quarter of a century of conflict, struggle, and toil with little financial remuneration. They saw the possibility of returning to their mother Church with honor, respite from their grueling labors, an opportunity to serve in a Church expanding to minister even in the conquered South, and a chance to improve their economic situation before the limitations of age made this impossible. Both felt that the real cause for the Connection no longer existed since slavery was at an end. Lee had always bitterly opposed the secret society stand of the Wesleyans and he said now that he would put up with it no longer.²⁶⁶

Matlack's openly announced intention for a larger merger naturally helped to diminish interest in the Union Movement itself. And once its failure was apparent, Matlack, Lee, Prindle, and several others issued a call for a conference in the chapel at Adrian College, January 30, 1867, to discuss return to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Apparently only 17 persons actually attended the conference, although letters were received from 25 to 30 more. They drafted and circulated through the columns of the *American Wesleyan* a "Calm Appeal" to the Church at large to follow them.²⁶⁷

The actions of the denomination's former leaders caused consternation throughout the Church. Some could scarcely believe that men would so thoroughly reverse themselves, as all three of the leaders had been strongly opposed to Methodist polity and Matlack and Prindle had been strongly opposed to secret societies. One writer reminded them, in terms which Matlack himself had once used, that many Wesleyans had never been members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but had come from other churches or been converted within the Wesleyan Methodist churches. To these there was no appeal in the call to "come back home."²⁶⁸

Far more ministers and members followed Matlack, Prindle, and Lee into the Methodist Episcopal Church than had gone into the "Methodist Church." Reports which were circulated indicated losses as high as 125 ministers and five to ten thousand members. A careful scrutiny of annual conference reports for 1866 and 1867 which appear in the denominational periodical show a loss of between 80 and 90 ministers for all causes —

to the Methodist Episcopal Church, to the "Methodist Church," as well as expulsions and other factors. This was a gross loss, not a net, for there were also those who were moving into the ranks. Membership statistics are not so easily discovered. While the total had apparently exceeded 21,000 in the late 1850s, the war years had taken a heavy toll as Wesleyans were scattered and local churches dissolved due to casualties and migration. Adam Crooks estimated membership at 15,000 both before and after the Union Movement and the departures to the Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁶⁹

Perhaps the most serious loss of all was the loss of leadership. If one groups together the chief founders of the Connection along with any others who also served in the offices of editor, publisher, or president of a general conference session, by 1867 all were either dead or had left the Church with the exception of Adam Crooks. He was the one anchor in the time of storm, and may very well have been the most important factor in keeping the Church alive. But he had been in general office as editor for only three years, and as publisher for one. Besides the three denominational leaders, the departures had involved college professors, annual conference presidents, and veteran pastors who had been with the Church from the beginning.

Another serious effect of the Union Movement and its aftermath was a deeply ingrained wariness on the part of Wesleyan Methodists toward any subsequent merger proposals. This was to persist for a full century and had to be contended with in the negotiations which eventually led to the merger of 1968.

REVIVALS AND HOLINESS

Revivals

While the Wesleyan Methodists were known as reformers, they were also known as revivalists. Luther Lee called in 1847 for revivals which would seek the salvation of souls as the most important work of the Church.²⁷⁰ In 1848-49 and again later in 1849 he ran two series of editorials on revivals, the first series being entitled "The Philosophy of Revivals." At least part of these were incorporated in his book *The Revival Manual*

published in 1850.²⁷¹ In 1853 in an article "Labor To Promote Revivals" he declared that there were more conversions among Wesleyan Methodists proportionately than among the great denominations, but there was room yet for improvement.²⁷² A few months before Lee's article, L. C. Matlack, who had succeeded him as editor, declared in an editorial "Natural Increase of the Connection":

The truth is, that scarce one-half of our people were ever members of the M. E. Church. A portion of the other half are from other denominations, but the main part of them have been graciously given, by the new birth, in answer to the prayers and efforts, and travail of God's children, among us.²⁷³

Judging from the notices of revivals sent to the denominational periodical and comments by the various editors, it appears that there were five waves of revival which visited the Connection during the 1843-67 period. The first one was in 1845-46. The second one was in 1848-49 and apparently helped lead to Lee's book. The third one was in 1852-53, with Matlack reporting that 500 conversions had been reported in a period ending with January 1853.²⁷⁴ The fourth one began in 1856 and mounted in strength through 1857 and 1858, and really continued at least through 1862. In the four-month period of October 1856 - January 1857, Cyrus Prindle, who had succeeded Matlack as editor, declared that 1,300 conversions had been reported in the columns of the paper along with news of 30 revivals in which no numbers had been reported.²⁷⁵ He later remarked that from October 14, 1857, to March 10, 1858, 74 revival reports had been received in which over 2,000 conversions had been reported, and there were 64 other revivals reported without specific numbers. The timing of this revival wave is especially significant since late 1857 marked the beginning of the great "prayer meeting revival" which swept through the major cities of America under lay leadership in 1858 and from there around the world—Timothy L. Smith has designated 1858 as the *annus mirabilis*.²⁷⁶ It is also the period of the organization of the Free Methodist Church and the outbreak of a revival of holiness preaching and promotion among Wesleyan Methodists. The fifth wave of revival came in 1866-67, but may have simply been the continuation of the revival of 1857-62 as

the files of the denominational periodical, the best source of revival reports, are missing for the 1863-65 period.²⁷⁷

Christian Perfection

As had been indicated, revivals in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, beginning with the latter 1850s, laid strong emphasis on the preaching of Christian perfection, John Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification. Many of the Methodist abolitionists were also strong advocates of holiness. Aaron Lummus, who had been the original proprietor, editor, and publisher of what became *Zion's Herald*, the official Methodist Episcopal paper based in Boston, withdrew from the older Church in 1834 and became a Wesleyan Methodist in 1843. He had attacked errors concerning Christian perfection in articles in *Zion's Herald* as early as 1825 and had also authored *Essays on Holiness*.²⁷⁸ Timothy Merritt, who had authored in 1825 a small book entitled *The Christian's Manual, a Treatise on Christian Perfection*, and who founded in 1839 the *Guide to Christian Perfection*, later the *Guide to Holiness*, was an outspoken New England abolitionist and a close associate of Orange Scott and the others who founded the Wesleyan Methodist Connection.²⁷⁹

In the first issue of the *True Wesleyan*, in the article entitled "Our Course" the founders of the Connection declared:

We intend also, that the subject of Christian holiness as taught by our standard writers and embodied in the experience of early Methodists, shall have suitable place and space in our columns. We rejoice to know that at present, this work is advancing in a remarkable degree, both among ourselves and others. Many have recently experienced its fulness and are its living exemplifications, both in word and deed. This is ominous of great good, both to the church and to the world. In it we rejoice, and our humble efforts shall be directed to forward it.²⁸⁰

At the Utica Convention, Aaron Lummus proposed an article of religion on Christian perfection; his proposal was referred to the Committee on Discipline but nothing came of it just then.²⁸¹ Later in 1843 Scott published in Boston, *The Christian's Book*, consisting of extracts on Christian perfection from the writings of Wesley, Fletcher, Upham, and Mahan.²⁸²

Also late in 1843 a debate erupted in the columns of the *True Wesleyan* between William H. Brewster, scholarly Wesleyan Methodist pastor at Lowell, Massachusetts, and Scott over the nature of sanctification. Brewster took the position that it occurred at the same time as the new birth. Scott pointed out that differences of opinion were on the increase in the Methodist Episcopal Church with a large number believing as did Brewster, but he thought there were very few among the Wesleyans who so believed.²⁸³ For himself, Scott maintained the traditional Wesleyan position that entire sanctification occurs as a second definite work of grace subsequent to regeneration, but he admitted that he had never professed this level of grace as he had never felt entirely free from the remains of the "carnal mind."²⁸⁴

The Brewster-Scott debate may have had a lasting effect, for in 1844, at the First General Conference, a new article of religion on "Sanctification" was adopted and sent down to the annual conferences for ratification.

Sanctification is the renewal of our fallen nature by the Holy Spirit, whereby we are delivered from the pollution inbeing and reigning power of sin, and are enabled to love God with all our hearts and walk in his holy commandments blameless through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.²⁸⁵

The article was apparently not acceptable to everyone in the Connection, for in 1845 the New York Conference rejected it,²⁸⁶ and there is evidence that the Allegheny Conference introduced a different article which was ratified by the annual conferences and was subsequently adopted by the 1848 General Conference.²⁸⁷ In any event the article which was finally approved and inserted in the 1848 *Discipline* is slightly different.

Of Sanctification

Sanctification is that renewal of our fallen natures by the Holy Ghost, received through faith in Jesus Christ, whose blood of atonement cleanseth from all sin; whereby we are not only delivered from the guilt of sin, but are washed from its pollution, saved from its power, and are enabled, through grace, to love God with all our hearts, and to walk in his holy commandments blameless.²⁸⁸

This made the Wesleyan Methodist Connection the first religious body to have a formal theological statement on sanctification.

During the 1844-48 quadrennium, the useful life of the Connection's chief founder, Orange Scott, came to a premature close with his death at the age of 47. In 1845 he had toured virtually all of the conferences, and upon returning home had written a series of letters in the *True Wesleyan* entitled "'Advice to the People called' Wesleyans."²⁸⁹ The second of the letters was on "Holiness of Heart."

There is no one thing of so much importance to our young Connection as *holiness of heart and life*. . . . Deep experience in the things of God, is essential to the peace and usefulness of all Christians; but especially is it essential to any class of Christian Reformers.²⁹⁰

One of the themes which was sounded loud and long during these early years was the Wesleyan conviction that true holiness would lead inevitably to reform. Jotham Horton was apparently the writer who after denouncing holiness that permitted slavery went on to say:

Holiness is not an abstraction. It is not confined within the limits of church homilies, doctrinal or even biblical phrases. It is a living, loving, active principle. It is eminently practical.²⁹¹

J. P. Campbell, a black Wesleyan preacher, declared:

I cannot conceive that we shall be sanctified wholly, soul, body, and spirit, until the spirit of caste, a lump of the old leaven of malice and wickedness, is purged out from among us. We may increase in numbers, but we shall not in graces, until this accursed thing is removed.²⁹²

Luther Lee also described holiness as eminently practical, and said, "Indeed, when holiness ceases to act, it ceases to exist."²⁹³ L. C. Matlack bemoaned the fact that the authors of works on Christian perfection were too often apologists for slavery and expressed his indignation over the failure to pray for slaves in "sanctification prayer meetings."²⁹⁴ And when the great prayer meeting revival broke out in 1857-58, Wesleyans were critical because no agitating subjects were allowed in prayer and testimony periods—one man in New York City was rebuked for praying for an end to slavery.²⁹⁵

The Holiness Revival

Most of what appeared on entire sanctification in the denominational periodical for the first half of the 1843-67 period involved discussions of the doctrine or exhortations to seek and practice the experience. Occasionally there were personal testimonies concerning its experience and, somewhat rarely, reports of revivals in which several persons had experienced it. One of the most outstanding of these was in 1843 in connection with a sermon on Christian perfection by Orange Scott in a camp meeting at Ashfield, Massachusetts, where some fifty were sanctified.²⁹⁶ It may well have been the infrequency of testimonies and revival reports that led one writer, using the name "Episcopos," to deplore the neglect of holiness among Wesleyans.

It seems to me that among the Wesleyan Methodists in the United States, with all of our reforms in ecclesiastical economy, and in regard to liberty, and temperance, the most important reform of all,—the sanctification of our souls,—is strangely neglected.²⁹⁷

Beginning in 1855, there came a change in this. In February of that year, a revival of "purity" and "perfect love" was reported in Iowa.²⁹⁸ By the meeting of the Rochester Conference in west central New York in the spring, various of the circuits there were reporting significant happenings.²⁹⁹ By March 1856 the Rock River Circuit in Illinois reported a "glorious descent of the Holy Spirit. Each successive day, is a day of Pentecost." They claimed to be enjoying that which was prophesied by Joel as set forth in Acts 2:18.³⁰⁰ In the summer of 1856 there was a camp meeting at Naples, New York,³⁰¹ and in the summer of 1857 one at Hopewell, New York,³⁰² both with heavy emphasis on holiness.

In 1858 reports increased. There was longing for holiness at Amity, Iowa.³⁰³ J. A. McGilvra, who was to become one of the main leaders of the holiness revival in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, reported a quarterly meeting at Diamond Lake, Illinois, which featured not only 80 converts but "a goodly number have waded out into full salvation," and C. F. Hawley gave an appeal for a camp meeting at Crystal Lake,

Illinois.³⁰⁴ C. F. Wiggins reported that he had pressed the issue in his second round of quarterly meetings in Indiana and there were those who had professed the blessing of perfect love.³⁰⁵ Later in the year a camp meeting on Baraboo Circuit in Wisconsin saw a number of persons entirely sanctified.³⁰⁶ In fact, Cyrus Prindle, then serving as both editor and publishing agent, summarized the six western conferences which he had visited by saying, "a present and a full salvation, were themes of common import, and were urged upon the attention of all, as the great things needed."³⁰⁷

The revival in Illinois erupted in full force in 1860 and continued at a high level for years afterward.³⁰⁸ In the summer of 1860 McGilvra reported a camp meeting on the Roscoe Circuit, where the preachers preached "a steady stream" of holiness and many professed.³⁰⁹ Another writer mentioned this camp and also reported a quarterly meeting in which "the baptism of the tongue of fire rested on the people. Believers were cleansed from all sin, sinners pardoned."³¹⁰ The 1860 session of the Illinois Conference at Wheaton was a high point. B. T. Roberts, whose expulsion by the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been upheld the previous spring by that denomination's general conference, and who had led in the establishment of the Free Methodist Church that fall, visited the session and preached on holiness in the college chapel. He was thrilled with the results.

Such a time of breaking down among ministers we never witnessed before. Some of their strongest men wept like children. . . .

Several came out very clearly in its enjoyment before we left.³¹¹

Congregationalist Jonathan Blanchard, who had just become president of Wheaton College (formerly Illinois Institute, operated by the Wesleyans), supported the holiness message. L. C. Matlack, formerly president of the school, was now elected president of the Illinois Conference and was to travel the conference for at least the first six months. He had been to Buffalo the preceding spring to observe the Methodist Episcopal General Conference and had apparently stayed at B. T. Roberts's home. Matlack now confessed his need and put himself on record as seeking a holy heart. He planned the holding of four-day meetings on each Illinois circuit for the purpose

of calling the people to consecrate their "souls anew to God."³¹²

Prindle had visited the Illinois Conference session. He summarized the 1856-60 quadrennium, "We have in that time become more settled in the vitalities of holiness,"³¹³ And at the 1860 session of the Wesleyan Methodist General Conference, the Committee on an Address to the Churches closed the first paragraph of its report thus:

And may the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and, we pray God, your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can we doubt this result in all your hearts that are willing, since faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it.³¹⁴

The revival in Illinois continued. By January 1861 Matlack said that the four-day meetings were going so well that he planned to continue traveling the conference for the rest of the year if that was desired, and if so he would schedule a string of camp meetings "to vindicate the identity of radical Reform with living piety."³¹⁵ The first lady pastor, Mary A. Will, reported that her Nora Circuit had seen 130 converted and believers were being sanctified although holiness preaching was meeting opposition.³¹⁶ When the summer series of camp meetings was held, Matlack himself received the answer to his prayer for a pure heart in his own entire sanctification.³¹⁷

Early in 1861 E. Bibbens of the Jackson Circuit in Michigan reported: "Indeed a wonderful baptism of the Holy Ghost has been received by Christians, and they are now panting for full redemption through the blood of Jesus, and entire conformity to the Divine will."³¹⁸ O. H. Fifield of Jackson Circuit visited three camp meetings in Illinois, and apparently persuaded Matlack to come to Michigan in the summer of 1861 where two more camp meetings were held.³¹⁹ Camp meetings were also held in New York that summer.³²⁰ And in 1862 Hawley of Iowa, McGilvra of Illinois, and Hovey and Fifield of Michigan teamed up as camp meeting workers in a series of camps across Illinois and Iowa, and Hawley and Fifield went on to camps in New York.³²¹ At the 1862 session of the Michigan Conference, Hawley transferred to that conference and continued to promote the revival there.³²² And at that session Congregationalist

Asa Mahan, who when serving as president of Oberlin College had along with Finney developed the "Oberlin theology" of holiness, and who was now serving as president of the new Wesleyan college at Adrian, Michigan, lent his support to the holiness revival.³²³

Prindle summarized his western tour in glowing terms:

My visit to our brethren in the West this year has satisfied me that a deeper work of grace is now enjoyed than at any former period. The baptism of the Holy Spirit has really come down upon many, and is still coming upon them. Long shall I remember my visit for this reason. It was good to be there and share with them in the "showers of blessings."³²⁴

On June 1, 1863, the first number of a new monthly holiness periodical was issued, called the *Way of Holiness*.³²⁵ At the beginning of 1866, its name was changed to the *Way of Holiness and Revival Advocate*.³²⁶ The 1864 General Conference elected a new editor in the person of Adam Crooks, former missionary to North Carolina, and a lifelong holiness enthusiast. The Address to the Churches adopted at that session admonished, "Rest not brethren short of an entire surrender to God, a work which shall make an end of sin, and fully establish the reign of God in the soul."³²⁷ Following the adjournment of the general conference, Crooks declared in the first paragraph of his "Salutatory" editorial:

Being the organ of a Connection of Christian Churches, the primal objects of the American Wesleyan should be the success of Christian enterprise—"the spread of scriptural holiness, over these lands"—consisting in piety and purity, correct faith, genuine experience, and corresponding practice. "Holiness unto the Lord" should radiate from ever [sic] issue.³²⁸

When the next session of the general conference was held in 1867, the opening sermon was preached by Hawley, "after which many of the brethren tarried to make a deeper consecration of all to God." The scene was repeated on the second evening following a sermon by D. P. Baker.³²⁹ The Address to the Churches began its concluding paragraph as follows:

Finally, and above all things, dear brethren, would we exhort you to more complete consecration to God to greater zeal—to

increased hungerings and thirsting after righteousness—an intenser, deeper, broader, higher type of personal piety, and a fuller sympathy with Christ in the great work of saving souls. Here alone is the secret of power and unfailing source of success. Greatly do we need the baptism of the Spirit, and to abound in its rich and blessed fruits of love, joy, peace, longsuffering, meekness, gentleness, patience, faith.³³⁰

The intensified emphasis on holiness had interesting effects. There was a new encouragement of personal and family religion; the 1860 General Conference's Address to the Churches declared there was a need to branch off into family churches with family altars and personal devotions habitually employed.³³¹ Emotions appear to have been expressed more freely in public services. Cyrus Prindle observed some at the Lockport Conference which he considered extreme and distasteful, and mentioned reports of others in New York and Illinois.³³² Mrs. Mary A. Will reported that in meetings in Wisconsin there were manifestations that "bore a striking resemblance to the day of Pentecost, save the speaking with tongues."³³³ Greater emphasis was given by some to matters of fashion and behavior, with Mrs. Will reporting the laying off of gold ornaments and superfluous apparel, the burning of novels, the breaking of the tobacco habit—"they are endeavoring to be Christians in earnest, going on to full salvation."³³⁴

The holiness revival also had some impact on the concept of reform. H. Gregory, who had been a ministerial member of the Utica Convention, wrote a series of articles on "Christian Perfection" for the church paper in 1858. In the final one, he said:

And here let me express my own convictions, which are, that we have relied too much upon our correct reformatory principles, to the neglect somewhat of personal holiness. The Church that is blessed with the greatest proportion of members that enjoy the blessing of perfect love, will possess the greatest moral power, and everything else being equal, will accomplish the most good. May God in mercy, make us a holy people.³³⁵

L. C. Matlack concurred some three and one-half years later.

God's plan for correcting the evils in society,—for repairing the damage sin has done—for saving the souls of men, is

a peculiar one, and indicative of infinite wisdom. It is not by urging outward conformity to a law, so much as by adjusting the inner man to the purity and symmetry and power of a perfect model.³³⁶

And George B. Smith, reporting a revival at Shadey Valley, Ohio, declared, "We are convinced that holiness is the only sure foundation for Christian reformers to build a permanent revival on."³³⁷ Perhaps the most significant expression of the new way of thinking is in the Illinois Conference's report on reforms adopted at its 1866 session. Its opening sounded an historic emphasis.

Nothing is plainer than the necessity of reform; not a revival but a reformation. The lethargy, slothfulness, want of interest in the salvation of souls, neglecting the social means of grace, worldly conformity, avarice, loving of pleasure, and popularity, in the professed followers of the meek and lowly, self-sacrificing Jesus, speak louder than words, and say, we must reform.

The report celebrates the victory over slavery but points out that "the human unregenerate heart is still the same; . . . " "All merely external reforms are but the changing of a corrupt fountain into another channel." There is only one New Testament method of reform and that is a purifying of the heart. So at the "head of moral reform" they placed a section on holiness, concluding it by saying, "Holiness in heart and life embrace all moral reform, and the want of this is seen in the following subjects." There follow sections on slavery and caste, property, temperance, tobacco, licentiousness, secret societies, worldly conformity, war, and lethargy.³³⁸ So, the secret of outward social reform was being seen more and more as inner, personal reform. Radical reform for Wesleyans had at its heart living piety indeed!

NOTES

¹*American Wesleyan*, January 30, 1861, p. 18.

²*The Works of John Wesley*, 14 vols. (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872; reprinted at Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958-59), 8:299.

³*The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware for the Methodist Connection in the U.S., 1812), pp. 3-4. The section in which these words are included is printed over the names of Francis Asbury and William McKendree.

⁴Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 422ff.; Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 347ff.

⁵Donald G. Mathews, "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary," in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*, ed. Martin Duberman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 100.

⁶Wesley, *Works*, 3:453.

⁷Wesley, *Works*, 11:59-79.

⁸Wesley, *Works*, 13:153.

⁹Lucius C. Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism from 1780 to 1849 and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America*, in two parts (New York: 1849; reprinted, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 15-16. This entire period is set forth in great detail here and in Matlack's later book, *The Antislavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, with an introduction by D. D. Whedon (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1881; reprinted New York: Negro University Press, 1969). More recent works which also provide thorough coverage include Charles Baumer Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery with Sidelights on Ecclesiastical Politics* (Richard D. Badger, 1926; reprinted New York: Negro University Press, 1969); and Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism, a Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

¹⁰Richard M. Cameron, "The New Church Takes Root," in *The History of American Methodism*, 3 vols., ed. by Emory Stevens Bucke, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964) 1:255. Cf. *Works*, 8:270; Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, p. 33; Robert Emory, *History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: G. Lane and C. B. Tippet for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845), pp. 79-80, 178; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 5-6, 14. (Mathews, whose work appears to represent the highest type of scholarship, appears to have made an unexplainable error here in saying that Wesley had written the rule against slavery along with the others in 1743.)

¹¹Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, p. 12.

¹²Matlack, *Antislavery Struggle and Triumph*, pp. 71-72.

¹³Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 118-20.

¹⁴Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, p. 120.

¹⁵Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 127-28; Edward D. Jervey, "LaRoy Sunderland, Zion's Watchman and Methodist Disunion, 1830-1844," an unpublished paper presented at the Jurisdictional Conference of Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, Waltham, Mass., pp. 15-18 (the original is on file in the library of Boston University School of Theology and a photocopy in the official archives of The Wesleyan Church).

¹⁶The fascinating story of Scott's short but busy life is told in Lucius C. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled from His Personal Narrative, Correspondence, and Other Authentic Sources of Information, in Two Parts* (New York: C. Prindle and L. C. Matlack, 1851). See also Mathews, "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary"; and Lee Haines, *Orange Scott: A Church is Born*, first in a series of eight pamphlets on Our Wesleyan Heritage (Marion, Ind.: The Wesleyan Church, 1977).

¹⁷Mathews, "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary," p. 72; cf. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 31-33.

¹⁸Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 33-34. Mathews says the series began on January 7, 1835. "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary," pp. 80-81. Matlack indicates the series began December 30, 1834, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 102-03; but cf. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, p. 34. At this same time, January 1835, there was issued one or more numbers of the *Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Herald*, published by the executive committee of the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society in Concord, N.H.; see Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, p. 123, footnote.

¹⁹Jervey, "LaRoy Sunderland, *Zion's Watchman*, and Methodist Disunion, 1830-1844," p. 15.

²⁰A reward of \$100,000 was offered for Sunderland in South Carolina, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), p. 152. Other rewards were also posted and several issues were burned publicly in the streets by a hangman, Jervey, "LaRoy Sunderland, *Zion's Watchman*, and Methodist Disunion, 1830-1844," p. 23. The paper was often in financial straits, and Sunderland's dedication is seen in the fact that for over a year he made his dinner of an apple and a graham cracker, taken in his pocket to the office, "Historical Reminiscences" by "Q" in *True Wesleyan*, June 24, 1848, p. 101.

²¹Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, p. 109.

²²Matlack, *Antislavery Struggle and Triumph*, p. 109.

²³Scott to Elizur Wright, June 23, 1837, Elizur Wright Papers, quoted in Mathew, "Orange Scott: Evangelist-Revolutionary," p. 89. Orange Scott published one number of the *Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Review* in 1838, expecting it to be an annual publication in 1839 and 1840; the material contained in it was also issued in book form as *An Appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Boston: David H. Ela, 1838). While it dealt with slavery and related subjects, a large part dealt with "Conference Rights."

²⁴Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 36-39.

²⁵Donald W. Dayton, "The Sermons of Luther Lee: A Study in the Social Impact of Perfectionistic Revivalism," an unpublished paper presented to the Pietism Section of the American Academy of Religion, October 30, 1976, p. 4; cf. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 120-22.

²⁶For an exciting account of his life, see *Autobiography of the Rev. Luther Lee, D.D.* (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1882).

²⁷*Autobiography of the Rev. Luther Lee, D.D.*, pp. 133ff.

²⁸L. C. Matlack, *Secession, a Personal Narrative of Proscription, for Being an Abolitionist* (Syracuse, N.Y.: 1856). Cf. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, p. 165 (in some copies pp. 149 and 165 have been interchanged).

²⁹Jervey, "LaRoy Sunderland, *Zion's Watchman*, and Methodist Disunion 1830-1844," pp. 24-32; Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 245-54. See also Sunderland, Letter to New England Methodist Historical Society on Theological Education and the Anti-Slavery Cause, April 22, 1872 (Boston University School of Theology Library; photocopy in Archives of The Wesleyan Church); in this letter, Sunderland, long since departed from all organized churches, remembers his earlier struggles.

³⁰Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 272-81. See also Smith's obituary in *The Wesleyan*, July 9, 1856, p. 108.

³¹*American Wesleyan Observer*, February 13, 1840, p. 1. On the same page the editors said, "Though our paper will be *Methodistical in its general character*, yet it will be conducted on the most *liberal principles*." The paper was published for a total of 26 issues, closing out on August 13, 1840.

³²Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 220-21.

³³*New England Christian Advocate*, January 7, 1841, p. 1.

³⁴*New England Christian Advocate*, January 7, 1841, p. 1. See also *Autobiography of Rev. Luther Lee, D.D.*, pp. 231-32. This paper continued for fourteen months, closing with the March 31, 1842 issue. Lee then used the subscription list to publish for a short time a more general, semi-monthly paper, *The Sword of Truth*.

³⁵Cf. the *True Wesleyan*, January 14, 1843, p. 6 and Smith's obituary in *The Wesleyan*, July 9, 1856, p. 108.

³⁶*New England Christian Advocate*, May 20, 1841, pp. 78-79.

³⁷Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 139-40.

³⁸Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 225, 229, 230,

233.

³⁹Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 233-37; cf. *Autobiography of Rev. Luther Lee, D.D.*, p. 230; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 221-25.

⁴⁰*True Wesleyan*, February 18, 1843, p. 27; *The Wesleyan*, September 10, 1856, p. 144; *American Wesleyan*, March 19, 1862, p. 47; cf. "Reproduction in facsimile of residences on Euclid Avenue from the Public Square to Murison St. as it was about 1846," made for Mrs. Anne B. Schultze by an old friend - Courtesy of Western Reserve Historical Society, photocopy in the Archives of The Wesleyan Church; Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 301-02.

⁴¹*New England Christian Advocate*, January 7, 1841, p. 1; February 11, 1841, p. 1; *True Wesleyan*, March 18, 1843, p. 44. Cf. Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, p. 303; *Autobiography of the Life and Times of the Rev. George Pegler* (Published for the author, 1875), pp. 381, 395, 400ff.

⁴²Charles Stephen Rennells, *History of the Michigan Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*, Centenary Edition, 1840-1940, ill. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1940), pp. 28-35; "Remarks" in *Doctrines and Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1842), p. 2; Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 301-06, 324.

⁴³Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 302, 306-07.

⁴⁴Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 195ff.

⁴⁵The reasons may also be read in Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 308-17. While the paper was printed November 12, 1842, it bore the date of January 7, 1843. The second number was printed December 22, 1842 but bore the date of January 14, 1843. See *True Wesleyan*, January 7, 1843, p. 3; January 14, 1843, p. 7. For the move to Boston, see *True Wesleyan*, January 14, 1843, p. 6. The subscription list of *Zion's Watchman* was folded into that of the *True Wesleyan*; see *True Wesleyan*, February 18, 1843, p. 26, and the *Wesleyan Methodist*, April 22, 1914, p. 1.

⁴⁶*True Wesleyan*, January 7, 1843, p. 2.

⁴⁷*True Wesleyan*, January 14, 1843, p. 5.

⁴⁸*True Wesleyan*, January 21, 1843, p. 9.

⁴⁹*True Wesleyan*, January 14, 1843, p. 7.

⁵⁰For a fascinating analysis of this area, see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950).

⁵¹Handwritten minutes in "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, Conventions and General Conferences, Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 3-9. See also *True Wesleyan*, February 11, 1843, p. 24; Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 321-25.

⁵²*True Wesleyan*, April 22, 1843, p. 62.

⁵³*True Wesleyan*, March 18, 1843, p. 44, cited by Dayton, "The Sermons of Luther Lee," p. 1. Pegler gives his own account of the preparation for and the actual holding of the Convention, *Autobiography*, pp. 405-08. On pages 404-05 he also mentions an earlier convention in Utica, apparently not attended by Scott and the leaders, in which there was agitation for a new church; this was apparently in 1841, cf. Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, p. 303.

⁵⁴*Utica City Directory*, 1843-44. Cf. *True Wesleyan*, April 22, 1843, p. 62.

⁵⁵*Utica Daily Gazette*. This local newspaper gave detailed coverage in its columns, Friday, June 2 through Saturday, June 10, 1843.

⁵⁶*Utica Daily Gazette*.

⁵⁷Minutes of the Convention are found in "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 13-52; see also *True Wesleyan*, beginning with June 10, 1843, pp. 90-91; *Utica Daily Gazette*; Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and*

Methodism, pp. 333-35.

⁵⁸Pegler, *Autobiography*, p. 407.

⁵⁹"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 22.

⁶⁰*Utica Daily Gazette*. This newspaper gives added perspective on the intensity of the debates.

⁶¹*The Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America* (Boston: O. Scott, 1843); hereafter the *Disciplines* are referred to only as *Discipline*, followed by the year.

⁶²Cf. *Discipline*, 1843, pp. 9-10 with *Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Baltimore: John J. Harrod, 1831), pp. 14-15.

⁶³Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 335-36. The omitted articles were: Of Works of Supererogation, Of the Church, Of Purgatory, Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the People Understand (opposing use of Latin in Mass), Of both kinds, Of the Marriage of Ministers, Of the Rulers of the United States of America, Of Christian Men's Goods, and Of a Christian Man's Oath; cf. *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: G. Lane and P. P. Sandford for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1842), pp. 8-19.

⁶⁴*Discipline*, 1843, p. 15.

⁶⁵Cross, *The Burned-over District*, pp. 292-95ff. There were close ties between some early Wesleyan Methodists and early Adventists. John Byington, the first president of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, named his son Luther Lee Byington. John Byington was a Wesleyan, 1843-52, serving as a lay member of the 1844 General Conference committee on revivals, and later as a pastor in the St. Lawrence Conference. See John O. Waller, "The Pre-Adventist Years, John Byington of Bucks Bridge," *Adventist Heritage*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 5-13, 65-67. Pegler, *Autobiography*, pp. 403-04.

⁶⁶Cf. *Discipline*, 1843, p. 22 with *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1842, p. 80.

⁶⁷The 1848 General Conference amended this to say that an annual conference should not interfere with arrangements between churches and pastors "except for justifiable cause, growing out of the fault of one or both of the parties" and also to allow annual conferences to suspend the three-year rule (*Discipline*, 1848, pp. 33ff.). This touched off a long-running debate in the denominational paper between Luther Lee who had favored the change and Edward Smith who was not present at that session. Lee had run a lengthy series of articles on church government from November 21, 1846, to October 21, 1847, and now even though he was no longer editor another series began March 16, 1850. Out of these grew a large book, *Ecclesiastical Manual, or Scriptural Church Government, Stated and Defended* (New York: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1850). On July 31, 1852, Smith responded with a very lengthy article. This with a reply by Lee was published in book form by Matlack as Editor-Publishing Agent under the title, *The Priesthood of Revealed Religion, by Rev. Edward Smith, with a Review by Rev. Luther Lee* (1852). The controversy continued in the columns of *The Wesleyan Expositor* until Smith's death in 1856, and apparently led to his publication of *The Wesleyan Expositor* in 1851-52 and of the *Christian Statesman* in 1853-56, both at Mansfield, Ohio.

⁶⁸See Orange Scott, *Church Government: a Work for the Times* (Boston: O. Scott for the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, 1844). Also bound with it are H. B. Bascom, *A Declaration of Rights*; C. Prindle, *The Methodist E. Church and Primitive Church Compared*; and J. D. Bridge, *Account of Some "Strange Things."*

⁶⁹The evangelical base of this complex movement has been carefully analyzed in Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957).

⁷⁰*True Wesleyan*, January 7, 1843, p. 2.

⁷¹*The Wesleyan*, May 12, 1853, p. 73.

⁷²"Our Position and Mission," *The Wesleyan*, October 14, 1857, p. 162.

⁷³Luther Lee, "The Signs of the Times," *True Wesleyan*, September 30, 1848, p. 158; "Is the World Growing Better or Worse," *True Wesleyan*, June 22, 1850, p. 98.

⁷⁴Luther Lee, "The Philosophy of Reform," *The Wesleyan*, September 15, 1853, p. 146.

⁷⁵*The Wesleyan*, May 26, 1858, p. 84.

⁷⁶*True Wesleyan*, April 22, 1848, p. 65; *The Wesleyan*, July 28, 1853, p. 117; October 24, 1860, p. 318.

⁷⁷*Discipline*, 1843, p. 22.

⁷⁸*Discipline*, 1861, pp. 25ff.

⁷⁹See LaRoy Sunderland, *Anti-Slavery Manual, Containing a Collection of Facts and Arguments on American Slavery* (New York: LaRoy Sunderland, 1834; rep. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), chapters 6, 7, 8; LaRoy Sunderland, *The Testimony of God Against Slavery, or a Collection of Passages from the Bible, Which Show the Sin of Holding Property in Man. With Notes* (Boston: Webster and Southard, 1835; rep. St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1970); Orange Scott, *An Appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church*, Part II, "Bible Argument," pp. 33-47; Luther Lee, *Slavery Examined in the Light of the Bible* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1855; rep. Detroit, Mich.: Negro History Press, n.d.).

⁸⁰"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 111.

⁸¹"Abolitionism-Politics," *The Wesleyan*, June 13, 1855, p. 94.

⁸²Luther Lee, "The Law for Catching Men," *True Wesleyan*, September 21, 1850, p. 150; see also *True Wesleyan*, November 2, 1850, p. 174; November 9, 1850, p. 178.

⁸³*A Woman's Life-Work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland*, 4th ed. (Chicago: Publishing Association of Friends, 1889); Mildred E. Danforth, *A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland, Superintendent of the Underground* (New York: Exposition Press, 1961); see also Lee Haines, *Laura Smith Haviland, a Woman's Life Work*, second in the *Our Wesleyan Heritage Series*.

⁸⁴Lee Mark Haines, Jr., "The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana, 1843-67" (unpub. B.D. research paper, Christian Theological Seminary, 1959), p. 7; the same page contains other legendary identification of characters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

⁸⁵*Discipline*, 1843, p. 28.

⁸⁶"Colorphobia," *True Wesleyan*, August 5, 1843, p. 123.

⁸⁷*True Wesleyan*, July 5, 1845, p. 105.

⁸⁸J. P. Campbell, *True Wesleyan*, April 22, 1848, p. 65.

⁸⁹*The Wesleyan*, May 4, 1859, pp. 70-71. Probably the most prominent position attained by a black man was that of Byrd Parker, who served both the Wesleyan Methodists and the Protestant Methodists of Wisconsin as president and traveling evangelist (*The Wesleyan*, November 7, 1860, p. 326).

⁹⁰*American Wesleyan*, January 10, 1866, p. 6.

⁹¹Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, p. 426.

⁹²"Temperance Houses" were maintained during these days by supporters of total abstinence - hotels free of alcoholic beverages. It appears that Elisha Kinney, father of D. S. Kinney (publishing agent, 1875-90) and of Mary Kinney Depew (outstanding holiness evangelist and first dean of women at Houghton Seminary), maintained a Temperance House near the Ohio-Pennsylvania border. See "Editorial Rambles," *True Wesleyan*, September 4, 1852, p. 142; cf. Mary Depew's obituary, *American Wesleyan*, April 26, 1882, p. 4; Lee Haines, *Mary F. Depew. The Holy Spirit's Evangelist*, fourth in the *Our Wesleyan Heritage Series*.

⁹³Cross, *The Burned-over District*, pp. 113-25; William H. Brackney, *Religious Antimasonry: The Genesis of a Political Party 1826-1830* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976). Brackney, "The Fruits of a Crusade: Wesleyan Opposition to Secret Societies," *Methodist History*, July 1979, pp. 239-52.

⁹⁴*True Wesleyan*, April 15, 1843, p. 58; May 27, 1843, p. 82.

⁹⁵*True Wesleyan*, May 27, 1843, p. 83.

⁹⁶*Utica Daily Gazette*, June 10, 1843; Arthur T. Jennings, *History of American Wesleyan Methodism* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1902), pp. 60-61. Jennings's description of the debate as being a New York vs. New England matter, which is followed by Brackney, "The Fruits of a Crusade," for subsequent discussions, is not wholly justified as will be seen in the further unfolding of this topic.

⁹⁷Joel Martin, *The Wesleyan Manual, or History of Wesleyan Methodism* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1889), p. 22. Horton declared in 1844 that he was not then either a Mason or an Oddfellow (*True Wesleyan*, October 26, 1844, p. 170); Sunderland left the Wesleyans in 1844 when a more restrictive rule against secret societies was adopted, but in his farewell letter stated that while he was both an Oddfellow and a Mason he was not active in any lodge (*True Wesleyan*, November 9, 1844, p. 18); Scott in 1845 admitted that he had belonged to a secret society (*True Wesleyan*, April 26, 1845, p. 66); at the same time Lee declared that he had no knowledge of one Wesleyan who was "an adhering Mason" (*True Wesleyan*, April 26, 1845, p. 67).

⁹⁸*Discipline*, 1843, p. 93.

⁹⁹"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 62-63; *Discipline*, 1845, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰Sunderland was already becoming involved in mesmerism and psychic phenomena and had begun a career on the lecture tour demonstrating mass hypnotism. He remained unattached to any religious body, apparently became involved in spiritism and was considered apostate by his former brethren. See *True Wesleyan*, November 18, 1843, p. 183; November 14, 1846, p. 183; January 4, 1851, p. 2; "What a Fall!" *The Wesleyan*, March 25, 1857, p. 46; May 13, 1857, p. 74; *Christian Advocate* (New York), May 28, 1885, p. 341; June 4, 1885, pp. 357-58; June 11, 1885, p. 375; *Wesleyan Methodist*, June 3, 1885, p. 2. For Sunderland's part in helping to transplant Swedenborgianism to America, see Cross, *The Burned-over District*, pp. 343-44.

¹⁰¹"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 120; *Discipline*, 1854, p. 76.

¹⁰²*Minutes of the Fifth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Held at Fulton, New York, October 3-10, 1860* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Book Concern, 1860), p. 29.

¹⁰³Three of the annual conferences voted negatively on the amendment: Miami by 6 to 11, and New York and Wisconsin by identical votes of 6 to 7. Indiana had a split vote of 10 to 10. The Syracuse (N.Y.) Conference favored it only by a 21 to 15 margin. New England did not report as it had not had a session in 1861.

¹⁰⁴Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, pp. 645-47.

¹⁰⁵*Discipline*, 1843, p. 95.

¹⁰⁶*True Wesleyan*, January 8, 1848, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷*The Wesleyan*, November 7, 1855, p. 181. One writer said that defense by freedom lovers was not sinful even though enemies might be slain—it was their duty to do so ("Kansas Defensive War," *The Wesleyan*, March 26, 1856, p. 50).

¹⁰⁸*American Wesleyan*, May 15, 1861, p. 78.

¹⁰⁹*American Wesleyan*, May 22, 1861, p. 82.

¹¹⁰*American Wesleyan*, May 22, 1861, p. 82.

¹¹¹*American Wesleyan*, October 23, 1861, p. 170 (a whole series of letters follows this one); September 3, 1862, p. 138; January 17, 1866, p. 10; see also "Autobiographical Sketch of Lucius Columbus Matlack" filed with the New England Methodist Historical Society, Boston University School of Theology Library (photocopy in the Archives of The Wesleyan Church).

¹¹²*American Wesleyan*, March 5, 1862, p. 38. Lyle organized a regimental church on Wesleyan principles, *American Wesleyan*, March 26, 1862, p. 49; August 27, 1862, p. 134. See also W. W. Lyle, A.M., Chaplain, 11th OVI, *Lights and Shadows of Army Life, or*

Pen Pictures from the Camp, the Battlefield and the Hospital, 2nd edit. (Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll & Co., 1865).

¹¹³*American Wesleyan*, May 9, 1866, p. 74. See also McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 110-13.

¹¹⁴*American Wesleyan*, July 17, 1861, p. 114.

¹¹⁵*Discipline*, 1864, p. 100.

¹¹⁶Wesley, *Works*, 8:273-74 ("Directions Given to the Band-Societies, December 25, 1744"). See also 12:247-48 ("Letter to Mr. S., at Armagh").

¹¹⁷William Warren Sweet, *Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana* (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Co, 1916), pp. 70-71.

¹¹⁸*True Wesleyan*, October 2, 1852, p. 158.

¹¹⁹"Minutes of the Indiana Conference," 1849-67, handwritten, 1853, p. 90.

¹²⁰"Minutes of the Indiana Conference," 1849-67, 1859, p. 222.

¹²¹Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, pp. 643-44.

¹²²*True Wesleyan*, November 30, 1849, p. 190. Lee's statement was based on a literal and somewhat strained interpretation of the masculine pronouns used in the *Discipline*; this conservative stance is rather surprising in light of the fact that John Wesley had made use of women as class leaders and even as lay preachers (Donald W. Dayton, "Evangelical Roots of Feminism," p. 5; Donald W. and Lucille Sider Dayton, "Women Preachers and Evangelical and Holiness Roots," *Preacher's Magazine*, September-November 1979, p. 18). Susannah Wesley had read sermons to as many as 200 of her husband's parishioners when he absented himself from the parish, and continued to do so in spite of his reservations (Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, ed. by J. A. Atkinson (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1889), pp. 11-13).

¹²³Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment, Phases of American Social History to 1860* (University of Minnesota Press, 1944; rep. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), pp. 453-54.

¹²⁴*True Wesleyan*, July 3, 1852, p. 106; Lucille Sider Dayton and Donald W. Dayton, "Women in the Holiness Movement" (background study for seminar at 1974 CHA Convention, Louisville, Ky.), p. 18.

¹²⁵"Common Sense," *The Wesleyan*, August 18, 1853, p. 130.

¹²⁶"Not One Woman for Rum!" *The Wesleyan*, November 10, 1853, p. 177.

¹²⁷"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 237; *American Wesleyan*, October 16, 1867, p. 163.

¹²⁸"Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel." A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Miss Antoinette L. Brown, at South Butler, Wayne County, N.Y., September 15, 1853 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Luther Lee, 1853). See also Donald W. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 83.

¹²⁹"Sermon Extraordinary," *The Wesleyan*, September 29, 1853, p. 154; October 20, 1853, p. 166.

¹³⁰*The Wesleyan*, October 27, 1853, p. 170.

¹³¹"Journal of the New England Annual Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion of America," handwritten, September 15, 1843, pp. 8-9.

¹³²*True Wesleyan*, January 25, 1845, p. 14; Edward Smith, "Missionary Rambles," *True Wesleyan*, March 17, 1849, p. 42.

¹³³*True Wesleyan*, January 4, 1851, p. 2.

¹³⁴Orange Scott, *Church Government*, p. 52. Scott states that while currently delegates to the annual conferences are elected by the quarterly conferences composed of officers, he thinks that the 1844 General Conference will provide for this to be done "by the *male members* of each circuit and station" (italics added).

¹³⁵*Discipline*, 1845, p. 36.

¹³⁶*The Wesleyan*, March 30, 1859, p. 49; S. Young is suspicious of Methodist Protestant polity because it disenfranchises all female members - implying that this is not so

among Wesleyans. See also John P. Betker, "Unity Among Wesleyans," *American Wesleyan*, August 1, 1866, p. 121; and comments of Rev. L. C. Patridge on the third day of the 1867 General Conference session, *American Wesleyan*, October 16, 1857, p. 163.

¹³⁷"Minutes of the Indiana Conference," 1849-67, handwritten, 1863, pp. 297-98; she was apparently a pastor's wife.

¹³⁸"Editorial Rambles," *True Wesleyan*, September 25, 1852, p. 154.

¹³⁹*Discipline*, 1843, p. 52.

¹⁴⁰See the report of the Committee on Education to the First General Conference, 1844, *Discipline*, 1845, pp. 115-18.

¹⁴¹*True Wesleyan*, July 15, 1843, p. 110.

¹⁴²I. V. Smith, replying to George Pegler on secret societies, *True Wesleyan*, July 24, 1847, p. 117.

¹⁴³*True Wesleyan*, November 30, 1849, p. 190.

¹⁴⁴*True Wesleyan*, August 23, 1851, p. 134.

¹⁴⁵*American Wesleyan*, June 25, 1862, p. 98.

¹⁴⁶*The Wesleyan*, October 10, 1860, p. 310. When Matlack visited her circuit, he reported that husband and wife were co-pastors (*American Wesleyan*, May 15, 1861, p. 78). But one of her male members soon set the record straight—Sister Will was the pastor and the church was as well governed as it had ever been. He went on to say, "As woman is blamed with the fall of man, we think she should have the privilege of proclaiming his redemption" (*American Wesleyan*, June 12, 1861, p. 64). See also "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 208.

¹⁴⁷"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 189, 208.

¹⁴⁸*Discipline*, 1843, pp. 62-63.

¹⁴⁹*Discipline*, 1845, p. 68.

¹⁵⁰*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Held at Sheridan, Ind., October 18-25, 1899* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1899), pp. 35-36.

¹⁵¹*Discipline*, 1843, p. 63. This continued in the *Discipline* until the 1968 merger which produced The Wesleyan Church.

¹⁵²"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 63.

¹⁵³"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 19.

¹⁵⁴The Rochester Conference action is recorded in *True Wesleyan*, May 20, 1848, p. 81. For New England churches which followed the practice, see *True Wesleyan*, February 19, 1848, p. 30; March 25, 1848, p. 48; April 15, 1848, p. 61; May 6, 1848, p. 73; May 13, 1848, p. 77. The general conference action is recorded in "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 244ff.

¹⁵⁵*True Wesleyan*, October 23, 1852, p. 169.

¹⁵⁶Cited by Matlack in *The Wesleyan*, October 24, 1855, p. 172. Hymn 98, "The Acres and the Hands," in *Miriam's Timbrel, or Sacred Songs, Suited to Revival Occasions; and Also for Anti-Slavery, Peace, Temperance, and Reform Meetings*, 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged, comp. by John P. Betker, with a *Supplement*, comp. by the Publisher (Mansfield, Ohio: Published by E. Smith, for the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, 1853), pp. 124-26.

¹⁵⁷*Discipline*, 1843, p. 61.

¹⁵⁸*Discipline*, 1861, p. 95.

¹⁵⁹*American Wesleyan*, February 5, 1862, p. 22.

¹⁶⁰*The Wesleyan*, May 16, 1860, p. 226.

¹⁶¹Obituaries of Reuben Labore, *The Wesleyan*, April 4, 1855, p. 55 and April 11, 1855, p. 59; see also *The Wesleyan*, March 16, 1859, p. 42.

¹⁶²Obituary of Robert Magill, *True Wesleyan*, December 30, 1848, p. 212; obituary of Mrs. Mary Beatty, *The Wesleyan*, February 3, 1853, p. 19; *The Wesleyan*, October 6,

1853, p. 158; obituary of Rachael Paulson, *The Wesleyan*, August 31, 1854, p. 138.

¹⁶³*True Wesleyan*, January 28, 1843, p. 14; March 4, 1843, p. 34; March 18, 1843, p. 43.

¹⁶⁴"New England Conference Journal," June 14, 1844, pp. 24-25; *Southern Christian Advocate* quoted in the *True Wesleyan*, July 13, 1844, p. 111; "New England Correspondence" in the *Northern Christian Advocate*, quoted in the *True Wesleyan*, December 18, 1852, p. 200; Dr. Whedon, *Methodist Quarterly Review*, cited by Adam Crooks in the *American Wesleyan*, November 28, 1866, p. 188. Cf. also Charles Baumer Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery*, pp. 109-13, 126-28, 143. For an astute evaluation of the importance of the churches in the conflict and its outcome, see Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, p. 673, including the footnotes.

¹⁶⁵For Horton, see *True Wesleyan*, July 5, 1851, p. 106; June 6, 1852, p. 91; *The Wesleyan*, March 10, 1853, p. 39. For Matlack's statement, see *The Wesleyan*, May 16, 1860, p. 226; also "Natural Increase of the Connection," *The Wesleyan*, January 20, 1853, p. 10.

¹⁶⁶Pegler, *Autobiography*, p. 407.

¹⁶⁷"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 20-21.

¹⁶⁸*True Wesleyan*, October 21, 1843, p. 167; see also Ancel H. Bassett, *A Concise History of the Methodist Protestant Church, from Its Origin: With Biographical Sketches of Several Leading Ministers of the Denomination*, 2nd edit. rev. and enlarged (Pittsburgh: James Robison, 1882), pp. 163, 378.

¹⁶⁹Frederick E. Maser and George A. Singleton, "Further Branches of Methodism are Founded," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:601-35, esp. 622-24. See also *True Wesleyan*, September 23, 1843, p. 151; November 4, 1843, p. 174; May 25, 1844, p. 83; September 14, 1844, p. 146; October 12, 1844, p. 163; November 2, 1844, p. 175; December 21, 1844, p. 194; March 29, 1845, p. 52; February 14, 1846, p. 26; March 28, 1846, p. 50; August 22, 1846, p. 136; September 25, 1847, pp. 154-55; April 14, 1849, p. 58; *The Wesleyan*, June 13, 1855, p. 94; December 19, 1855, p. 204; September 17, 1856, p. 150; October 1, 1856, p. 156; January 26, 1859, p. 14; *American Wesleyan*, August 8, 1866, p. 123.

¹⁷⁰Maser and Singleton, "Further Branches of Methodism," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:625-29, esp. p. 628; see also p. 624, n. 40, and in the same volume, Douglas R. Chandler, "The Formation of the Methodist Protestant Church," 1:647.

¹⁷¹*True Wesleyan*, May 27, 1843, p. 81; September 2, 1843, p. 138; September 9, 1843, p. 141; July 19, 1845, p. 116; November 15, 1845, p. 181; *The Wesleyan*, January 27, 1853, p. 14; *American Wesleyan*, December 5, 1866, p. 194.

¹⁷²*True Wesleyan*, February 18, 1843, p. 27; April 1, 1843, p. 50; October 21, 1843, p. 166; May 30, 1846, p. 84; July 24, 1852, p. 119; September 4, 1852, p. 142. Cf. obituary of Joshua Sargent, *The Wesleyan*, April 6, 1854, p. 55.

¹⁷³Maser and Singleton, "Further Branches of Methodism," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:630-35. See also *True Wesleyan*, January 27, 1844, p. 14; *American Wesleyan*, January 15, 1862, p. 10; March 26, 1862, p. 50; June 25, 1862, p. 98; April 25, 1866, p. 67; June 6, 1866, p. 89; *Christian Advocate*, June 14, 1866, p. 189.

¹⁷⁴*True Wesleyan*, November 30, 1844, p. 189.

¹⁷⁵*True Wesleyan*, August 19, 1848, p. 134.

¹⁷⁶*True Wesleyan*, May 27, 1843, p. 81.

¹⁷⁷The sites where buildings were transferred or were an issue included: Utica, N.Y., *New England Christian Advocate*, January 7, 1841, p. 1, February 11, 1841, p. 1. Carthage, Ohio, *True Wesleyan*, March 11, 1843, p. 38; June 17, 1843, p. 94. Exeter, N.H., *True Wesleyan*, March 11, 1843, p. 37; April 15, 1843, p. 58. Rockport, Mass., *True Wesleyan*, April 15, 1843, p. 58. Bozrah, Conn., *True Wesleyan*, April 29, 1843, p. 66; May 6, 1843, p. 20. Worthington, Mass., *True Wesleyan*, May 20, 1843, p. 79. Lowell, Mass., *Christian Advocate and Journal*, May 31, 1843, p. 166; September 20, 1843, p. 22;

The Lowell Journal and Middlesex County Republican, November 17, 1843, p. 3. Duxbury, Mass., *True Wesleyan*, February 10, 1844, p. 21. Leicester, Mass., *True Wesleyan*, April 5, 1845, p. 54. Chestnut Ridge, N.Y., *True Wesleyan*, August 30, 1845, p. 36; February 14, 1846, p. 26. Hebron, Conn., *True Wesleyan*, May 5, 1849, pp. 70-71. Leyden, Mass., *The Wesleyan*, March 12, 1856, p. 42; March 26, 1856, p. 50. Morton's Corners, Ohio, *The Wesleyan*, December 28, 1859, p. 146. At the other end of the time frame, in connection with the return to the Methodist Episcopal Church, see East Douglas, Mass., *Minutes of the Sixty-Ninth Session of the New England Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held At East Boston, Mass., March 25, 1868*, p. 59.

¹⁷⁸"Journal of the New England Conference," April 21, 1845, p. 59.

¹⁷⁹*True Wesleyan*, August 9, 1845, p. 126.

¹⁸⁰"Journal of the New England Conference," 1853, pp. 178-79.

¹⁸¹*The Wesleyan*, September 22, 1858.

¹⁸²*The Wesleyan*, April 16, 1859, p. 54; "Journal of the New England Conference," March 29, 1860, p. 263.

¹⁸³"Journal of the New England Conference," March 26, 1861, p. 266.

¹⁸⁴*American Wesleyan*, September 26, 1866, p. 151; December 5, 1866, p. 193; *Christian Advocate* (N.Y.), December 20, 1866, p. 405.

¹⁸⁵*True Wesleyan*, March 3, 1849, p. 35; *The Wesleyan*, May 12, 1853, p. 75; August 17, 1854, p. 130; May 23, 1855, p. 82; September 5, 1855, p. 142; June 3, 1857, p. 86; obituary of Wakeman Patridge, *American Wesleyan*, April 11, 1866, p. 60; July 24, 1867, p. 115.

¹⁸⁶*True Wesleyan*, October 25, 1851, p. 170.

¹⁸⁷*True Wesleyan*, April 15, 1848, p. 62; May 5, 1849, p. 70; *The Wesleyan*, January 12, 1854, p. 6; April 20, 1854, p. 62; August 24, 1859, p. 134; "Journal of the New England Conference," March 30, 1860, p. 263; March 11, 1862, p. 267.

¹⁸⁸Benjamin P. Browne, *Christian Journalism for Today* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1962), p. 14, quoted in Charles Allen Lyons, "A Study of Orange Scott and the *True Wesleyan*, 1843-47, as Related to the Abolitionist Movement" (unpub. M.A. thesis, School of Journalism, Michigan State University, 1974), p. 15. Lyons gives an illuminating summary of the emergence of abolitionist and religious periodicals on pp. 3-18.

¹⁸⁹*American Wesleyan*, April 18, 1866, p. 62.

¹⁹⁰*The Wesleyan*, June 23, 1858, p. 100; June 30, 1858, p. 104; July 7, 1858, p. 108.

¹⁹¹*True Wesleyan*, April 3, 1847, p. 54.

¹⁹²*True Wesleyan*, October 21, 1848, pp. 169-70.

¹⁹³See Lee Haines, "Wesleyan Theological Education - an Historical Perspective," unpub. paper presented at the Conference of Divisions of Religion, Colleges of The Wesleyan Church, Marion, Ind., May 14, 1977. See also Willard Garfield Smith, "The History of Church-Controlled Colleges in The Wesleyan Methodist Church," Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1951; and Harold Crosser, "A History of Education in the Pilgrim Holiness Church," M.A. thesis, Pennsylvania State College, 1953.

¹⁹⁴William R. Cannon, "Education, Publication, Benevolent Work, and Missions," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:560-61.

¹⁹⁵Cannon, "Education, . . .," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:563.

¹⁹⁶See Sunderland, "Essay on a Theological Education," a letter by Sunderland to R. H. Howard, *Christian Advocate*, August 10, 1967, pp. 11-12.

¹⁹⁷*Discipline*, 1845, pp. 115-18.

¹⁹⁸Martin, *The Wesleyan Manual, or History of Wesleyan Methodism*, p. 187, says that the Illinois Institute was chartered "about the year 1848," and W. Wyeth Willard, *Fire on the Prairie: The Story of Wheaton College* (Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1950), p. 20, says that it was in 1850 that the Wesleyan Methodists of Illinois decided to establish a school. But no firsthand documentation can be found for the earlier dates.

¹⁹⁹*True Wesleyan*, July 5, 1851, pp. 106-07.

²⁰⁰Original subscription list preserved in the Wheaton College library, dated September 17, 1851.

²⁰¹Willard, *Fire on the Prairie*, p. 21.

²⁰²*The Wesleyan*, October 10, 1855, p. 162.

²⁰³*The Wesleyan*, July 22, 1857, p. 114.

²⁰⁴*The Wesleyan*, January 27, 1858, p. 14.

²⁰⁵*The Wesleyan*, July 27, 1859, p. 120; from an advertisement in the *Congregational Herald*, December 29, 1859, quoted in Willard, *Fire on the Prairie*, pp. 37-38.

²⁰⁶*The Wesleyan*, June 27, 1860, p. 251; July 22, 1860, p. 282; Willard, *Fire on the Prairie*, p. 39.

²⁰⁷*True Wesleyan*, November 11, 1843, p. 179.

²⁰⁸*True Wesleyan*, May 17, 1845, p. 77.

²⁰⁹*True Wesleyan*, October 22, 1845, p. 171.

²¹⁰*True Wesleyan*, May 23, 1846, p. 80; October 31, 1846, p. 174; January 23, 1847, p. 14; March 4, 1848, p. 37; September 30, 1848, p. 157; October 21, 1848, p. 172; January 12, 1850, p. 6; March 16, 1850, p. 43; April 6, 1850, p. 52. Cf. Charles Stephen Rennells, *History of the Michigan Conference*, pp. 96-99. See also R. A. Gregg, "History of the Predecessors of Adrian College," pp. 7-8, a paper prepared by a student at Adrian College, 1937, quoted in Smith, "The History of Church-Controlled Colleges," p. 32.

²¹¹*True Wesleyan*, April 19, 1851, p. 63; April 26, 1851, p. 66; September 6, 1851, p. 143; March 20, 1852, p. 46; October 16, 1852, p. 166; *The Wesleyan*, October 26, 1854, p. 170; February 14, 1855, p. 26; March 28, 1855, p. 50; July 2, 1856, p. 106; July 23, 1856, p. 117; August 20, 1856, p. 132; January 28, 1857, p. 14; June 24, 1857, p. 98; June 30, 1858, p. 104; July 7, 1858, p. 108. See also Smith, "The History of Church-Controlled Colleges," p. 34.

²¹²*True Wesleyan*, January 12, 1850, p. 6; February 16, 1850, p. 26; *The Wesleyan*, December 29, 1853, p. 206; July 28, 1858, p. 120. For Illinois Institute, cf. *The Wesleyan*, January 3, 1855, p. 2.

²¹³*The Wesleyan*, January 23, 1856, p. 14; October 21, 1857, p. 166; November 18, 1857, p. 181; March 3, 1858, p. 34; September 15, 1858, p. 148.

²¹⁴*The Wesleyan*, February 13, 1856, p. 26; January 7, 1857, p. 2; August 11, 1858, p. 128; April 13, 1859, pp. 58-59; April 27, 1859, p. 66; *American Wesleyan*, September 11, 1867, pp. 144-45; Fanny A. Hay, Ruth E. Cargo, and Harlan A. Feeman, *The Story of a Noble Devotion, 1845-1945* (Adrian, Mich.: Adrian College Press, 1945), pp. 15-19.

²¹⁵Hay, et al., *The Story of a Noble Devotion*, p. 21; "Record of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Leoni, Michigan," handwritten minutes, pp. 16-17; *The Wesleyan*, October 19, 1859, p. 168; November 23, 1859, p. 126; Rennells, *History of the Michigan Conference*, p. 99. Rennells notes that a school was later conducted on the Leoni campus by a Mr. Sadler as late as 1885.

²¹⁶*The Wesleyan*, May 4, 1859, p. 70; June 22, 1859, p. 100; August 24, 1859, p. 136; November 2, 1859, p. 169; June 27, 1860, p. 250; *American Wesleyan*, January 2, 1861, p. 2; June 12, 1861, p. 94; February 14, 1866, p. 26; "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 163; Hay, et al., *The Story of a Noble Devotion*, pp. 24-27.

²¹⁷*Adrian Times* article quoted in *American Wesleyan*, January 9, 1867, pp. 6-7; *American Wesleyan*, January 23, 1867, p. 14; January 30, 1867, p. 18; February 27, 1867, p. 34; April 10, 1867, p. 58; April 17, 1867, p. 62; Hay, et al., *The Story of a Noble Devotion*, pp. 28-33. Cf. *American Wesleyan*, January 30, 1867, p. 18; April 24, 1867, p. 66; August 28, 1867, p. 136.

²¹⁸Cannon, "Education, . . .," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:565-71.

²¹⁹*Discipline*, 1865, pp. 111-15.

²²⁰*True Wesleyan*, October 10, 1846, p. 162; October 24, 1846, p. 170; September 11, 1847, p. 147.

²²¹*American Wesleyan*, February 6, 1867, p. 22.

²²²"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 26, 67.

²²³*True Wesleyan*, August 9, 1845, p. 127.

²²⁴Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, pp. 666-67.

²²⁵*True Wesleyan*, October 12, 1850, p. 162.

²²⁶*True Wesleyan*, April 15, 1848, p. 62; "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 134.

²²⁷*American Wesleyan*, September 18, 1861, p. 150; June 4, 1862, p. 86; July 30, 1862, p. 118.

²²⁸*True Wesleyan*, November 30, 1844, p. 182; February 1, 1845, p. 19; October 17, 1846, p. 167; *The Wesleyan*, October 14, 1857, p. 162; *American Wesleyan*, October 29, 1862, p. 168. Pictures of the Wesleyan Bethels appear in the *True Wesleyan* issues of November 30, 1844, p. 182 and October 17, 1846, p. 167.

²²⁹*True Wesleyan*, August 9, 1845, p. 126; May 30, 1846, p. 84; September 26, 1846, p. 152; November 14, 1846, pp. 182-83; November 28, 1846, p. 188; December 5, 1846, p. 192; January 1, 1848, p. 1; January 29, 1848, p. 18; December 29, 1849, p. 204; December 28, 1850, p. 206; October 23, 1852, p. 168; December 15, 1853, p. 198.

²³⁰*True Wesleyan*, July 26, 1845, p. 117; March 20, 1847, p. 47; March 27, 1847, p. 50.

²³¹The fullest account of the Wesleyan missions in the South is to be found in Roy S. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South, Being the Story of Eighty-Six Years of Reform and Religious Activities in the South as Conducted by the American Wesleyans*, with intro. by J. S. Willett (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933), pp. 17-105. Especially helpful relative to the story of Micajah McPherson is a letter from his great-great-grandson, J. Howard Hinshaw, written to Lee M. Haines, December 30, 1978; it is on file in the Archives and Historical Library of The Wesleyan Church. See also Lee M. Haines, *Micajah McPherson, A Layman With Convictions*, No. 3 in the *Our Wesleyan Heritage Series*. The Freedom's Hill building has been preserved to the present, and in recent years has been moved to the Colfax Campground of the North Carolina West District of The Wesleyan Church, where it is maintained as a historical center.

²³²*The Wesleyan*, April 13, 1854, p. 58; *American Wesleyan*, January 8, 1862, p. 6; June 25, 1862, p. 98; July 23, 1862, p. 115; October 15, 1862, p. 162; March 14, 1866, p. 42.

²³³*The Wesleyan*, October 10, 1855, p. 162; October 24, 1855, p. 172; November 14, 1855, p. 184; January 2, 1856, p. 2.

²³⁴*True Wesleyan*, September 25, 1847, pp. 154-55; *The Wesleyan*, August 20, 1856, p. 132.

²³⁵*The Wesleyan*, April 13, 1859, p. 58; January 11, 1860, pp. 154-55; November 7, 1860, p. 326.

²³⁶*True Wesleyan*, February 1, 1851, p. 18; September 13, 1851, p. 146; November 29, 1851, p. 190; August 21, 1852, p. 134.

²³⁷*The Wesleyan*, November 14, 1855, p. 184; February 25, 1857, p. 30; October 13, 1858, p. 164; January 25, 1860, p. 162; *American Wesleyan*, July 17, 1861, p. 113; October 30, 1861, p. 173; November 19, 1862, p. 177.

²³⁸*The Wesleyan*, December 28, 1854, p. 206; January 23, 1856, p. 9; March 19, 1856, p. 46; February 17, 1858, p. 26; April 28, 1858, p. 66; November 3, 1858, p. 175.

²³⁹*The Wesleyan*, June 20, 1860, p. 246; October 17, 1860, p. 314.

²⁴⁰*The Wesleyan*, August 29, 1860, p. 286; *American Wesleyan*, January 1, 1862, p. 2; January 24, 1866, p. 14.

²⁴¹The first article appeared in the *American Wesleyan*, June 27, 1866, p. 99.

²⁴²*True Wesleyan*, April 15, 1848, p. 62; March 17, 1849, p. 42; October 4, 1851,

p. 158; *The Wesleyan*, August 8, 1855, p. 126; October 24, 1855, p. 172; June 6, 1860, p. 239.

²⁴³*True Wesleyan*, November 22, 1851, p. 186; April 3, 1852, p. 54; *The Wesleyan*, May 18, 1854, p. 78; *American Wesleyan*, July 9, 1862, p. 106. See also Gary Wiley, "Wesleyan Missions, Older than 100 years!" in *Wesleyan World*, March 1980, pp. 2, 19.

²⁴⁴*True Wesleyan*, October 7, 1843, p. 157.

²⁴⁵Matlack, *Antislavery Struggle and Triumph*, p. 141; Martin, *The Wesleyan Manual*, p. 18.

²⁴⁶*True Wesleyan*, October 7, 1843, p. 159.

²⁴⁷Cited in *True Wesleyan*, January 4, 1845, p. 3.

²⁴⁸*The Wesleyan*, June 8, 1859, p. 92.

²⁴⁹*The Wesleyan*, June 16, 1853, p. 93; July 28, 1853, p. 117.

²⁵⁰*The Wesleyan*, April 11, 1855, p. 58; May 16, 1855, p. 78; June 6, 1855, p. 92.

²⁵¹*The Wesleyan*, October 24, 1855, p. 172; November 14, 1855, p. 184; November 21, 1855, p. 187; April 2, 1856, p. 54.

²⁵²"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 135.

²⁵³Chandler, "The Formation of the Methodist Protestant Church," in *The History of American Methodism*, 1:681.

²⁵⁴*The Wesleyan*, February 2, 1859, p. 18; March 2, 1859, p. 34; May 4, 1859, p. 70; May 18, 1859, p. 78.

²⁵⁵"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 203.

²⁵⁶"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 223.

²⁵⁷*American Wesleyan*, February 28, 1866, p. 34; March 14, 1866, p. 42; May 9, 1866, p. 74; December 5, 1866, p. 192. B. T. Roberts was one of the two Free Methodists who attended this meeting on proposed merger (*Christian Advocate and Journal*, July 6, 1865). This marked the first time Wesleyans and Free Methodists discussed merger, a scene that was to be repeated many times. Wesleyans had watched the emergence of the Free Methodists with great interest. Roberts had profoundly influenced the Wesleyans, particularly in Illinois, toward involvement in the holiness revival. When Roberts had been asked why he did not just join the Wesleyans, he said that their standard of piety was too low (*American Wesleyan*, July 17, 1861, p. 114).

²⁵⁸Jennings, *American Wesleyan Methodism*, p. 174; *American Wesleyan*, March 7, 1866, pp. 38-39.

²⁵⁹*American Wesleyan*, May 30, 1866, p. 84; June 13, 1866, pp. 91-92.

²⁶⁰*American Wesleyan*, May 22, 1867, p. 80; May 29, 1867, p. 84; June 5, 1867, p. 88; June 26, 1867, p. 100; August 14, 1867, p. 129. In 1877, when the "Methodist Church" reunited with the annual conferences in the East and South, the old name of Methodist Protestant Church was reassumed.

²⁶¹*Christian Advocate*, June 29, 1865.

²⁶²Two letters from Bishop Clark to Matlack, one dated August 11, 1865, and the other dated only in 1866, are cited in "An Address" to the Wesleyans from L. C. Matlack, Luther Lee, Cyrus Prindle, and John McEldowney, printed in *American Wesleyan*, October 22, 1873. No copy of this issue is known to be extant, but the entire "Address" is quoted in Martin, *Wesleyan Manual*, pp. 152-57. See esp. p. 155.

²⁶³*American Wesleyan*, October 23, 1861, p. 170; September 3, 1862, p. 138; January 17, 1866, p. 10; "Autobiography of L. C. Matlack," filed with the New England Methodist Historical Society, handwritten about 1881.

²⁶⁴*American Wesleyan*, July 18, 1866, p. 112.

²⁶⁵*American Wesleyan*, June 20, 1866, p. 96.

²⁶⁶*American Wesleyan*, March 28, 1866, p. 50.

²⁶⁷*American Wesleyan*, January 16, 1867, p. 11; February 6, 1867, p. 23; February 13, 1867, p. 25.

²⁶⁸J. A. Gibson, in *American Wesleyan*, February 13, 1867, p. 25. Cf. Matlack's

"Natural Increase of the Connection," *The Wesleyan*, January 20, 1853, p. 10; see also May 16, 1860, p. 226.

²⁶⁹*American Wesleyan*, May 30, 1866, p. 84; October 30, 1867, p. 172.

²⁷⁰*True Wesleyan*, January 30, 1847, p. 18.

²⁷¹See *True Wesleyan*, December 22, 1849, p. 200. The book, *The Revival Manual*, was published in New York City by the Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1850.

²⁷²*The Wesleyan*, September 22, 1853, p. 150.

²⁷³*The Wesleyan*, January 20, 1853, p. 10.

²⁷⁴*The Wesleyan*, February 10, 1853, p. 22.

²⁷⁵"Methodism Divinely Instituted," *The Wesleyan*, March 18, 1857, p. 42.

²⁷⁶*The Wesleyan*, March 17, 1858, p. 42; see Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, Chapter IV.

²⁷⁷Cf. "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," report for 1864, pp. 212ff.

²⁷⁸John Leland Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), p. 102; *True Wesleyan*, April 8, 1843, p. 53, May 13, 1843, p. 74.

²⁷⁹Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism*, pp. 157, 165-69, 179, 185; *The Antislavery Struggle and Triumph*, pp. 110, 113, 122, 126, 127. See also Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, p. 116; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, p. 175. The *True Wesleyan*, February 8, 1845, p. 23, reported that a New Jersey minister (apparently M E) had been prohibited by his presiding elder from promoting the *Guide to Christian Perfection*, because it was published in New England under abolitionist influence.

²⁸⁰*True Wesleyan*, January 7, 1843, p. 2.

²⁸¹"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 18.

²⁸²*True Wesleyan*, August 3, 1843, p. 123. The only extant copy of which the present writer is aware bears the publication date of 1844.

²⁸³*True Wesleyan*, November 18, 1843, p. 183.

²⁸⁴*True Wesleyan*, December 16, 1843, p. 198.

²⁸⁵"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 66.

²⁸⁶*True Wesleyan*, June 7, 1845, p. 91.

²⁸⁷"New England Conference Journal," April 17, 1848, p. 116; report of St. Lawrence Conference, *True Wesleyan*, May 20, 1848, p. 81; "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 86.

²⁸⁸*Discipline*, 1848, p. 15.

²⁸⁹The reason for the strange punctuation of the title is that Scott was paraphrasing Wesley's title, "Advice to the People Called Methodists." The series consisted of four letters, printed on the front pages of four consecutive issues of the *True Wesleyan*, beginning with the issue of December 6, 1845; the four letters are quoted in their entirety in Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, pp. 244-58.

²⁹⁰"Advice to the People Called 'Wesleyans,'" *True Wesleyan*, December 13, 1845, p. 197.

²⁹¹"Entire Holiness," *True Wesleyan*, January 28, 1843, p. 15.

²⁹²*True Wesleyan*, April 22, 1848, p. 65.

²⁹³"Holiness," *The Wesleyan*, September 1, 1853, p. 138.

²⁹⁴"Entire Holiness," *The Wesleyan*, October 27, 1853, p. 170.

²⁹⁵"The Late Revival in Its Relation to Humanity," *The Wesleyan*, May 26, 1858, p. 84; H. B. Knight, *The Wesleyan*, September 8, 1858, p. 144.

²⁹⁶*True Wesleyan*, September 16, 1843, p. 147; December 23, 1843, p. 201.

²⁹⁷"Spiritual Letters,—No. iii," *True Wesleyan*, August 5, 1848, p. 125.

²⁹⁸*The Wesleyan*, February 21, 1855, p. 30.

²⁹⁹*The Wesleyan*, May 2, 1855, p. 70.

³⁰⁰*The Wesleyan*, March 19, 1856, p. 46.

³⁰¹*The Wesleyan*, July 23, 1856, p. 116.

CHAPTER 3

THE GRANDER, NOBLER WORK: WESLEYAN METHODISM'S TRANSITION, 1867-1901

Lee M. Haines

INTRODUCTION

When the 1899 General Conference adopted the report of its committee on secret societies, it took note of an important transition in the history and perspective of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America.

The particular witness given under the direction of the Holy Spirit from 1870 to 1885, has ceased to be as effective as heretofore, and the order of movement is changed under Divine direction from direct testimony and exposition to the grander, nobler work of spiritualizing men, and exalting the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹

It was obvious that “. . . the grander, nobler work . . .” was now the dominant mission of the denomination.

In 1843 Wesleyan Methodists considered themselves a reform movement, primarily within Methodism, seeking to perpetuate their mission through a new denominational structure. Their overriding concern was with public morals and related political issues, and particularly with the Church's compromise with slavery, intemperance, secret societies and a host of other sins. They prided themselves in being radical, liberal, the vanguard of the righteous host which would soon bring in the millennial reign of Christ on earth. Now, a little over a half-century later, they still thought of themselves as a reform movement. But there were drastic differences. They were in the mainstream of the American holiness movement with an overriding

emphasis on holiness commitment and evangelism. The Church was institutionalizing itself through denominational buildings, departments, schools, and home and foreign missions. It now prided itself in being conservative, reacting to current trends in politics, society and education. It was now promoting reforms which were more personal and individual than public and corporate. It had slowly but certainly yielded its concern for former slaves to what it found to be the overwhelming insistence of the dominant white population and made its own compromise by largely segregating its black churches into separate annual conferences or districts as they were later to be known.

What brought about such a transition? The answer is complex. Up to the close of the Civil War, the Wesleyan Methodists had been part of a reform coalition. Members of the coalition varied considerably in the causes to which they gave themselves. There was only one cause to which virtually all of them were committed—the abolition of slavery. Once slavery was abolished, the coalition began to break up. None of the other Wesleyan concerns was nearly so popular as its antislavery position had been. And neither the other abolitionists nor the Wesleyans had been universally committed to equal rights for blacks or to integration of the races.

The older generation of Wesleyan Methodists had now passed from the scene. Many of the early leaders were dead and the remaining ones had surprised the rank and file of the members by returning to the Methodist Episcopal Church at the close of the war. The newer generation did not share the breadth of ideals which some of the earlier Wesleyans had. There was a reaction to the war itself and the reconstruction which followed, somewhat parallel to the revulsion felt in more recent times over the Vietnam War; there was a desire to turn to matters remote from the controversy. Among Wesleyans there was also a reaction to the political and reform emphasis. For some it had brought leanness of soul, a lack of warmth and vitality in worship, a failure to give priority to worship, Christian education and evangelism.²

At this same time, mass migrations from Europe, along with burgeoning industrialization and materialism, brought a whole new wave of issues and concerns to the political and social

scene in America. These were complex matters for which Wesleyan Methodists were ill prepared and from which many of them tended to withdraw. Increasingly, they and those with whom they associated in common religious enterprises tended to identify "liberal" with the emerging political and social left, including some anti-Christian teachings and the "new learning"—biological evolution, higher criticism in the study of the Scriptures and "modernism."

The holiness revival had already been pushing Wesleyan Methodists in another direction for well over a decade, toward an emphasis on personal holiness. For many, the newer crusade for personal holiness replaced the earlier politically inclined reform crusades. Influential leaders outside of Wesleyan Methodism as well as within tended to see the antislodge reform as the logical successor of the antislavery reform. And the reform issues which were retained tended to be more enforceable as personal reforms rather than as political reforms.

SLAVERY AND SECRECY

Jonathan Blanchard and the National Christian Association

Jonathan Blanchard was a Congregational clergyman who had close and long-lasting ties with the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. Like the Wesleys, he was an abolitionist and he was opposed to secret societies and the use of alcoholic beverages; these common commitments resulted in their frequently meeting together in associations and conventions devoted to these causes. In 1860 Blanchard and some of his associates took over the Wesleys' struggling Illinois Wesleyan Institute at Wheaton and turned it into Wheaton College. Blanchard served as the first president under the new regime and name. Wesleys continued to be represented significantly on the board of trustees, on the faculty and in the student body. For a time they even operated a Wesleyan Theological Seminary on the campus. And they held annual conference and denominational meetings on the campus or in their local church.

Richard Stuart Taylor, in his doctoral thesis on the life of

Jonathan Blanchard, points out that for Blanchard the sequel to his earlier abolitionism was his reformatory crusade against secret societies. While some former abolitionists gave themselves to the post-Civil War struggle for social justice and racial equality, Blanchard and others turned their attention to what they viewed as the foremost evil of the day—secret societies. Blanchard and the Wesleyans had seen the Reform versus Anti-Reform conflict as one of cosmic proportions, carried on between God and Satan as well as between good people and bad people. And Blanchard became convinced that Satan had used secret societies to delude southerners into defending slavery.³ In 1862 Blanchard declared, "Secret Societies . . . have been and are now the right arm of the Slave power."⁴ Following the Civil War, he concluded that "slavery never could have accomplished the secession of eleven states and the death of a million people but for the aid and agency of the secret lodges."⁵

Blanchard proceeded to use some of the strategies he had learned as an abolitionist. On October 31, 1867, he called a planning conference in Aurora, Illinois, attended by eighty-seven antisecretists representing ten different denominations. This led to a convention held in Pittsburgh, May 6-7, 1868, at which time the National Christian Association Opposed to Secret Societies was organized. A national executive committee of thirteen men was selected, and they soon announced the publication of an antisecrecy newspaper. The first issue appeared on July 25, 1868, as the *Christian Banner*, but its name was soon changed to the *Christian Cynosure*.⁶ In the years that followed, there was a frenzy of activity with annual conventions, and state and county associations and conventions.

The Wesleyan Methodists and their allies were heavily involved with Blanchard and the NCA. Rev. Adam Crooks, who had been credited with saving the denomination from dissolution in the Union Movement, and who was now serving the Wesleyans as both editor and publisher, was listed as a sponsor of the Pittsburgh meeting and as a vice president of the organization which resulted. Rev. B. T. Roberts of the Free Methodist Church was also on both lists. Speeches were made in Pittsburgh by such prominent Wesleyans as D. S. Kinney, Adam

Crooks and Samuel Salsbury. L. N. Stratton was placed on the executive committee.⁷ In 1870 when the New York State Convention was held, Adam Crooks served as president and L. N. Stratton as secretary.⁸ In the years that followed, this intense participation of many Wesleyans continued in the organization and its meetings.

Wesleyans not only worked within the antisecrecy structure which Blanchard developed, they shared his sentiments. A speaker at the Michigan Annual Conference declared that Masonic lodges in the South were nests in which rebellion had been warmed into life; he declared that the Masonic order was a threat to the republic.⁹ The author of an obituary printed in the denominational paper spoke about "when the combined elements of Slavery and secrecy sought the disruption of our Republic."¹⁰ Adam Crooks was quoted as having declared "Masonry . . . to be a devil fifty times greater" than slavery.¹¹ John G. Fee, the abolitionist who founded Berea College in Kentucky, was quoted in the denominational organ as blaming the Regulators and the Ku Klux Klan "and other bands of midnight assassins now ranging through Kentucky and other portions of the South" on Freemasonry, Oddfellowship, and kindred associations that had "spawned" them.¹²

The West Iowa Annual Conference adopted a statement in 1878 that said secretism demoralizes the free institutions of "our Republican government" as well as pollutes "our holy Christianity."¹³ The fact that Masonry and some other major lodges taught that a person could be saved and go to the "great lodge above" by following their precepts, brought the charge that they taught salvation by works—another religion in which Christ was honored but unnecessary. One writer declared that slavery had previously dominated Methodism, but now "most of the churches are . . . under the heel of anti-Christ in the form of Baal worship but under the name of the lodge, . . ." ¹⁴ The fact that lodge members often held their obligations to the lodge to be above all others led to charges that they were a "secret empire." Editor Nathan Wardner charged that secret societies were really secret treason.¹⁵ While he favored the prohibition of alcoholic beverages for New York State, he refused to associate himself in a temperance organization which encouraged secretism. He declared, " . . . secretism, . . . is one of the

leading sources of peril to our social, civil, and religious institutions.”¹⁶ Wesleyans even refused to introduce duly appointed fraternal delegates from other denominations to their general conference if such delegates were lodge-members.¹⁷

Lectures and Mobs

The most popular method used by Wesleyan Methodists in opposing the lodges was that of the lecture in which former lodge members exposed the secrets of the lodge, including the oaths, the teachings, the secret signs and symbols. The two best known lecturers were Rev. D. P. Rathbun, who was officially appointed by the 1879 General Conference as “connectional lecturer on secrecy,”¹⁸ and Rev. John Levington, former minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church who transferred his membership to the Wesleyans. Levington especially kept the church at large informed of his activities through a long-running series of articles under the title, “From the Front.”

Such public attacks on the lodge enraged lodge members, and their responses ranged from public debates to disruptions of the meetings to attacks by mobs on the lecturers. Harvey Johnson reported being showered with eggs, and Editor L. N. Stratton said that he had a spare coffin which had been sent to him by Freemasons, marked with a death’s head and crossbones, a square and a compass, and the words, “Prepare to meet your God.”¹⁹ Rathbun was brutally mobbed in Kellerton, Iowa, being beaten and stomped, left vomiting blood and with three-inch and two-inch gashes in his head.²⁰ One report indicated that he had “been once poisoned, once shot, and twice mobbed and beaten to unconsciousness.”²¹ Publisher D. S. Kinney reported that secretists had threatened to assassinate Editor Nathan Wardner and dynamite the denominational buildings.²²

Revising the Rule

While the lodges had suffered heavy losses in the 1830s due to both political and religious antimasonry, the last half of the nineteenth century saw a virtual explosion of lodge growth and expansion. The Masons and Oddfellows grew, and new

organizations like the Knights of Pythias were founded. The veterans of the Civil War organized the Grand Army of the Republic which was a secret society. Farmers organized the Patrons of Husbandry and the emerging labor movement formed the Knights of Labor. Racist secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan emerged and in response the former slaves formed secret societies of their own. Secret fraternities prospered on college campuses. One estimate in 1897 was that more than one-quarter of the adult male population belonged to a secret society.²³

The Wesleyan Methodists already had a strong rule against secret societies which had last been amended in the 1860-64 quadrennium. But that rule prohibited membership in "Secret Societies, such as Free Masonry or Odd Fellowship." With the emergence of the many new organizations, there were those who interpreted the rule as applying only to the two lodges named. As a result, the Wesleyan Methodists amended their rule during the 1875-79 quadrennium by deleting the "such as" clause and making it a total prohibition.²⁴ The debates and the denominational periodical made it clear that now all secret societies were excluded, including the popular Grand Army of the Republic, the organization of Northern Civil War veterans.

Reservations

The heavy involvement of Wesleyans in the public lectures and exposures of the lodge and the extension of the prohibitory rule to include all secret organizations was not accomplished without protest. Robert Shaw wrote to protest the amendment and to question Wesleyan priorities. He said that they should have pursued their natural mission by sending 100 workers into the South after the Civil War. And he added that remonstrating Masonry was not the mission—getting men converted and filled with the Holy Spirit was.²⁵

It was the eventual reordering of priorities which called forth the statement of the 1899 General Conference quoted above, that "under Divine direction" they were turning from the "direct testimony and exposition" of the public lectures "to the grander, nobler work of spiritualizing men, and exalting the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁶

Discrimination Compromise

At the close of the Civil War, Wesleyan Methodists looked forward eagerly to the full emancipation of the former slaves. They took a keen interest in the reconstruction period, condemning many of President Andrew Johnson's plans and supporting Congress against him. They called repeatedly for the ending of all "caste" or discrimination based on race, color or previous condition as slaves. Their interest also included condemnation of the mistreatment of the American Indians, particularly the Sioux in the Black Hills.²⁷ And there was concern over discriminatory legislation banning the immigration of Chinese and also over mistreatment of those who did manage to immigrate.²⁸

The opposition to discrimination continued through much of this period, especially as represented by certain key leaders. Editor Nathan Wardner, writing against "Caste," declared that the Negro was now politically valuable, but not the Indian or the Chinese. He went on to say, ". . . caste is unkind, uncultured, unpatriotic and unchristian."²⁹

When Wesleyan Methodists sent missionaries into Tennessee and North Carolina, they insisted from the beginning that there be no segregation of the races. Apparently sincere and extended efforts were made to apply this principle. There were a few integrated churches also in the North.³⁰ J. W. Wright, the son of former slaves, even served on the Book Committee, the forerunner of the General Board of Administration.³¹

However, it was soon obvious that Wesleyan Methodist official policy was not strongly supported in its own ranks nor readily accepted by society at large. C. W. Roberts, the black pastor of the Marion, Indiana, circuit which included both white and black churches, complained that even the authority of the annual conference president could not secure him a hearing in his white churches.³² The work in Tennessee tried to divide into two annual conferences in 1883, one black and one white. The 1883 General Conference rejected the idea and insisted that there must be only one.³³ Strong statements against "caste" continued to be made, at least as late as 1888. But the tide of popular opinion, tied with the conviction of some that the

opposition to secrecy was the logical successor to opposition to slavery, forced the Wesleyans to accept the segregation of the black churches into separate annual conferences. The first one which was fully recognized was the South Ohio Conference, beginning in 1894.

THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

Background

The "grander, nobler work of spiritualizing men" referred preeminently to Wesleyan Methodist involvement in the holiness movement. The holiness movement had begun in the 1830s with the establishment of the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness in 1835 by Phoebe Palmer and her sister, Sarah Lankford, and the establishment of the periodical best known under the name *Guide to Holiness* in 1839. It continued to gather strength in the years prior to the Civil War, especially in conjunction with the great prayer meeting revival of 1858 and the meetings conducted in various states and countries by the Palmers. Following the Civil War, it was institutionalized in national camp meetings and the organization of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness which became known as the National Holiness Association (still later the Christian Holiness Association) and a host of other supporting agencies. There were many who promoted this revival within existing denominations and some who called for those who were holy to "come out" and be separate. And eventually, as the mainline churches tightened denominational control on ministers and churches, there was a significant exodus which resulted in the founding of many new holiness denominations. Wesleyan Methodists, as indicated in the preceding chapter, had become heavily involved with the pre-Civil War phase of the revival, and now they continued to be involved in the new developments.

Promotional Structures

The Wesleyan Methodists were not as greatly involved with the National Holiness Association in the early years as might

have been expected. This appears to have been due to the heavy involvement of ministers and members from the major northern and southern branches of Methodism, many of whom were lodge members and therefore persons with whom Wesleyans refused to fellowship. However, the national association was followed by the organization of state, regional and local associations. Wesleyans participated in these. Mrs. Mary DePew, credited by some as being one of those mainly responsible for the holiness revival among Wesleyans, and a coworker, "Sister Ellet," were members of the Evangelical Union Holiness Association.³⁴ S. B. Shaw, who was a Wesleyan for a time, was heavily involved in the Michigan State Holiness Association. And some of the annual conferences formed their own, with the Miami and Central Ohio Conferences joining to form a Wesleyan Methodist Ohio Holiness Association.³⁵

Another structure which was used widely by the holiness movement, even by those not greatly involved with the national association, was the band. This was largely a local organization, made up of persons from various denominational or non-denominational groupings, which met at times other than regularly scheduled church services to pray for revival and promote the spread of the holiness message and experience. The Iowa Annual Conference apparently had a strong band on a larger than local basis.³⁶ Local bands were mentioned by the denominational organ in Masonville, Iowa;³⁷ Salineville, Ohio;³⁸ Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania;³⁹ Ellsworth, Kansas;⁴⁰ Des Moines, Iowa;⁴¹ Huntington, Indiana;⁴² and Corunna, Michigan.⁴³

Another promotional tool used for the holiness revival was the convention. This was used widely by Wesleyan Methodists with many local churches reporting conventions and some of the annual conferences promoting series of conventions throughout their boundaries. When there was talk of an International Holiness Convention, Editor Nathan Wardner expressed the hope that it would be in order to speak against sin, as well as to get happy and shout⁴⁴—apparently expressing his concern lest antisecrecy be neglected. When a General Holiness Assembly was called in Chicago for May 20, 1885, two of the seven persons issuing the call were Wesleyans—Thomas K. Doty and S. B. Shaw. Shaw and two others of the seven, John P. Brooks and B. A. Washburn, were

eventually identified with the radical “come-outers” — apparently an unusually heavy involvement of persons considered to be among the more radical elements of the movement.⁴⁵

As time went on, in the broader holiness movement, churches were formed whose primary mission was to promote holiness preaching and experience. Many of these were independent congregations or those which gradually came together to form new denominations like the Church of the Nazarene and the Pilgrim Holiness Church. However, there were new Wesleyan Methodist churches organized as holiness churches. They had never existed as antislavery churches nor had they come into existence solely as antisecrecy churches. Attention was called in the columns of the denominational organ again and again to these organizations. One which had a spectacular beginning in a great revival was in Zanesville, Ohio, where it was noted that there had previously been only a colored Wesleyan Methodist church but now there was a holiness church.⁴⁶ The organization of one such church resulted from the secession of a group from the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴⁷ Departures from the mainline Methodist bodies rapidly increased as time went on. C. G. Buck reported that there were a number of holiness missions in New England, made up of people who had been driven out of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had apparently already organized one of these into a Wesleyan Methodist Church and was expecting more to follow.⁴⁸ Thomas K. Doty indicated that undenominational work had led to numerous Free Methodist churches in Illinois and ten Wesleyan Methodist churches in Ohio.⁴⁹ At the 1899 General Conference, a resolution was introduced calling attention to the need to recruit the thousands of persons who were restless in the old-line churches, and calling for the election of three connectional evangelists who would be responsible for eastern, western, and southern portions of this assignment, but no action was taken.⁵⁰ Missionary Secretary W. H. Kennedy indicated at the same session that some holiness people were finding a spiritual home among the Wesleyans; perhaps as many as half of those currently coming into the denomination were from that source.⁵¹ And at the same session, C. W. DePue, president of the East Tennessee Holiness Association, was present as a delegate of the proposed East Tennessee Conference, and he

indicated that he expected to organize the holiness bands of that association into Wesleyan Methodist churches.⁵²

Altar Terminology

Phoebe Palmer had a surprising impact, for a nineteenth-century laywoman, on the theology of the holiness movement. She taught that once consecration was complete the believer should then exercise faith and without any sensible evidence lay claim to entire sanctification. One of her favorite texts was, "The altar sanctifieth the gift" (Matt. 23:19; cf. Exod. 29:37). This led to the development of what was termed the "altar terminology" or "altar theology." While some opposed her view as encouraging a claim of entire sanctification before it was actually experienced, the majority of holiness advocates adopted both her view and her terminology.⁵³

Mrs. Palmer's view and terminology were accepted by most Wesleyan Methodists. R. R. Ducher reporting on the Lockport Conference camp meeting near Eagle Village, New York, said that some realized that waiting for feeling or joy would be to be saved by knowledge and not by faith. "Glorious was the experience of taking the words, 'The altar sanctifieth the gift.'" ⁵⁴

When John Levington, the well known antisecrecy lecturer, wrote a series of articles for the denominational organ entitled "An Exposure of Some of the Errors of Certain Professed Teachers of Holiness, in This Our Day" he included Mrs. Palmer's altar terminology among the errors. This produced a long series of responses from Thomas K. Doty and others, declaring their support for the concept that Christ is our altar and once we have placed ourselves upon Him, we have a right to testify to entire sanctification.⁵⁵

Legalism

The holiness movement manifested in many areas a tendency to catalog certain behaviors as "sins" and to preach strongly against these as inconsistent with holiness and as banned from the entirely sanctified life. In some cases these lists went to extremes.

While most Wesleyans avoided the worst extremes,

condemnations did appear in conference committee reports and the pages of the denominational periodical of not only alcohol and tobacco, but also tea and coffee, "mistress fashion" in various forms, costly apparel, the wearing of gold and even neckties. D. A. Richards responded to some of these articles, saying the reports of Wesleyan misconduct were exaggerated and he desired a more biblical approach with less stone-throwing.⁵⁶ The Lockport Conference resolved that it was inconsistent with the *Discipline*, both in spirit and letter, to ordain a man who used tobacco, wore gold or opposed the doctrine of entire sanctification as a work subsequent to regeneration.⁵⁷ The 1895 General Conference debated a resolution which would have listed both "the wearing of gold bowed spectacles or gold watches" as violations of the *Discipline*. The resolution was amended to strike out the reference to gold bowed spectacles and then adopted—thus condemning the wearing of gold watches.⁵⁸

Emotional Manifestations

Methodists, from their beginnings under John Wesley, had always been a happy people who expressed their emotions freely. At the time the holiness movement was developing momentum, many Methodists had moved more into the mainstream of the socio-economic structure and had become more sedate in their worship. It was perhaps natural that many holiness advocates revived the earlier emotionalism and promoted it enthusiastically.

Wesleyan Methodists participated in these joyful expressions. J. L. Benton reported on a round of services at East Randolph in New York where the "saints shouted and danced in holy ecstasy."⁵⁹ W. G. Moon reported a revival in Bluffton, Indiana, where they "were . . . tarrying for the power." One sweep of power followed another, with the people falling, shouting and leaping.⁶⁰

There were other emotional manifestations as well. Some were stretched out powerless on the ground in many of the meetings; a similar phenomenon had been recorded in some of John Wesley's own services as well as in the Cane Ridge and other early camp meetings on the American frontier. In

connection with these scenes, as well as under other conditions, there were testimonies of divine healing having occurred. W. J. Seekins, a leader in the Indiana Conference and a later denominational publisher, reported a meeting at Flat Rock, Indiana, where trances were experienced with visions. "The Holy Ghost took possession of soul and body of persons for hours at different times in the meetings, to whom was [sic] revealed some precious scenes."⁶¹ Reports of trances were rather frequent. In Indiana they were no doubt encouraged by the presence of Mrs. Marie Woodworth-Etter, the noted "trance evangelist," who conducted services in Fairmount and Kokomo.⁶² Later, "A Word of Warning" concerning Mrs. Woodworth-Etter was printed in the denominational periodical, citing her as a Zinzendorfian, a church splitter, a liar and a person seeking economic benefit for herself.⁶³ Still later, after 1906, she associated herself with the emerging pentecostal movement.⁶⁴

The more extreme emotional expressions brought frequent expressions of disapproval. H. D. Inman, a long-time Wesleyan leader in Michigan, spoke of "confused notions," "religious zealots," "religious enthusiasts," who "give themselves up to impressions, sensations, and emotions."⁶⁵ Harvey Johnson of Corunna, Michigan, said that sanctified power is the secret, but it is not received through screaming and prostration.⁶⁶ L. E. Jesseph, also from Corunna, declared that the Wesleyan fellowship of which he was a part, did "not endorse devil work, or crawling on the floor, or laughing, or screaming like a demon, and other things done by those deluded persons too low to publish here."⁶⁷

Evangelists

Holiness evangelists in great numbers emerged in the years following the Civil War to help spread the message and to win adherents. Some of them were men and women of high standing in the main-line churches, well trained and cultured, and fully cognizant of the denominational structures with which they needed to work. But as time went on, there were many who had been converted in an independent setting, who had had no training at all, and who had no respect for anyone's opinion other than their own. Dr. Timothy L. Smith, Nazarene

historian, described them as persons whom neither God nor man had ordained.⁶⁸ These heightened the negative reactions of some denominational leaders to the holiness movement and wrought havoc with existing congregations.

Wesleyan Methodists profited from the ministry of holiness evangelists. Rev. J. A. McGilvra and Mrs. Mary DePew were among the leaders of those who crisscrossed the denomination in camp meetings, revivals and conventions. But since Wesleyan Methodism was a denomination, it also shared some of the unhappy experiences of the larger denominations with evangelists who were innocently received on the basis of their testimonies but who then disrupted congregational life. The 1883 General Conference declared that evangelists were not to interfere in any way with the ministry of the pastors, "... we would ask our churches to receive with due care and caution, Evangelists who come among us, without the sanction of legitimate church endorsement; and who in many instances reject all church authority and government, to the great harm of the cause of Christ."⁶⁹

Come-Outers

A significant portion of the holiness movement was afflicted by an antidenominational teaching which was popularly dubbed "come-outism." Leaders in this emphasis included Daniel S. Warner, whose followers formed the Church of God (Anderson), John P. Brooks, whose work eventuated in the Church of God (Holiness), Hardin Wallace, who worked in Texas and California, and James F. Washburn, whose work led to the Holiness Church (of California) which many years later merged into the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The activities of all of these men were noted in the columns of the denominational periodical. Editor Nathan Wardner reported a rift between Warner and his wife over her renunciation of come-outism which had apparently been published in Thomas K. Doty's *Christian Harvester*, and subsequently printed in full a letter written by Mrs. S. A. Warner to Mrs. Mary DePew, the Wesleyan holiness evangelist, in which Mrs. Warner expressed her dismay over come-outism.⁷⁰

Come-outism was reported to have hurt Wesleyan works in

Michigan, Kansas and Indiana. J. C. Bernhard, Kansas Conference evangelist, said that the chief mission of the "come-outers" in that state "seems to be the breaking up of church organizations and the reviving of infidelity, anarchy, and free loveism."⁷¹ As a result, Wesleyan Methodists spoke strongly and frequently against come-outism.

Crystallizing of Theological Definition

The Wesleyan Methodist *Discipline* had carried an article of religion on sanctification ever since the 1848 General Conference, the first such for any denomination. It was a general definition and did not deal with specifics such as were of increasing importance in the holiness movement. The 1879 General Conference adopted a new article of religion on regeneration, attempting to distinguish that work of grace from sanctification. By this time, constitutional items were supposed to be passed by the concurrent action of two-thirds of those voting in the general conference, two-thirds of those voting on the annual conference level, and two-thirds of those voting in the local churches. But President Nathan Wardner ruled that the introduction of a new article of religion, unless it contravened the existing articles, did not need to be handed down for ratification.⁷²

The 1883 General Conference made no amendments to the Articles of Religion, but it did adopt a very strong resolution in support of the holiness movement which spoke of entire sanctification as subsequent to justification and regeneration; it called for the ministers to preach it and the people to receive it.⁷³ Nathan Wardner, who was both the president of the general conference and the editor, had even previously resisted printing any articles in the denominational periodical which questioned holiness theology.⁷⁴ Now he wrote an article entitled "Settled Beyond Controversy" contrasting the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification with the Zinzendorfian and Calvinistic views. He declared that sanctification begins in regeneration. He emphatically stated that he would refuse to publish any Zinzendorfian or Calvinistic articles, since the general conference had committed the denomination to the Wesleyan View.⁷⁵

The 1887 General Conference revised the two articles of

religion on regeneration and sanctification, altering the initial term of the paragraph from "sanctification" to "entire sanctification," and speaking of it as "a distinct, instantaneous and subsequent work to Regeneration."⁷⁶ Again, the revisions were not handed down for ratification, as the supporters of the changes insisted they did not represent changes in principles but only in clarification of the wording.

There followed an intensifying conflict between those who thought these new articles were simply clarifications of the earlier ones, and a significant portion of the denomination made up of persons with varying viewpoints, including some who simply questioned the legality of the process, others who preferred the more general wording of the earlier articles, and probably still others who opposed the holiness movement in general. They tried to express their views through the denominational periodical, but the editor was adamant. On December 18-20, 1888, a meeting was held at Meridian, Michigan, with the editor and publisher present, to discuss the impasse. No solution was found. As a result, a group of Michigan Wesleyans, along with several others from throughout the Church, began the publication of another periodical, known from January 1889 until September 1890 as the *Wesleyan Herald*, and then renamed the *Wesleyan Advocate*, under which name it was published until its last issue on November 15, 1891. H. A. Day was the editor and publisher, and the dateline was Chicago until September 1889, when it was changed to Brighton, Michigan.⁷⁷ The editor and other writers indicated that they basically supported the concept of Wesleyan holiness, but refused to be limited to the exact verbiage upon which Editor Nathan Wardner was insisting. When the Michigan Conference met in 1889, it adopted resolutions condemning the editor for his inflexibility and the publisher for not rendering more complete and understandable reports on the finances, and rejecting the two articles of religion as not binding.⁷⁸

The Michigan Conference's role in this controversy is in part a bit surprising. It had been the site of some of the earliest holiness revivals in the denomination prior to the Civil War, and had reported more such revivals following the war, and many strong statements of support for the holiness movement had

issued from its sessions and its people. It is true that there had been significant outbreaks of what was termed fanaticism, including the attacks of the come-outers, extreme emotional manifestations, and even some doctrinal aberrations. Perhaps all of these played a part in making the leaders of the late 1880s a bit cautious about the newer terminology. And perhaps strong leaders were responding to what they considered the inflexibility of Editor Nathan Wardner.

The entire controversy came to a head in the 1891 General Conference. Publishing Agent D. S. Kinney had died the previous year. Nathan Wardner was reelected general conference president but was not reelected as editor. New articles of religion on the controverted topics were approved (unanimously according to the record) and handed down to be ratified by those voting in the annual conferences and local churches; the process of ratification was completed by 1893. On the Sunday of general conference, a tremendous altar service took place. "In the midst of the indescribable glory of this holy confusion Editors Wardner and Day were observed kneeling clasped in each other's arms, weeping on each other's necks reconciled and forgiven." It was reported that H. A. Day testified to having received the baptism of the Holy Ghost at that altar.⁷⁹

Sadly, there were still losses from this controversy. Joel Martin, author of one of the denominational histories, had resigned as president of the Michigan Conference a bit earlier, and he and five other ministers withdrew from the denomination.⁸⁰ And one of the most strategic local churches of the denomination, the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Syracuse, New York, severed its relation with the denomination on April 14, 1890, and became an independent congregation. The primary reasons were the tightening of the prohibition against membership in secret societies to include the Civil War veterans organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the action of the 1887 General Conference in amending the articles of religion on regeneration and sanctification. This local church was next door to the publishing house. The congregation managed to maintain control of its property in the courts, and retained the name "Wesleyan Methodist" until 1966 when it was changed to "The First Gospel Church of Syracuse."⁸¹

Baptism With Fire

The holiness movement was troubled by aberrations of its message, aberrations which had far-reaching effects in developing new doctrines and new religious bodies. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection suffered from the beginnings of such.

There were occasional references to the gifts of the Spirit in the denominational periodical. A series of articles on the "Gifts of the Holy Ghost" by W. T. Hogg appeared in 1886 and produced some answers.⁸² G. M. Hardy, who served for a time alongside Nathan Wardner, as Connectional evangelist, declared, "Very many people are healed today, however, and the outlook is encouraging, as though God is restoring the holy gifts to the church."⁸³ A report of a holiness convention on the Ingham charge in Michigan spoke of women on the platform with their mantles thrown off, their hands lifted up, glory on their faces, "and in a voice not their own, prophesying."⁸⁴ In another instance, a sister was reported to have gone into a "speaking trance."⁸⁵

References to the "gifts" at this point were not disturbing to the denominational leaders, but talk of a third work of grace was indeed upsetting. The Western Kansas Ministerial Association discussed sanctification, and some of its members thought that there were three works: regeneration, sanctification, and the baptism of the Spirit.⁸⁶ W. H. Kennedy, later to serve as general missionary secretary, distinguished at one time between entire sanctification on the one hand and the baptism with the Holy Ghost on the other, saying they were distinct experiences which might or might not occur at the same time; he declared this baptism to be a special impartation of power, repeatable many times.⁸⁷ An article on "The Enduement of Power" appeared in the denominational periodical, saying that such an enduement was not identical with either conversion or entire sanctification.⁸⁸

The most damaging aspect of the "third work" teaching for Wesleyan Methodists was in the form of the baptism of fire. This teaching apparently originated with Benjamin Hardin Irwin of Lincoln, Nebraska, a former Baptist minister who became a member of the Iowa Holiness Association. He became convinced that there was a distinction between the baptism of the

Holy Spirit at entire sanctification and the baptism of fire which subsequently brought power to the believer. He sought and claimed to receive such a baptism. His teachings were opposed so strongly that he withdrew from the Iowa Holiness Association and began to organize Fire-Baptized Holiness Associations across the country. In December 1896 he held services in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Piedmont, South Carolina.⁸⁹ Losses to the infant South Carolina Conference were heavy.⁹⁰ It was in Anderson, South Carolina, July 28-August 28, 1898, that Irwin organized the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, which later merged into the Pentecostal Holiness Church.⁹¹

W. J. Seekins reported an outbreak of the fire-baptized teaching by Pastor W. G. Moon on the Salimony Circuit in Indiana.⁹² In the same issue of the denominational periodical appeared articles by H. S. Abbott, Eber Teter, and Editor A. T. Jennings dealing with this growing problem.⁹³ The 1899 General Conference put the finishing touches to the discussion by the adoption of a lengthy resolution renewing commitment to the holiness doctrines as previously defined, and condemning the baptism of fire theory as a "damaging heresy," saying that it was impossible to divide the baptism into two separate acts by the Holy Spirit and by fire, and by declaring that the Bible must always take precedence over men's experience.⁹⁴

SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

Organization

Early Wesleyan Methodist reaction to the abuse of power by the bishops and presiding elders of the Methodist Episcopal Church had led to a very loosely knit organizational pattern. At the beginning of this period, there were no continuing general church leaders other than the editor and publishing agent who were responsible for publications. Most of the annual conferences did not have full-time presidents, but only missionaries or evangelists who ministered to the churches but exercised no official authority. The post-Civil War challenges, with increasing opportunities for church planting, the commitment to holiness evangelism, the establishment of home and foreign missions, and the development of a proper pattern of higher

education all combined to force the denomination to consider change.

Publisher D. S. Kinney called for a more perfect organization of the churches as one of "the primal needs of our Connection."⁹⁵ The 1883 General Conference, in its Address to the Churches, called for a "thorough organization," and warned that the "Methodist" concept was fast being lost for lack of system.⁹⁶

H. T. Besse declared that Wesleyans were so fearful of bishops and superintendents, "that we have gone to the other extreme, and largely allowed our institutions to run themselves; but they do not run, they go limping."⁹⁷ G. W. Storey declared that Wesleyan Methodists needed a head, since everybody was currently a law to himself, but added the caution that they did not need "any centralized power."⁹⁸

Changes did take place. The 1875 General Conference made the president and secretary continuing officers between sessions, not on a full-time basis, but in order to care for any business related to their offices which might arise. The 1875 and 1879 General Conferences elected men to the office of general conference evangelists, but did not provide for their financial support, so the office soon died a natural death.

The big changes began in 1891. The transition was symbolized by the incorporation of the denomination, with the corporate name involving the insertion of the parenthetical phrase "(or Church)" after Connection. The new name, "The Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America," soon came to be used for all purposes. The election of a third general official, the general missionary secretary, was provided for. The Book Committee was enlarged, both in membership and responsibilities. The three full-time general officials were made ex officio members of the Book Committee, and an effort was made in the election of the other six ministers and six laymen to secure regional representation for the entire Church. The Book Committee was made the board of managers of all of the legal societies or corporations and became to all practical purposes a board of administration. It was also given power to serve as a committee to review all proposed general conference legislation prior to the convening of the sessions.

The annual conferences also began restructuring. The trend

was to incorporation with boards of trustees, the election of a full-time conference president with new duties and powers of interim pastoral appointments and the interpretation of conference rules, attention to the proper deeding of local church property and the holding of the same by the annual conference, and the development of conference and camp centers.

Institutionalization

The Wesleyan Methodist Connection had existed for several decades without really being identified with a building, or providing any general church departmental structure, or establishing any educational institutions which continued under denominational control and management. Changes were coming here also.

A lasting home for the denominational presses was provided during this period. Before Adam Crooks's death in 1874, he had begun to raise funds for a denominational publishing house, and in 1874 he purchased lots on East Onondaga Street in downtown Syracuse, New York. By 1883 when the general conference was held in the local Wesleyan church, the large brick building next door, with basement and four stories, was nearly completed. It served as the denominational headquarters until its destruction by fire in 1957. While the publishing operation was not intended to earn large profits, it was able to move into a level of economic stability and growth which had been unknown in the earlier years.

While the story of Wesleyan colleges will be told elsewhere in this volume, Wesleyan Methodists did continue to seek the establishment of permanent institutions. From 1873 to 1894, they operated what was essentially a secondary school at Wasioja, Minnesota, and from 1879 to 1890 a theological seminary on the campus of Wheaton College. A school for freedom was operated at Purdy, Tennessee, for a time. The first institution with a degree of permanency was Houghton Seminary, which developed eventually into Houghton Academy and Houghton College, in western New York. It opened for classes in the fall of 1884.

Stewardship

Fund-raising had always been one of the disappointing aspects of Wesleyan Methodist life. Not only were most of the people poor laborers or frontiersmen, but what money or produce was given was consumed almost entirely in the local congregations and circuits. It was very difficult even for the annual conferences to raise needed money for the salaries of officers or of missionaries and evangelists touring their territory, or to take offerings to support tent meetings or start new churches. And it was extremely difficult for the general church to provide any dependable support for the publishing operation, the school or missions.

This began to change slowly during this period due to an awakening to the concept of tithing. The 1875 General Conference called for every Christian to give one-tenth of his income to benevolent purposes and to consecrate the other nine-tenths fully to the Lord.⁹⁹ From this point on, various articles appeared in the denominational periodical stressing tithing as scripturally based and divinely ordained for Christian practice. Various annual conference resolutions spoke to the same issue. In 1883 the general conference committee on Christian beneficence recommended and the body adopted a resolution calling for systematic tithing.¹⁰⁰

The 1895 General Conference adopted the Dollar Plan, the first real attempt to systematize the giving of the local churches to general interests. It called for each member to give one dollar per year, which would be divided equally between home and foreign missions, education, and annual conference extension.

The 1899 General Conference adopted two items on tithing, both of which were reflected in the new *Discipline*. The one was an additional question addressed to the pastor on his annual report: "Have you faithfully tithed your income during the conference year and have you presented that subject to your congregations?" The second was a new section on "Tithing," which called for the people to organize themselves into a denominational Tithing Union, and calling for the election of local and annual conference tithing secretaries to help promote and organize this new venture.¹⁰¹

This period also saw some slow increase in planned giving by Wesleyans through major gifts and wills, although the amounts were still very small.

Missions

During this period Wesleyan Methodists gradually disassociated themselves from the American Missionary Association and concentrated their efforts on their own Wesleyan Missionary Society, their legal corporation for carrying on missionary labors. Efforts were concentrated at first in ministering to freedmen in the South, and also seeking to convert any southern whites who would listen to the abolitionist missionaries. There were also appeals for missionaries and financial support in the western states, clear to the West Coast, but the response was quite limited. Such works established in the West were largely the result of the sacrificial labors of bivocational pastors.

Gradually, sentiment began to build for a foreign mission. Part of this came through an increasing involvement of the women of the Church. L. N. Stratton called quite early for the churches' sewing societies to support missions.¹⁰² By 1875 there were six local societies in Michigan of what was called the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection.¹⁰³ As the interest in foreign missions developed, the name was lengthened to Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, and local societies developed in a number of the annual conferences. By 1890 the first annual conference society was organized and others followed quickly.

The 1883 General Conference authorized the collecting of funds for foreign missions, to be held until a work was begun. In 1885 the Book Committee employed Rev. A. W. Hall as missionary agent and in 1886 voted to open work in Africa. The full story of the work's beginnings in 1899 is told elsewhere in this volume.

Christian Education

Many local Wesleyan congregations carried on Sunday schools in these early days. Some beginning efforts were made

during this period to provide better training, organization and curriculum for the Sunday schools. The Rochester Conference held a "Sabbath-school Convention" in 1870.¹⁰⁴ They developed a pattern of regular Sunday school association meetings, and other conferences also adopted the pattern.¹⁰⁵ The 1879 General Conference adopted a resolution calling for annual conference Sunday school conventions, and for the establishment of a Sunday school department "at headquarters" as soon as possible.¹⁰⁶ While this was not carried out in this period, the publishing house did provide more adequately for the needs of the local churches, developing a take-home paper for the children on a weekly basis, and beginning the production of a line of Sunday school quarterlies in 1891.

Wesleyan Methodists were very slow to develop structures for the youth of the church. Part of this was apparently due to concern over the direction other youth organizations had pointed their respective denominations. The 1895 General Conference actually amended the *Discipline* to say, "It is expected that our members will abstain from connection with the Epworth League and Society of Christian Endeavor."¹⁰⁷ Four years later the general conference received many recommendations from the annual conferences to make provision for youth meetings. Two actions were taken. The first deleted the rule against Epworth and Christian Endeavor, as they were widely understood to prohibit youth meetings. The second adopted a new section of the *Discipline*, encouraging the holding of youth meetings under the direction of the churches and pastors.¹⁰⁸ The door was opened for the future.

Reforms

The Wesleyan Methodist Connection had always been self-consciously a reform church. In addition to the major reform issue of antisecretism it continued to express its concerns on many issues. Just as there was a National Christian Association Opposed to Secret Societies, so there was also a National Reform Association, formed in 1864, with which Wesleyans cooperated.

The report of the committee on reforms adopted by the 1883 General Conference mentioned the following issues:

equality of the races (black, Indian, Chinese), antisecrecy, anti-intoxicants, antitobacco, prosabbath, antipolygamy, antidivorce, antimixed marriage (Christian and non-Christian), anticovetousness, antisuperfluous adornment.¹⁰⁹ Other items mentioned from time to time included the use of the Bible in the public schools, school books which left out the name of God and Christ, peace, a constitutional amendment stating that the United States is a Christian nation, labor and capital, fraternities, and festivals and church fairs. Earlier sympathy for the labor movement had eroded because of its involvement in secretism.

Surprising as it may seem a century later, frequent statements were made in this period opposing abortion. One of the most thorough was that adopted by the 1899 General Conference:

Motherhood is being looked upon as a reproach. There are thousands of purposely childless homes—infanticide is on the increase. There are many who sit in the pews of churches and commune at their altars, whose souls are stained with deliberate murder of unborn children. God's order in the family is being defeated by a selfish ease and pleasure-loving spirit, and his wrath is being provoked by this terrible crime.¹¹⁰

Women in Ministry

Wesleyan Methodists continued their support of women's rights in this period, but the main focus of debate centered on women's role in the ministry. Mrs. Mary A. Will had been ordained by the Illinois Annual Conference in 1861, and subsequently the 1864 General Conference had refused to disapprove the licensing and ordaining of women. But in the new period there were some counter currents.

The Illinois Conference deposed Mrs. Will from the ministry. The reason is not clear, but a letter from another Illinois woman preacher, Mrs. H. E. Hayden, referred to Illinois as having led the way in ordaining women and then having backslid.¹¹¹ So perhaps the deposition was due to a reconsideration of the question of ordaining women. In any event, the deposition was appealed to the 1875 General Conference. The committee to which it was referred declared that the annual

conference's action was irregular and illegal, but the general conference did not adopt their report.¹¹²

Mrs. Hayden's letter indicated that both the Champlain and Michigan Annual Conferences had also ordained women. The controversy was taken up through numerous articles and letters in the denominational periodical. Essentially three positions in the context of that era were represented, from the one extreme that women should stay at home and leave church leadership to the men, to a middle position that women could preach but not be ordained or serve as pastors or as in authority over men, to the other extreme that women could be ordained on the same basis as men.

The 1879 General Conference authorized the licensing of women as preachers, but refused them the right of ordination—thus taking the middle view above. Agitation in favor of their ordination continued. The 1887 General Conference narrowly failed, on a vote divided between the ministerial and lay delegates (thus requiring a majority of both groups) and taken late in the session after the departure of some delegates, to pass a resolution which would have authorized the ordination of women.¹¹³ The 1891 General Conference repealed the rule approving the licensing but disapproving the ordaining of women, thus leaving no statement at all on the matter in the *Discipline*, and each annual conference free to ordain whom it believed to be called and fitted.

Perspective and Vision

The perspective of Wesleyan Methodists made a rather significant shift during this period. They began as self-described liberals. In fact, conservatism was a very negative term. The 1871 General Conference, in its "Address to the Churches," said that the Methodist Episcopal Church "stands before an intelligent world convicted of chronic conservatism."¹¹⁴ It was not until 1878 that the word "liberal" was used by Wesleyans in a negative sense, and then liberal politics were spoken of as having "atheistical and liberal views of government."¹¹⁵ It was stated in 1880 that the National Reform movement called itself liberal, but it was trying to distance itself from liberalism that was open to free love and universal license.¹¹⁶ By 1884 Editor

Nathan Wardner wrote an editorial on "Liberalism" in which he said that one of the perils of Christianity is "a tendency to popularize liberalism." This was the "new learning" kind of liberalism.¹¹⁷ While the word "conservative" was not yet embraced, it was obvious that Wesleyans were being pressed toward thinking of themselves in that way with reference to many emerging issues.

At the same time that its perspective on the conservative-liberal axis was changing, the Church was dreaming a bit. It was still almost exclusively rural in situation and outlook. But increasingly calls were being heard that it was time to turn to the cities. Editor Nathan Wardner in 1885 wrote on "Work in Cities" and declared that the Church was making a serious mistake in not working more in large towns and cities. He talked of the need of the gospel in the cities.¹¹⁸ Pioneer pastors and annual conference leaders also were catching the vision of the population centers.

The 1895 General Conference summed up the changes which had taken place in this momentous period as they tried to peer into the new century ahead.

The Church for the new century must take new and advanced positions. Some questions should be settled never to be disturbed. If we remain faithful they are settled. That God requires an intelligent, knowledge-loving ministry, endued with power from on high, is not open to any question; let us, then, tolerate no departure from this standard. If men are unfruitful they demonstrate their own mistake in thinking themselves called or qualified to preach. Plainness and neatness of person at home, and simple habits of life are clearly enjoined in the Bible. Let that, then, be a settled question. We cannot return to the fellowship of members of secret societies, nor can we labor in anti secret work with these who have returned to such fellowship. Let that remain among the settled questions. The Bible doctrine of entire sanctification and the baptism of the Holy Ghost are decided upon as an essential part of our faith; therefore, let it also remain undisturbed. There are other settled questions; let us go on unto new ground. A fatal mistake some churches have made is, that they move on and leave their settled questions behind, and soon cease to believe them. They are not large enough of heart and mind to hold to the old and receive the new. We must demonstrate greater breadth and depth.

The kingdom of God must be supreme in our hearts and lives. We could point to scores of men who have wrecked their faith by turning away to some special issue. Some have turned to the specialty of political prohibition and cease to preach the gospel. Others have given up preaching the gospel for the advocacy of anti-secret reform. It is the kingdom of our King which should have supreme place. It is of more value than ourselves and all our possessions.¹¹⁹

NOTES

¹*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Held at Sheridan, Ind., October 18-25, 1899* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Book Concern, 1899), pp. 58-59.

²Dr. F. R. Eddy, long-time pastor, annual conference leader, and denominational officer, who was born in 1882 and whose parents had joined the Wesleyan Methodists in northern Indiana shortly after the Civil War, shared this impression with the author on various occasions.

³Richard Stuart Taylor, *Seeking the Kingdom: A Study in the Career of Jonathan Blanchard, 1811-1892*, Ph.D. thesis, Northern Illinois University (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1978), pp. 304-05.

⁴Jonathan Blanchard to Gerrit Smith, 13 January 1862, copy in Wheaton College Archives, Wheaton, Illinois, quoted in Taylor, *Seeking the Kingdom*, p. 506.

⁵Jonathan Blanchard to Gerrit Smith, 28 December 1869, copy in Wheaton College Archives, Wheaton, Illinois, quoted in Taylor, *Seeking the Kingdom*, p. 507.

⁶Taylor, *Seeking the Kingdom*, p. 509.

⁷*American Wesleyan*, April 22, 1868, p. 273; May 20, 1868, p. 288; May 27, 1868, p. 292.

⁸*American Wesleyan*, November 23, 1870, p. 142.

⁹*American Wesleyan*, October 13, 1869, p. 600.

¹⁰*American Wesleyan*, November 17, 1869, p. 616.

¹¹*American Wesleyan*, June 27, 1883, p. 3.

¹²*Wesleyan Methodist*, June 27, 1888, p. 8.

¹³*American Wesleyan*, November 6, 1878, p. 2.

¹⁴*Wesleyan Methodist*, May 16, 1888, p. 8.

¹⁵*Wesleyan Methodist*, August 4, 1886, p. 2.

¹⁶*American Wesleyan*, October 11, 1882, p. 4.

¹⁷Handwritten minutes in "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, Conventions and General Conferences, Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 359, 363; *American Wesleyan*, May 19, 1880, p. 1.

¹⁸"Wesleyan Methodist Connection . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 102-03.

¹⁹*American Wesleyan*, July 24, 1878, pp. 3-4.

²⁰*American Wesleyan*, June 29, 1881, p. 5.

²¹*Wesleyan Methodist*, March 5, 1884, p. 4.

²²"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 481.

²³Taylor, *Seeking the Kingdom*, pp. 507-08.

²⁴"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 332, 351.

²⁵*American Wesleyan*, December 24, 1879, p. 2.

²⁶*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, pp. 58-59.

- 27 *American Wesleyan*, July 26, 1876, pp. 1,4; December 20, 1876, p. 4.
- 28 *American Wesleyan*, July 27, 1870, p. 118; April 12, 1882, p. 3.
- 29 *American Wesleyan*, August 14, 1878, p. 4.
- 30 *American Wesleyan*, May 24, 1882, p. 2.
- 31 *American Wesleyan*, April 5, 1882, pp. 4-5.
- 32 *American Wesleyan*, April 7, 1880, p. 2.
- 33 "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 397.
- 34 *American Wesleyan*, June 28, 1876, p. 3.
- 35 *American Wesleyan*, May 19, 1880, p. 3; *Wesleyan Methodist*, September 23, 1885, p. 7.
- 36 *American Wesleyan*, January 19, 1876, p. 7, and many other references.
- 37 *American Wesleyan*, March 30, 1870, p. 50.
- 38 *American Wesleyan*, October 5, 1881, p. 6.
- 39 *American Wesleyan*, March 1, 1881, p. 5.
- 40 *American Wesleyan*, July 12, 1882, pp. 2-3.
- 41 *Wesleyan Methodist*, October 3, 1888, p. 2.
- 42 *Wesleyan Methodist*, January 30, 1889, p. 2.
- 43 *Wesleyan Methodist*, March 17, 1886, p. 4.
- 44 *Wesleyan Methodist*, February 13, 1884, p. 4.
- 45 *Wesleyan Methodist*, April 8, 1885, p. 2.
- 46 *Wesleyan Methodist*, February 6, 1884, p. 5; July 30, 1884, p. 3.
- 47 *American Wesleyan*, June 27, 1883.
- 48 *Wesleyan Methodist*, March 13, 1889, p. 2.
- 49 *Wesleyan Methodist*, September 18, 1889, p. 3.
- 50 *Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, pp. 31-33.
- 51 *Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, p. 50.
- 52 *Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, pp. 22, 80-82, 90.
- 53 Melvin Easterday Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Evangelicalism, No. 1 (Metuchen, N.J., & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.), pp. 27-32.
- 54 *American Wesleyan*, September 28, 1881, p. 2.
- 55 *Wesleyan Methodist*, September 17, 1884, p. 7; September 24, 1884, p. 7; September 31, 1884, p. 7; October 22, 1884, p. 4; et al.
- 56 *American Wesleyan*, December 24, 1879, pp. 2-3.
- 57 *American Wesleyan*, June 6, 1883, p. 3.
- 58 *Minutes of the Fourteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America held at Fairmount, Ind., Oct. 16-23, 1895* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1896), p. 29.
- 59 *Wesleyan Methodist*, September 11, 1889, pp. 4-5.
- 60 *Wesleyan Methodist*, April 29, 1891, p. 5.
- 61 *Wesleyan Methodist*, March 18, 1891, p. 5.
- 62 *Wesleyan Methodist*, July 1, 1885, p. 4; July 8, 1885, p. 5.
- 63 *Wesleyan Methodist*, September 16, 1891, p. 2.
- 64 Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 120, 188.
- 65 *American Wesleyan*, June 14, 1876, p. 2.
- 66 *American Wesleyan*, July 19, 1876, pp. 2-3.
- 67 *Wesleyan Methodist*, March 30, 1887, p. 2.
- 68 Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness, the Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years* (Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), p. 31.
- 69 "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 410-11; a similar statement was made in 1887, see pp. 466-67.
- 70 *Wesleyan Methodist*, July 2, 1884, p. 4; July 9, 1884, pp. 2-3.
- 71 *Wesleyan Methodist*, February 9, 1887, p. 2.

⁷²"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 379.

⁷³"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 402-403.

⁷⁴*American Wesleyan*, July 5, 1882, p. 4.

⁷⁵*American Wesleyan*, November 28, 1883, p. 4.

⁷⁶"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 460.

⁷⁷*Wesleyan Herald*, January 16, 1889, p. 1 and subsequent issues.

⁷⁸*Wesleyan Methodist*, September 18, 1889, p. 4; cf. *Wesleyan Herald*, September 11, 1889, p. 1.

⁷⁹*Wesleyan Methodist*, November 11, 1891, p. 4; *Wesleyan Advocate*, November 15, 1891, pp. 2, 4, records the reconciliation between the two editors and an apology by Nathan Wardner for having misunderstood two of his fellow general officers but does not record the testimony of H. A. Day to the baptism of the Spirit.

⁸⁰*Wesleyan Methodist*, October 7, 1891, p. 2.

⁸¹See *A Remonstrance: On the Part of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Syracuse Against the Action of the General Conference of 1887, in Changing the Articles of Religion on the Subjects of Regeneration and Sanctification, Contrary to the Elementary Principles and the Constitution as laid Down in the Discipline, and in Relation to Certain Other Matters* (no publication data is given, but it appears to date from June 1890 or shortly thereafter). An interesting but informal relationship continued between the local church and the denomination in that the Book Committee held many of its meetings in the church building after the congregation left the denomination, and denominational officials were involved in special occasions at the local church, such as the installation of pastors, as late as 1939, and Wesleyan pastors were so involved as late as 1975.

⁸²*Wesleyan Methodist*, February 24, 1886, p. 1 and subsequent issues; June 2, 1886, pp. 4-5; June 16, 1886, p. 4; July 14, 1886, pp. 4-5.

⁸³*Wesleyan Methodist*, February 15, 1888, p. 3.

⁸⁴*American Wesleyan*, March 5, 1879, p. 6.

⁸⁵*American Wesleyan*, April 30, 1879, p. 6.

⁸⁶*American Wesleyan*, July 9, 1879, p. 3.

⁸⁷*American Wesleyan*, May 24, 1882, p. 7.

⁸⁸*Wesleyan Methodist*, May 2, 1888, p. 1.

⁸⁹Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 6lff.

⁹⁰James Benjamin Hilson, *History of the South Carolina Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America: Fifty-five Years of Wesleyan Methodism in South Carolina* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Light and Life Press, 1950), pp. 45ff. See also W. M. Hayes, comp. and ed., *Memoirs of Richard Baxter Hayes* (Greer, S.C.: W. M. Hayes, 1945), esp. pp. 14-16, 50-51.

⁹¹Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 64, 68, footnote 27.

⁹²*Wesleyan Methodist*, August 2, 1899, p. 4.

⁹³*Wesleyan Methodist*, August 2, 1899, p. 8; cf. also July 12, 1899, p. 3; September 27, 1899, p. 8; October 11, 1899, p. 2.

⁹⁴*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, pp. 26-28.

⁹⁵*American Wesleyan*, September 14, 1881, p. 5.

⁹⁶*American Wesleyan*, November 14, 1883, p. 5; "Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," pp. 432-33.

⁹⁷*Wesleyan Methodist*, January 23, 1884, p. 7.

⁹⁸*Wesleyan Methodist*, June 5, 1889, p. 2.

⁹⁹"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 334.

¹⁰⁰*American Wesleyan*, October 31, 1883, p. 1.

¹⁰¹*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, p. 36; *Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America* (Syracuse, N.Y.: A. W. Hall, 1900), pp. 59, 134; hereafter the *Disciplines* are referred to only as *Discipline*, followed by the year.

- ¹⁰²*American Wesleyan*, January 11, 1871, p. 6.
- ¹⁰³*American Wesleyan*, January 5, 1876, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁴*American Wesleyan*, July 6, 1870, p. 106.
- ¹⁰⁵*American Wesleyan*, July 10, 1878, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁶"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 372.
- ¹⁰⁷*Minutes of the Fourteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1895*, pp. 10, 16, 30; *Discipline*, 1896, p. 30.
- ¹⁰⁸*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, p. 35; *Discipline*, 1900, p. 111.
- ¹⁰⁹*American Wesleyan*, October 24, 1883, pp. 1, 5.
- ¹¹⁰*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, p. 86.
- ¹¹¹*American Wesleyan*, November 1, 1876, p. 1.
- ¹¹²"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 351.
- ¹¹³"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 463.
- ¹¹⁴"Wesleyan Methodist Connection, . . . Book of Minutes, 1842-1887," p. 303.
- ¹¹⁵*American Wesleyan*, September 25, 1878, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁶*American Wesleyan*, March 3, 1880, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁷*Wesleyan Methodist*, February 20, 1884, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁸*Wesleyan Methodist*, January 14, 1885, p. 2.
- ¹¹⁹*Minutes of the Fourteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1895*, pp. 40-41.

CHAPTER 4

THE POST-CIVIL WAR HOLINESS REVIVAL: THE RISE OF THE CAMP MEETING CHURCHES

Melvin E. Dieter

Thirty years after the event, Seth Cook Rees remembered the founding of the International Holiness Union and Prayer League in the home of Martin Wells Knapp in Cincinnati, Ohio, in September 1897 as "a small affair with a big name."¹ Rees, an evangelist of the Society of Friends, Martin Wells Knapp, an evangelist of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and C. W. Ruth, an evangelist in the Holiness Christian Church, had met with a few other associates on that occasion to organize a new evangelism and missions agency. During their ministries all the participants had been part of similar voluntary religious associations. C. W. Ruth was a member of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness, the largest and most influential advocate for the holiness revival in Methodism. Knapp and Rees had contact with various holiness leagues and unions as well as with A. B. Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance. Rees had been president of the Michigan auxiliary of Simpson's Christian Alliance while he and his wife, Hulda, pastored the Friend's Meeting at Raisin Valley, Michigan, in 1888.² Later he personally associated with Simpson at Old Orchard, Maine, where the Alliance was formed. Rees also served as pastor of the independent Emmanuel Church in Providence, Rhode Island, from 1894-96.

The International Holiness Union and Prayer League which they established in 1897 was to become larger than any of them had expected at the time. Its ultimate significance, however, lay not in its modest strength as a movement,³ but in the role which it would ultimately play in bringing together many of the holiness revival's small independent associations and churches into

the denomination known as the Pilgrim Holiness Church.⁴ The "Pilgrims," these descendants of "the small affair" at Cincinnati, therefore were inextricably involved in the continuing history of that much bigger affair in American religion known as the holiness/higher-life movement. The story which follows is essentially their history, a history they share with the other churches that came out of the camp meeting revival. The Wesleyan Methodists also share in the same story because they, in the post-Civil War period, involved themselves more and more in the expanding holiness revival. The common history of each group within the life of the holiness movement, consequently, constituted one of the chief dynamics which enabled them to create The Wesleyan Church in 1968.

THE POST-CIVIL WAR HOLINESS REVIVAL

The pre-Civil War holiness revival under the zealous leadership of Methodist lay persons Walter and Phoebe Palmer and Calvinist ministers, such as Oberlin College's Charles Finney and Asa Mahan, rose to its peak in the revivals of 1857-58 known as the Layman's or Fulton Street Revival. The four years of civil war which followed consumed much of the nation's energies on all fronts, although revivals continued to break out here and there during the hardships and cruelties of bitter conflict even in the camps of both "the Blue and the Gray." The Palmers had ministered in Great Britain for much of the war with considerable success.⁵ Their efforts there inspired holiness associates in the United States with new zeal for increased evangelism. The war's end allowed the religious forces of the nation to redirect the spiritual energies which the cares of the prolonged conflict previously had diverted to other priorities. A new surge of revival reports began to fill the pages of religious periodicals even before the final peace came in 1865. Along with general revivals, there arose a renewed interest in Christian holiness. The revival touched Methodist Episcopal centers throughout the North, and even in the South, holiness evangelism began to revive amid the devastation which churches faced there. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection, too, showed a new interest in the doctrine of Christian perfection. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 had largely

resolved the abolitionist question which had led to the founding of the Church twenty years before. By the end of the war, a heightened quest for a different quality of Christian life than had previously been experienced was widespread. New demands were being laid upon the nation, and a whole company of Christians was ready to raise anew the question of the nature and hope of the work of God within them and even within the nation itself.⁶

The rising flood tide of renewal in the churches seemed to roll undaunted over obstacles which ordinarily might have stemmed its flow. The unfortunate handling of the "Nazarite Affair," as the Free Methodist separation of 1860 was disdainfully referred to in Methodist circles, failed to weaken significantly the holiness revival movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church—this in spite of the fact that the creation of this new organization seemed to support the persistent charge that the movement was inherently schismatic.⁷ The ordeal of reorganization of the holiness forces within Methodism did give early intimations of strains which the vigorous revival movement could produce. The tensions between "the sanctificationists" and their critics would eventually rend the fabric of the main-line Methodist churches north and south. The Free Methodist crisis presented a difficult choice to holiness adherents within the Methodist Episcopal Church: they were torn between their loyalties to the denomination and their enthusiasm for the holiness movement's advocacy of Wesleyan perfectionism, its concerns for the poor and for the rights of lay men and women within the churches. Some holiness advocates left their traditional home to organize the Free Methodist movement; the high-handed tactics of their opponents seemed to them to leave them little choice. Most of them, however, stayed with the parent church in spite of recognized injustices and the attraction of the new sect's strong commitment to holiness doctrine and evangelism. Such crises of divided loyalties were to occur again and again as the aggressive revival forces tested Methodism's established religious structures in the years to come.

By 1865 the holiness revival was already thirty years old. After such an extended period of time most revival movements have begun to decline or even disappear. But neither its age

nor any of the potentially negative factors mentioned above derailed the momentum of the postwar holiness revival. The revival's main impact was yet to be felt in the churches. The war years in fact had merely been a "catching of the breath." The revival was still strongly shaped by its Wesleyan roots, but, at the same time, it continued to penetrate and affect other churches, especially Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian. Deeper life evangelist Absalom B. Earle, a Baptist, preached in union holiness meetings all across the North during and after the war. There was a warm response from Christians of varied religious persuasions to his essentially Wesleyan message of entire sanctification clothed in the terminology of "the rest of faith."⁸ Presbyterian William Boardman again took up his holiness ministry after having served as a chaplain in the Union forces. His book *The Higher Christian Life*,⁹ published just before the war, had helped to keep the movement's religious questions before the churches. William Arthur's prophetic *Tongue of Fire* (1857)¹⁰ increasingly set the theological context for postwar evangelical Protestantism through its insistence that the power and even the priorities for the church's mission were to be found in a new sense of God at work in the lives of men by the Holy Spirit given at Pentecost. The Pentecostal model began to shape the understanding of the history and mission of the church and its expectations for the future among many evangelical groups. It was especially influential among Wesleyans.

Optimism and Pessimism: A Tension

An anticipation of some impending vague but revolutionary "new age" was stirring the nation even before the "stillness at Appomattox." It was to be matched, they thought, by a new religious dynamic in which God in the Holy Spirit was to be incarnated both in human beings and in their affairs on a scale which Christians of previous generations had not experienced. Bruce Catton, the great Civil War historian, caught the sense of it as he described the mood among the men in the trenches that circled Richmond and Petersburg in the spring of 1865. He notes that the Anglican bishop from Atlanta, after a visit to General Grant's camp at Cold Harbor, observed that the whole

Federal army was imbued with an optimism for the future glory of the nation which would surpass all past expectation. The bishop wrote that the men had as their idol "less the Union of the past than the sublime Union of the future, destined soon to overcome all nations."¹¹ The nation had been redeemed in a baptism of blood and somehow it seemed that the cost could be justified only by becoming both a redeemed nation and a redeemer nation among the nations of the world. That essentially spiritual vision was part of a much broader cultural mood which could be sustained and brought to reality only by commitment to a perfectionism which believed its fulfillment to be a possibility under God.

The religious and political rhetoric of the time frequently was caught up in the new spirit. A bold, almost brash, word of hope and of mission and of expectation was being heralded abroad. The religious spirit and the popular mind fed on each other. They created a gospel of optimism and progress which carried churches and nation through much of the remainder of the century. This gospel permeated the American churches and society so thoroughly that it revitalized America's conviction that it was a covenant-nation called by God to bring the light of freedom and truth to all peoples. It was a dream that had fired the Puritan Fathers as they had fashioned their first commonwealths in New England; it was imbedded deep in the national psyche and easily came to the fore in the perfectionist visions of the postwar period—the Christian perfectionism of Methodism and the holiness movement among them.¹²

Inexorably mingled with the movement's chief concern for the experience of entire sanctification and perfect love was a corollary proclamation of God's readiness to demonstrate His Spirit's presence and power in the world by a renewal of signs and wonders. Evangelists and pastors increasingly raised the theme that the powers released at Pentecost would be demonstrated anew in the church which would put itself under the full command of the Holy Spirit. The expectations excited in those Christians who sensed this new "age of the Spirit" were reinforced by the general cultural milieu which was already experiencing the first shock waves of revolutionary change. Urbanization, industrialization, new technologies, evolutionary science and the rising tide of immigrants were altering the face

of the late nineteenth-century world and indeed setting the cultural, religious and political agenda for many decades to come. The leaders of the revival expected God to respond to the miracles and power which science and technology were demonstrating with a display of His own signs and wonders of new supernatural power. Electricity, dynamite, telephones and railroads would be used again and again as analogies for the miraculous power which the new "age of the Spirit" was bringing to the church in its mission to save the world.

The inherent optimism of grace in the Wesleyan message resonated well with many of these themes of progress and technology, making it easy for its adherents to accept readily the postmillennialism which marked the early years of the movement. They believed that a renewed, Spirit-baptized church, assisted by the new technologies, and the access available through the network of political channels created by the colonial expansion of the Anglo-Saxon nations around the world promised the soon redemption of the whole world and the return of Christ to receive His millennial kingdom. The nations were standing on tiptoe trying to catch glimpses of a future which seemed to promise the coming of the perfect day.

In tension with this positive excitement among many revivalists about what God was doing in the churches and the world, many others demonstrated a contrasting conservatism—even a pessimism. The revivalist's very call for repentance necessarily incorporated a severe criticism of contemporary culture and the spiritual life of the churches. This optimistic-pessimistic dichotomy in revivalism was especially characteristic of the postwar holiness revival. In one sense it was a puritan-pietist movement; the church in its ministry and mission and the individual Christian in his life and calling were to reflect the holiness of God. The revival called a backsliding church to return to the purity and simplicity of the biblical principles of primitive Christianity. It was seeking to preserve basic religious values in the midst of rapid change. The cultural and historical context at any given point often seemed to determine whether the optimistic polarity or the pessimistic polarity dominated the theology and the preaching of the movement.

The major concern of holiness revivalists was that Wesley's central doctrine of Christian perfection was being neglected in

its own American home — the Methodist Episcopal Churches both North and South. They felt also that the simple pietism which seemed to characterize the Wesleyan movement of an earlier day was suffering at the hands of the contemporary church as it rapidly was becoming comfortable with its rising status in American society. Wesley's admonitions on wealth, dress, personal piety, and lack of ostentatiousness had encouraged his early Methodists to take up a simple, disciplined Christian life-style.¹³ This ideal was reinforced in the American Methodist churches by the prevailing cultural ethos that held that the simple and natural ways, the untouched and unadorned, were the truly good and beautiful. The commitment of many Americans to such values provided a populist support base for the numerous members in Methodism and other revivalistic churches who sensed that the piety and life-style which they had once known were being threatened. In their view, the mass of new Methodists increasingly represented a middle-class American culture, often oriented more to social and cultural compatibility than to disciplined spirituality. Such people were no longer comfortable with the worship style, much less the life-style which once had so well suited the circumstances of most largely rural Methodist churches in a pioneer society.

It was not unusual that a movement that called for a revival of Wesleyan piety also should carry with it a package of practical concerns which, though not creators of piety in themselves, were seen nevertheless as important indicators of the practice of primitive biblical piety in the churches. So, following Wesley and the majority of American revivalists, especially the influential Charles G. Finney,¹⁴ the holiness people increasingly became concerned about such issues as the wearing of gold and silver for external adornment. Undue concern for style and display in dress, or lack of concern for the body by abusing the temple of the Holy Spirit by the use of tobacco or drinking alcoholic beverages—all these became indicators of a lack of total surrender to the Holy Spirit. To them, these "vices" represented poor stewardship of resources which could be used much more profitably in charity or in support of Christian missions. A common sign of final personal surrender to the full will and service of God of holiness converts was the placing of one's jewelry on

the altar of consecration. Such disciplined living clashed with the growing tendency among Methodists to have church suppers more frequently and with better attendance than the weekly prayer meeting, or to use robed and even paid choirs. These and many similar issues raised serious questions within the holiness movement about the future effectiveness of the established churches in nurturing the spiritual life of their membership and in setting the moral tone of the nation. These eager proponents of disciplined Christianity were defining the essence of true piety much more specifically, though, to be sure, with no more concern, than Mr. Wesley himself, at times, had shown.

The Nature of the Church

Hidden under this attempt to conserve certain essentially Wesleyan values, along with the many concerns which were shaped more by the times and the culture than by biblical foundations, the central question appeared: "What really constitutes the nature of the church?" As Franklin Littell points out, the evangelical churches of America were rapidly becoming "believers' churches" in the pattern of the Anabaptist churches of the radical reformation.¹⁵ Such churches were gathered, disciplined groups of professed believers with testimony to personal belief in Christ and conversion who centered the life and mission of the body around the Scriptures and the leadership of the Holy Spirit. This model was well suited to the general understanding of the church which prevailed in the holiness movement. Such an understanding of the church had already strongly influenced the formation of such holiness churches as the Wesleyan Methodist and the Free Methodist Churches. In their formation they had made a basic break with the developing understanding of the older churches they had left. They charged them with a loss of discipline and purity because of their laxity in standards for membership.

The historic churches of the Reformation and the Catholic Church held a different view; most of their people were members of the church because they had been baptized into the faith as infants. This meant that the church as a visible body had in it representatives of every character from the worst of sinners to the best of saints. The make-up of the church was essentially

the same as the make-up of society. This view of the church hardly fitted the widely accepted American picture of an evangelical church in which most members had been baptized as adults after a personal decision to be a Christian. The members of such fellowships were called out of worldly society to represent Christianity in a distinctive life-style and witness.

Methodism had within it historical elements of each of these concepts of the church. The tension created by this duality was felt in British Methodism as well as in American. The tension had roots in Wesley's societies which during Wesley's lifetime functioned within the established Church of England with its inclusive membership from the broad spectrum of English society. But it also was strongly rooted in the revivalist tradition to which Wesley had made a distinctive contribution by his leadership in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. That tradition tended to view the church more exclusively, as illustrated above—a voluntary society created for witness and mission by being called out of the general society. What the new holiness bodies essentially did was to take Wesley's class meeting, or more properly the band meeting, as the model for their churches—the more exclusive model—a position close to the Anabaptist model mentioned above. Those in the broad membership of the Anglican Church who were most serious about following after God were invited into the more intimate fellowship of Wesley's classes and bands.¹⁶ These small fellowship and nurture groups he considered to be schools of discipline for holiness of heart and life. It was this Wesleyan model of focused fellowship, purpose, and discipline which shaped the picture of the true church which inspired the leaders of the new holiness churches.

On the other hand, mainline Methodism, although itself also distinctively revivalistic, at the same time retained (and still does) a concept of the nature of the local church broader and quite different from this revivalistic, more Anabaptist-like model. The Methodist Episcopal Churches, North and South, had grown in the pattern of Wesley's general societies which had been part of the larger Anglican communion. Into these societies Wesley invited everyone who was seriously fleeing evil and seeking God. His theology of prevenient grace allowed him to regard such persons as pre-Christians and welcomed

them into a nurturing fellowship where hopefully they would experience full Christian conversion. Mainline Methodism in America retained this broader "society" flavor, freely inviting persons into the fellowship with the expectation that they would come under the nurture and discipline of the class and band. This system worked very well until the disciplinary part of the formula was discarded and participation in a mutually responsible fellowship was no longer required.

It is not without coincidence that the main thrust of the holiness revival appeared at the same time that the Methodist Episcopal Church South was doing away with the class meetings after the Civil War, and the disciplinary requirements for class participation and enforcement of the general rules in the northern Church were beginning to falter as well. The conflict was between a concept of church influenced by the broader "society" model which allowed nonsaved persons into the fellowship but increasingly failed to bring them to true faith by nurture and discipline, and the holiness movement's concept of the church as a "company of the committed." The difference of opinion at this point must be seen as one of the major reasons why many holiness believers chose to stay in Methodism while many others felt they had no other choice than to leave and to form holiness churches. The issue, for many, was more properly the doctrine of the church than it was the doctrine of holiness. Those holiness advocates who stayed in the main Methodist bodies did so in the hope that the traditional broader Methodist system could still make Methodism a fellowship of holiness believers; those who decided that new kinds of churches were needed believed that Methodism could not put Wesley's delicate balance of openness and commitment back together again. New vessels were needed for new wine.

Both parties, as good Methodists, believed in the doctrine of personal holiness, but the more aggressive members of the holiness movement went a step further and insisted on a holy church. The holiness movement was pressing Methodist concepts of the church toward the revivalistic patterns common to most evangelical churches in America at midcentury. The church was to be primarily a company of recruits committed and equipped for Christian witness and warfare, not a school for the uninitiated or partially committed. The one could remain a

relatively open community of some diversity of faith and practice; this open model was especially suited to a church such as the Methodists which was rapidly becoming the most popular church in the nation. The other groups focused the very life of a true church in their Wesleyan perfectionism which called for total commitment to Christ and His cause. In Methodism toward the end of the century, although holiness was still looked upon as an ultimate goal for its ordained ministers, it is not apparent that the main stream of the church's laity regarded the pursuit of entire sanctification as a focal point of the church's mission. In the holiness movement the professed belief in holiness by a crisis of evangelical faith constituted the ideal for Christian community; commitment to a disciplined homogeneous group of believers either experiencing or seeking the fullness of the blessing was to be both goal and governor of the whole. As the mainline American churches began to provide less and less of the type of fellowship which such persons believed to be essential to vital Christianity, they found justification for their responses to the establishment in the earlier complaint by Methodism's founder himself when in similar circumstances in England a century before. When Wesley was charged with disrupting the fellowship of the churches, he replied,

But the fellowship you speak of never existed. Therefore it cannot be destroyed. . . . Who watched over . . . [the true Christians] in love? Who marked their growth in grace? Who advised them and exhorted them from time to time? Who prayed for them as they had need? This, and this alone, is Christian fellowship but, alas! where is it to be found? . . . What Christian connection is there between them? What intercourse in spiritual things? What watching over one another's souls? What bearing of one another's burdens? . . . The real truth is just the reverse of this: We introduce Christian fellowship where it was utterly destroyed. . . .¹⁷

The essence of the history which follows centers on the constant interplay of these tensions in Methodism and other mainline churches; the tension was not finally relaxed, for many, until the creation of distinctly holiness churches. The new holiness churches which they formed expressed the commitments of the revival; their ecclesiology was to be closer to the Baptists than the Methodists. They were the creation of

American revivalism interacting with Wesleyan perfectionism. Only in voluntaristic revivalistic America would the name Holiness Church make any sense. Only within the American milieu of religious freedom could there rise a serious institutionalized challenge to those Methodists who claimed, to the end of the conflict, that Methodism was the greatest "holiness church" in the world. The problem ultimately was not with the accepted definition of, or commitment to the doctrine of holiness, but rather, differing perceptions of the nature and mission of the church itself. The issue was how broad and pluralistic a fellowship of Christians could be and still represent a true church of Christ in the biblical pattern of piety and Christian holiness.

THE BIRTH OF THE NATIONAL HOLINESS ASSOCIATION AND THE CAMP MEETING MOVEMENT

These issues were brought to a head in Methodism, and in other traditions where the holiness movement had penetrated, by the appearance after the Civil War of a new leadership and a new evangelistic organization dedicated to holiness promotion. The National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness, later commonly known as the National Holiness Association (eventually the Christian Holiness Association), became the most significant of these. It sprang to life rather spontaneously after the first National Holiness Camp Meeting was held at Vineland, New Jersey, in July 1867.¹⁸ John Inskip, Alfred Cookman, J. A. Wood, and several other Methodist Episcopal pastors of the New York-Pennsylvania-New Jersey area were so impressed by the warm response of those who had attended the camp meeting that they agreed to organize similar efforts in other areas. They organized an evangelistic association on their knees in a prayer meeting after the Vineland camp. It was basically a common commitment, as pastors, to summer-time holiness camp meeting evangelism as they could break free from their regular pastoral duties.

The impetus for the calling of that first national camp meeting for the promotion of Christian holiness was as spontaneous as the organization of the National Holiness Association which

followed it. Mrs. Harriet Drake, a member of a Methodist Episcopal Church in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, had been traveling to a camp meeting at Red Bank, New Jersey, with her pastor, Rev. J. A. Wood. They were lamenting the neglect of specific preaching on entire sanctification in Methodist camp meetings, whereupon Mrs. Drake offered to pay one-half of the expenses of a future camp meeting if it would be organized particularly for the purpose of emphasizing Wesley's doctrine. Wood subsequently met with Alfred Cookman, one of Methodism's most notable and respected pastors, and G. C. M. Roberts, a venerable local preacher and Baltimore physician, and other pastors in the Methodist Episcopal Church whom he knew to be concerned over the general apathy on the subject of entire sanctification in the Church. When Rev. John Inskip—an energetic leader among New York City Methodist pastors—joined and took leadership in the discussions, planning for the special camp moved ahead rapidly. Inskip, former wartime chaplain, had only recently become an ardent advocate of the holiness revival through the witness of his wife, Martha; she had received "the blessing," as holiness advocates commonly called the experience of entire sanctification, at the Methodist camp at Sing, New York. Inskip soon thereafter was convicted of his own spiritual need for this deeper work of grace. One Sunday morning he responded to his own pastoral call for his members to seek the grace at the altar of the South Third Street Methodist Church in Brooklyn, New York. Quickly thereafter he became active in the Tuesday Meeting circle of the Palmers and their friends. His evangelistic zeal for the cause and his leadership abilities rapidly pushed him to the fore of the small group who called for the first National Camp Meeting in 1867.¹⁹

Until his death in 1884, Inskip's combination of energy, spiritual sensitivity, and ecumenical openness made him a leader with exceptional charisma and influence. They kept him at the forefront of the Methodist holiness revival. Under his guidance the force of the revival expanded dramatically not only in the Methodist churches but in the interdenominational movement which clustered around the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness. As we have already indicated, his wife, Martha Inskip, was an ardent believer in holiness and became

an active partner in his ministry. Together, they were representative of a broad succession of husband-and-wife ministry teams which were to become a familiar part of the scene in holiness evangelism.²⁰ The Merritts and Palmers, and the Finneys and Mahans had sparked the fires of a new quest for Christian holiness in the churches in the forties and fifties; now, it was the Inskips and other NAPH members in Methodism who picked up the leadership of the more organized efforts after the war and in fact continued to give leadership for twenty years thereafter.²¹

It is difficult to recover a sense of the excitement the organizers of the first National Camp meeting at Vineland, New Jersey, apparently experienced. They had sent out the call for the camp in the face of some opposition from fellow Methodists who feared the growing influence of the holiness movement in Methodism and beyond. They had no assurance of what the response to the camp meeting call would be. The popularity of camp meetings had gradually declined since their first appearance as centers for evangelism at the beginning of the century. Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists all had participated in the earliest gatherings, but by midcentury it was mainly Methodists who made their way to the summer encampments on seashore or lake or in any one of the thousands of conveniently located hardwood groves which dotted the countryside in the eastern United States and Canada. Methodist camp meetings had never received any official recognition in the *Book of Discipline*, but they became a fixed part of the Church's evangelism and fellowship. Some of the larger and older camp centers, especially those in recreational areas in the east, such as the prototype of them all, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, had become family vacation spots and consequently had lost some of their evangelistic verve. The conclusion of some historians, however, that the camp meeting was a dying phenomenon after the Civil War period is not borne out by subsequent history.²²

It would be hard to overestimate the importance, both direct and symbolic, of the camp meeting not only to the growth of the holiness movement but to the renewal of the camp meeting movement in the American churches. The special relationship established between the holiness revival and the camp meeting as an evangelistic and fellowship center is one of the most important factors in understanding the holiness

revival and the organization of the holiness churches. The crowds of the camps sponsored by the National group often equaled those at the famous Cane Ridge, Kentucky, camp of 1801. Twenty thousand people crowded into the open park space in the center of the newly developed south Jersey community of Vineland, New Jersey, for the first National Camp in July of 1867. It is not difficult to understand the euphoric feelings such scenes created in the ad hoc committee which had hesitatingly put out the call for the camp, in spite of opposition by those in Methodism who feared the consequences of such aggressive methods. God had vindicated their cause by sending a new Pentecost to them and to a nation beginning its recovery from the trauma of one of the most bitter conflicts ever fought in human history. Alfred Cookman, one of the sponsors, was so deeply moved by the intense spiritual dynamics of the Vineland camp that he feared that any subsequent religious meetings would pale in insignificance.²³ Such experiences were not uncommon in the camp meeting movement.²⁴ The ambience which enveloped the total camp experience created a level of expectation for Christian worship, fellowship and spiritual experience which was rarely replicated in other settings.

The thousands of Christians who professed a deeper work of grace in their lives had come from every part of the country; they scattered across the nation to form nuclei of what would quickly become a network of city, county and state holiness associations which looked to the National Holiness Association for general leadership. In the subsequent development of the movement, the holiness churches who were nurtured in such a seedbed would find it difficult to replicate the camp meeting experience in the week-to-week worship services of the local holiness churches. Nevertheless, they tried, and all efforts to understand the worship patterns of the holiness churches must take this relationship into account. Preaching and worship, polity and practice in the holiness tradition, particularly in those churches which arose out of the postwar revival, can be understood accurately and fully only in this historical context. It was out of this context that the Pilgrim Holiness Church came into existence. It, with other similar denominations, may properly be called a camp meeting church because its doctrinal and organizational roots reach directly into the movement which

was born at Vineland. The ongoing participation of the Wesleyan Methodist churches in the movement during this revival period marks the beginning of the common involvement of the two Churches in the holiness tradition. It was their strong recognition of that similar heritage which facilitated the merger of 1968.

The Institutionalization of the Revival

To appreciate the organization of the distinctively holiness churches in the last two decades of the century, we have to see the complete network of people and movements which quickly developed out of the holiness revival after the war. The deeper life revival moved toward its climax at the end of the century in four major sectors.

The Methodist Center. The central movement constituted the continuation and expansion of the Palmer holiness tradition in mainline Methodism through the National Holiness Association. In strength, numbers and enduring influence, this sector quickly became and remained the main current of the revival until the end of the century. The main reason for the dominance of this part of the revival was its Methodist roots and continuing Methodist connections. Most important of all was the fact that many Methodists looked upon the holiness revival within its ranks as Methodism's best hope for preserving the primitive piety and vital spirit of the Church. The holiness party claimed to be fostering renewal of the one biblical truth which had distinguished Methodism among other Christian movements. Critics often charged that the preaching of Christian perfection which became characteristic of the revival was un-Wesleyan because the context of American revivalism tended to create variations in the presentation and emphases of the doctrine; but that judgment never won the day. When the conflict over the place of the holiness movement in Methodism came to a head towards the end of the century, it was not, tragically, that Methodism freed itself from a radically deviant Wesleyanism, but rather that Methodism largely was willing to leave Wesley himself behind for the greener pastures of more contemporary theologies and cultural relationships. The legacy of entire

sanctification in American religion, with whatever modifications may have been made to it during the course of the American deeper life revival, was now left in large part with the newer holiness movement; it had become much more difficult for the tradition to survive within its original Methodist Episcopal Church and Methodist Episcopal Church, South home country.

As the camp meeting revival spread in the postwar period, publications which promoted and supported the movement proliferated as well. The Palmer-sponsored *Guide to Holiness* continued to serve as the main periodical for the broader interdenominational movement. It was joined in 1870 by the National Holiness Association-sponsored *Advocate of Christian Holiness* which eventually became the widely known *Christian Witness*. The National Holiness Association also established a publishing house in Philadelphia which began to pour out books and tracts for the use of the movement. It flooded the hundreds of holiness associations inside and outside of Methodism with printed materials defending and explaining the movement and keeping the evangelistic and polemical zeal of its followers kindled at white heat. Wherever the revival spread, publishing centers sprang up which supplied periodicals, books, tracts and wall mottoes in its support. Under the editorship of William Nast, *Der Christliche Apologete*, the organ of the Central German Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, promoted the revival among German Methodists. Nast, the father of German Methodism, was an active member of the National Camp Meeting Association. Special holiness papers also appeared in the Evangelical Association (*The Living Epistle*), the United Brethren Church (*Highway of Holiness*), the Wesleyan Methodist Church (*The Way of Holiness* and later *The Bible Standard*), and in many of the independent county and state holiness associations which were directly or only loosely affiliated with the National Holiness leadership.²⁵ The success of the National Association's Camps summer after summer, however, continued to be the chief means of spreading the revival in the churches. The second National Camp at Manheim, Pennsylvania, was especially significant, because it touched off new interest in entire sanctification among the clerical membership of the United Brethren, the Evangelical Association and the varied Mennonite groups of Eastern Pennsylvania.

Subsequently other camps produced a Methodist holiness contingent within the Society of Friends and among the Baptists.

After the Manheim, Pennsylvania, meeting in 1868, the National Committee decided to hold future camps only at the invitation of established Methodist camp meetings lest they should create any sense of independence from the Methodist Episcopal Church. These camp sponsors would be responsible for the management of the encampment, allowing the busy pastors who made up the evangelistic committee to be free to see to the preaching and spiritual counsel. This plan helped the loyal Methodist pastors who made up the committee to ward off the persistent criticisms of those opponents who had questioned the irregular nature of the camps. Their critics had charged that such meetings were not being sponsored by any official agency of Methodism and yet were having a growing influence upon the denomination; that circumstance was the kind of thing which made many Methodists unhappy. Methodism had always been much more free to excuse doctrinal aberrations than connectional irregularity. Not much was done in Methodism which was not controlled by its structures and defined within its policy.

This question of "irregularity" intensified as the movement expanded its influence and began to set up its own institutions. It created problems for the large number of Methodist leaders who were leaders in the Church and yet were strongly in favor of the holiness movement's promotion of its peculiarly Methodist and basically Wesleyan doctrines. The revival's broad support base in Methodism is indicated by the fact that in 1872 a majority of the new bishops elected by the general conference were sympathetic with the purposes of the movement. These men joined older bishops like Bishop Simpson, who himself never professed the assurance of the second work of grace preached by the movement, but nevertheless, gave encouragement to the members of the National Holiness Association and participated personally in the camp at Vineland and in subsequent camps sponsored by the Association. However, no bishop except William Taylor, the missionary bishop, ever became an active member of the NHA. Nor could the bishops ever quite bring themselves to officially sponsor any of the Association's efforts, even though the movement's friends in the

highest official circles were always significant.²⁶

This lack of support was difficult for the holiness proponents to understand. Those church members who had tasted the new freedom and power of total surrender to God in entire sanctification looked upon the often aggressive efforts of holiness evangelists in quite a different light from the church editor or other official who was responsible for maintaining his life and the life of the whole Church. Bishops were bishops of the whole Church and the Church had always been divided over the zealous revivalism and promotional zeal of the committed holiness people in the pastoral and lay ranks. Frequently the holiness question brought vigorous debate and even contention to the churches and it was easy to meet the question through administrative channels with caution and at the same time claim to remain committed to the theology and ideals of the sometimes overzealous holiness advocates. This was especially true when different Church officials took opposing views on the issues. When powerful voices in the Church such as Daniel Whedon, editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, finally began to openly challenge the National Committee and question its leaders who were friends of bishops and held in high esteem by the Church in general, it became obvious that the tensions over the holiness question were increasing rather than relenting.²⁷

The holiness revival probably reached its peak of influence in Methodism by 1875. Thereafter the climate gradually became more and more unfavorable, and independent holiness congregations increasingly began to organize. The transcripts of the transactions of general holiness conventions held in 1877, 1880, 1885, and 1901, indicate the continual frustrations of the leadership of a successful evangelistic movement which had consistently encouraged its converts to become members of the existing denominations. They found it more and more difficult to fulfill their commitment as those same denominations looked on the movement with growing distrust and began to regard its promotional agencies and periodicals as competitors. For such individuals, all of this seemed to verify that the revival was demonstrating the schismatic tendencies with which the movement's critics had charged it from the beginning.²⁸ In the early 1880s many of the more non-Methodist elements in the

movement, such as the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the Independent Holiness Churches of Missouri, and the Holiness Church of California (which eventually became part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church), organized the first churches "on the holiness line." Not only the older mainline churches, but also the mainstream holiness movement of the period, which still insisted that the movement's mission was to be a reforming force within the churches and not a competing one, castigated the new churches as dissident "come-outers."

The NHA leadership, like the Palmer movement before it, persistently resisted this separatist tendency which showed itself in the more radical elements of the movement. For another twenty years they were successful, in large measure, in keeping much of the holiness movement within the Methodist Church. After that time, the separation of many of the holiness people from the Methodist Episcopal Church and Methodist Episcopal Church, South was as much or more due to the restrictive measures of the officialdom of the denominations which forced holiness adherents out as to any schismatic desires of the groups that formed new holiness churches.

This Methodist heart segment of the holiness/deeper-life revival was to form the ongoing mainline holiness tradition in the American churches in the twentieth century. It was these holiness Methodists, together with the Wesleyan Methodists and Free Methodists, which gave to most of the new holiness churches a Wesleyan and Methodist flavor. Most of the groups which eventually organized out of the holiness revival retained a Methodist affinity in their articles of faith, structures, spirituality and sense of mission which reached far beyond their fervent advocacy of Methodism's central doctrine of entire sanctification. They never completely cut themselves off from Methodism. They maintained close relationships with such holiness organizations as Henry Clay Morrison's Holiness Union which stayed within the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Morrison associated with Asbury College and Asbury Theological Seminary and gathered a cadre of holiness evangelists around him who moved freely in and out of both mainline Methodism and the holiness groups which broke away or were forced out of the mainstream at the turn of the century.²⁹

The Oberlin Movement. A second sector of the broad nineteenth-century holiness revival in the American churches was the deeper life movement among Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists—churches to whom the doctrine of a second definite work of grace came as a new and unfamiliar word. Charles G. Finney and Asa Mahan had first begun to preach entire sanctification in the 1830s at Oberlin College, as has been outlined previously. Although heavily influenced by Methodist teaching, Finney consciously tried to keep his preaching of the doctrine within his general pattern of New School or revivalistic Calvinism. He initially centered his understanding of holiness on his belief that persons had the natural ability to choose the good if they would. Holiness was the moment by moment exercise of right choice by the believer in Christ. Later he emphasized more strongly the necessity for the baptism of the Holy Spirit which provided the power for men and women to will what was right. In this, he came so close to the Wesleyan ideal of entire sanctification that his writings and historic leadership were (and still are) readily accepted in Methodist holiness circles. Nevertheless, his life of holiness tended to be more man-centered and more moralistically oriented than the Methodist teaching of Christian Perfection. This tension shows up in subsequent variations of interpretations of holiness teaching within the holiness churches.³⁰

Mahan, who during the Civil War period served as president of the Wesleyan Methodist college at Adrian, Michigan, on the other hand, became much more Wesleyan in his understanding of the nature of Christian holiness. His books on the subject were published widely. The *Baptism with the Holy Ghost*, published in 1870, influenced the nineteenth century holiness/higher-life movement as much as any other single work. From Wesley's own time, John Fletcher, whom Wesley considered his most accurate interpreter, had turned to the imagery of Spirit baptism as the source of heart purity and the means to perfection in love. Fletcher was highly revered and his works were widely read by American Methodists. The affinity of Mahan's understanding of Pentecost and Spirit baptism to the experience of Christian perfection which Methodists had assimilated from Fletcher drew the Oberlin and Methodist movements into close alliance. Both Finney and Mahan are

commonly included in anthologies of teaching and testimony in the holiness literature as fathers of the movement. By the end of his life at Eastbourne, England, in 1889 Mahan's views were scarcely distinguishable from those being preached by Methodist holiness evangelists.

Finney's influence on the movement, however, was equally as great in another area. His views on simple life-style and modesty of dress, his opposition to the drinking of coffee and tea and certainly alcoholic beverages, his anti-Masonic crusade and his strong attacks on other moral evils reinforced Wesley's own moralisms which were already a part of the Methodist sector of the movement. The result was that revivalistic Methodism in the holiness tradition developed a pietistic moralism as intense as any other movement in America. Finney's revivalism had also strongly influenced the Wesleyan Methodists and Free Methodists. Both groups were headquartered in western New York, the area most saturated with Finney's influence. This common revival ethos is as critical a taproot of the later merged Wesleyan Church as was the common commitment of the merging groups to the preaching of entire sanctification as a second work of grace. It was another common factor in the experience of each of the Churches which enabled them to amalgamate so readily in spite of quite different histories at many other points.

The Higher-Life Sector. A third sector of the post-Civil War holiness crusade is represented by evangelists William Boardman, and Robert Pearsall Smith with Hannah Whittall Smith, another of the husband-and-wife teams who show up so frequently in holiness/higher life revivalist history. This sector represented a vital mixture of elements of both the Methodist and Oberlin movements. In 1856 Boardman, a Presbyterian, wrote *The Higher Christian Life*, one of the most influential books of the holiness revival. He and other ministers in the deeper-life movement in Presbyterian and other American Calvinistic churches generally modified traditional holiness terminology to gain a more ready hearing for their message among congregations to whom the more specific Methodist terms of entire sanctification and Christian perfection were quite unfamiliar. They substituted less theological, experiential terms

such as "the higher Christian life," or "entire consecration." Like the Baptist holiness evangelist, A. B. Earle, who used the term "rest of faith," they were seeking to lessen the shock which they knew would be created by the introduction of their revolutionary teachings about the possibility of living daily free from willful sin. Their Calvinist-oriented traditions had always strongly emphasized the tremendous obstacles which they saw imposed between the justified Christian and any consistent holiness of life because of humankind's inherent weakness and sinfulness.

The charge that Wesleyan Christian perfection is really sinless perfection is one which Wesley and the movement that identified with him had always faced from their Calvinistic opponents. To men like Boardman and Earle, who accepted the biblical nature of the experience, it seemed that the perfectionist terminology used by the Methodists only intensified opposition to the holiness message in their ranks. Therefore the negative aspects of sanctification which emphasized cleansing from all sin and evil propensities were played down and the positive elements of the victorious Christian life were brought to the fore. In response to such accommodation, the Methodist holiness movement clung to its Wesleyan terminology for the experience as the more adequate theological expression, but at the same time gave rather open acceptance to Boardman and others who substituted other theological terminology for their own purposes. The goal was to get the message of full salvation out into the churches. Theological sophistication was not the central issue. It was an experience-centered revival movement, and most in the movement would have said a hearty "Amen" when John Inskip declared to a large National Camp audience,

We come here not so much to argue as to . . . announce the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. . . . You get this blessing and we'll take your creed, whatever it may be, that is we'll find then that there is very little difference between us. . . .³¹

The higher-life movement found its most enduring expression in what now, commonly, is known as Keswick holiness teaching. Keswick developed out of the first Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness held at the town of Keswick in the English lake district, a conference in turn born out of the

spread of the American holiness revival to England about 1873. William Boardman, Robert Pearsall and Hannah Whitall Smith, and Asa Mahan were the dominant American evangelists. Interest in their message rose from the publications of the evangelists themselves, which prepared the way for their message in the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church and Free Church circles. Several key British Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist ministers who published and circulated holiness tracts and books, largely within British Methodism, also prepared the ground. The British and European holiness revival flourished as a complementary movement to the popular Moody-Sankey revival of the time.³²

The Keswick understanding of the experience of holiness and life in the Spirit represents a reshaping of the American Methodist holiness revival's perception of entire sanctification by English and European, largely Reformed, evangelicals. The first Keswick Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness grew out of the ministry of the American lay holiness evangelist, Robert Pearsall Smith, and his noted wife, Hannah Whitall Smith. Anglicans such as Evan Hopkins, Webb-Peploe, and Handley Moule continued the Keswick Convention after the American leadership faltered because of rumors which surfaced about Smith's doctrinal and moral integrity.³³

The consequent reformulation of the holiness message of victory over sin and victorious Christian life and witness under the Keswick banner allowed holiness teaching to penetrate the non-Methodist churches of America more broadly than had been possible under the original revival movement with its heavy Methodist perfectionist flavor. The experience of daily victory over sin was the promise of both theologies. The Calvinistic Keswickians, however, would claim only that in the fully consecrated believer's life, the power of the old nature of sin was countered and overcome by the presence of the indwelling Spirit; it was not cleansed away as commonly maintained by their Wesleyan compatriots. Keswick spirituality, strongly tinged with Wesleyan understanding and experience, still colors the self-understanding, or even forms the basis of the prevailing ethos, of many of contemporary evangelicalism's institutions and movements, such as Campus Life, Moody Bible Institute, Gordon-Conwell Seminary, The Assemblies of God

denomination, Columbia College and Seminary in South Carolina, and even significant elements within the Southern Baptist Convention.³⁴

John Wesley once said "in a much quoted passage" that in the doctrine of justification Methodism was "within a hair's breadth" of Calvinism. With equal accuracy one might say that the enduring impact of the Methodist holiness revival of the nineteenth century was to bring the doctrine of sanctification of many of the present Calvinistically rooted denominations and institutions in the evangelical world "within a hair's breadth" of Wesleyanism.

It was the widespread pietistic bent in most of American religion that possibly allowed this ecumenical cross-fertilization among theologies of the holy life in the diverse denominations. The holiness revival, like all such movements before and after it, broke across denominational lines and made beachheads of varying dimensions in most churches. On the one hand this brought new theological forces into play in non-Methodist churches as the Arminianism and Wesleyanism of the revival penetrated more Reformed and even Catholic traditions. On the other hand the theological currents which were at work in the churches of the Reformed tradition were also making their way back through the same network of relationships which brought Wesleyanism to them to influence the ethos and theology of the Wesleyan movement with certain dominant themes of the Calvinistic revivalism of the times.

It was out of this kind of interaction that such Wesleyan holiness churches as the Pilgrim Holiness Church were led to give attention to certain traditionally non-Methodist doctrines which the mainline National Holiness Association movement tended to shun and regard as at best "side issues." The revivalism of the National Committee had been so successful that it had bridged the gap between Wesleyanism and American revivalistic Calvinism, and issues which had not previously been concerns of Methodism began to demand their place on the holiness agenda. This bridge has allowed religious ideas to flow back and forth between the two movements which have changed both and sometimes are difficult to reconcile with the tradition upon which they impinge on either side. The paradox inherent in the uneasy relationship, yet obvious affinities,

between holiness evangelicals and Calvinistic evangelicals — whether neo-evangelical or fundamentalist — can be attributed to this bridging which still remains in place.

Healing and Premillennialism. The fourth sector consisted of two theological currents which eventually came to considerable prominence in twentieth-century evangelicalism and found fertile ground for their teaching among the holiness people of the nineteenth century. They were the emphases on healing and on premillennialism.

The holiness movement fostered the divine healing current in American revivalism in that it had in it elements of theological and experiential understanding which proved to be more encouraging to the development of the doctrine than those offered by other strands of American religion. John Wesley himself had given some attention to the efficacy of faith and prayer in the healing of the body and the nature of the intervention of the Spirit in human lives and events. But it was in the American revival that the Pentecostal imagery, increasingly fostered in the revival, opened the way for the more regular expectation of such intervention. Moreover, the widening understanding of the Spirit-filled life revived the expectation of the reactivation of the gifts of the Spirit in the lives of Christians for ministry in the church and the world.

In most instances divine healing teaching found friendlier acceptance within those holiness associations which were most ecumenical in make-up. National Holiness evangelists—all under regular appointment by the Methodist Episcopal Church—commonly refused to promote faith healing teaching in their camps for fear of being diverted from their central message of cleansing from sin and perfection in love. But even they were not divorced from the healing movement.³⁵ John Inskip testified to a miraculous healing by faith as R. Cullis prayed for him. His testimony spread the interest in the doctrine far and wide among his Methodist followers. Cullis, an Episcopalian homeopathic physician, was the father of the healing revival in the holiness movement as well as in the Pentecostal movement. The latter movement eventually gave it much more prominence than did the former. Cullis's faith home for consumptives in Boston was one of the first to promote and practice the spiritual

element in healing within the revivalist circles. William Boardman joined him in strong promotion of the doctrine. A. J. Gordon, prominent higher-life Baptist pastor, and most significantly of all, A. B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance movement, were strongly influenced by Cullis's and Boardman's work. All of them in turn were influenced by the work of Pastor Blumhart and Dorothea Trudel in Switzerland, who also joined their pietistic holiness to a fuller understanding of faith and spiritual healing in their convalescent homes. All these leaders were active in the holiness revival and proclaimed their divine healing message throughout the revival network.³⁶

Wherever healing doctrines interacted with the strongly Methodist National Camp Meeting Association, elements of that movement took strong exception to the teaching on faith healing which was typical of most of those in the Cullis-Boardman movement. The early teaching of the holiness healing movement, influenced by such leaders as Cullis and Boardman, was that healing now by the prayer of faith was assured to all who would believe in the finished redemptive work of Christ in the same manner that one could now claim forgiveness of sins through Him. After some years of experience and biblical reflection R. Kelso Carter, a member of the Christian and Missionary Alliance fellowship, who earlier had accepted that view, rejected his earlier ultraistic belief that everyone might be miraculously (almost automatically) healed if they only believed, but at the same time retained a belief in the possibility of divine healing.³⁷ He and most of the Methodist movement affirmed that persons might or might not be divinely healed of a particular illness at any given moment, but only in accordance with the wisdom and particular will of God. He works in us His often mysterious (to humankind) providential will (sometimes to heal, sometimes to delay or withhold healing) as we seek His highest glory through our yielded lives. Therefore, the prayer for healing, unlike the prayer for salvation, must always end with the statement, "If it be Thy will."

The nature of the prayer of faith for divine intervention, consequently, divided holiness teachers. These differences continue to the present. The understanding of most of the holiness churches was to be rooted in the later understanding of healing

as providential and subservient to God's higher wisdom and providence as represented by Carter. The more radical position, which may more properly be called "faith healing" developed into the healing theology common to the Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century. In that tradition to end a prayer for healing with "Thy will be done," constitutes a sign of unbelief and defeat. The lines between the two groups at this point, however, were not always neatly drawn; there were always some in the holiness tradition who stood with the Pentecostals in including healing in the atonement along with redemption from sin.³⁸

The second development within American revivalism which strongly influenced the holiness movement was the dispensational premillennialism which originated largely within the Plymouth Brethren in England. Their understanding of history and of the nature of the church made its way to America through the Moody movement which was at the same time strongly infused with higher-life holiness teaching, largely Keswick in origin. Moody himself had experienced a "second blessing" after two Free Methodist women had spoken to him about his need of the filling of the Spirit.³⁹

By the close association of Wesleyan holiness and deeper-life Calvinistic holiness adherents in holiness associations and conventions and especially by the literature which freely made its way back and forth between both movements, premillennialism (the view that Christ would return before a 1,000 year period of peace) began to overcome the postmillennial (the idea that Christ would not return until after a period of peace) view of the church's mission in history which had dominated Methodism and the holiness revival from its beginning. As we have already indicated, wherever a holiness association or camp was under the auspices of more traditional National Holiness Association leadership, healing teachings and concerns for the premillennial second coming of Christ were looked upon as side issues to the main thrust of holiness evangelism. Postmillennialists in these ranks, such as Daniel Steele, stoutly resisted the signs of the new teachings in holiness circles. He and other postmillennialists insisted that the biblical and doctrinal bases of premillennialism were foreign to a Wesleyan understanding of the church and its work in the world.⁴⁰

But in spite of such respected defenders as Steele, by the end of the century postmillennialism gradually began to give way to premillennialism in much of the movement. The influence of A. B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, is very obvious here in that his "Fourfold Gospel" of salvation, sanctification, healing, and the second coming eventually became the doctrinal standard for many of the organized groups which later consolidated into holiness churches. The Pilgrim Holiness Church especially was shaped by these concepts. As we have already noted at the start of the chapter, both of its founders, Seth Cook Rees and Martin Wells Knapp, were at one point in their early careers strongly influenced by association with A. B. Simpson. The other most influential center for premillennialism in the movement was the Kentucky holiness circle dominated by H. C. Morrison, the Southern Methodist evangelist of Asbury College and Seminary fame. L. L. Pickett of Louisville, Kentucky, was the most ardent proponent of the position.⁴¹ Premillennialism eventually became the dominant eschatological position of most holiness adherents, but other views never lost out completely. The Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) took up an alternative commonly referred to as amillennialism (the view that there is no literal millennial period). The largest of the American holiness bodies, the Church of the Nazarene, kept away from explicit premillennial terminology in its doctrinal statements and continued to hold diverse opinions on the question. But the premillennial view broadly prevailed. The Wesleyan Methodists also became predominantly premillennial, but because of their more formal Methodist taproots there were always a significant number of postmillennial and amillennial adherents within the denomination. This mix continued even up to the 1968 merger when the merged Church dropped the Pilgrim Holiness Church's explicit premillennial commitments from its creedal statement.

Women in Leadership

One additional revivalistic innovation—the expanding role of women in the ministry and leadership of the church—found as fertile soil in the holiness movement as in any other context in American religion. When one writes about the rise of

religious feminism in nineteenth-century America, women who played a major leadership role in the holiness revival make up a significant part of the story. In nineteenth-century Methodism as a whole, women who were active in the holiness wing of the church tend to dominate the arena of feminist activism. The life and ministry of Phoebe Palmer, the leading nineteenth-century holiness woman, has been outlined in the first chapter. Her sister, Sarah Lankford, who played an important part in Phoebe's spiritual pilgrimage and who actually started the Tuesday meeting, also became a role model with Phoebe for others who were to follow in the holiness tradition. Their role models, in turn, had been eighteenth-century women of the Wesleyan revival in England, such as Susanna Wesley, Sarah Mallat, Mary Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers and in America, Barbara Heck, who had played as prominent a role in establishing the first Methodist church in New York as any other person. The list of holiness movement women who joined the above in promoting women's place in the church and sometimes in other arenas as well is a long one. Encouraged by the movement's strong emphasis on the need to obey the personal call of the Holy Spirit to ministry and buttressed by the Pentecost account in which the Holy Spirit fell on all flesh, both men and women, and all prophesied, holiness women pioneered many of the first paths through the wasteland which American institutional religion had previously represented to them in their quest for equal rights to ministry and participation.

The better known representatives include Frances Willard, temperance and women's rights leader, and her close friend, Hannah Whitall Smith, noted speaker and author; Amanda Smith, the black woman evangelist and Jennie Smith, the noted railroad evangelist; Annie Wittenmyer, one of the founders of the temperance movement, and Jennie Fowler Willing, one of the first women journalists who wrote especially for other women in America; and Maggie Van Cott, the first woman to be licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Florence Crittenden, who founded homes for outcast women. At the end of the century, as the holiness churches were forming, the rights of women as full members of the fellowship were much more commonly assumed than questioned. A host of women in the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the Church

of the Nazarene, the Pilgrim Holiness Church, the Salvation Army, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church — all churches which had allowed the ordination of women to the ministry—joined these pioneers. They took part in the official conventions, sat on major councils and planted some of the earliest congregations of their respective communions. Only a few of these, such as Frances Willard and Hannah Smith, aggressively pursued their cause outside of the church, but all of them enjoyed a standing within their religious communities which most of the women in the older and larger religious denominations in America would have to wait another half century to enjoy.

The Reorganization of The Holiness Movement

By the end of the nineteenth century, this revival mix of intense evangelistic and moral concern for the sanctification of the churches and society proved to be too volatile to remain pent up in the fragile confines of the hundreds of voluntary holiness associations which lay liberally sprinkled across the world-Protestant map of the time. The established church world was becoming weary of the intensity of the movement on issues which the religious world in general was consistently thrusting further and further down on its agenda for the future. It became increasingly difficult for the churches to make room within their institutional structures for these hundreds of holiness evangelistic associations and agencies, usually under regular clergy, but often a mixture only of zealous, but theologically untrained lay men and women. As a result more and more of the converts of the still expanding revival movement found less and less reason to relate to the older churches. The pressures upon the evangelists of the movement to care for their converts persistently increased. As the evangelists found stronger strictures placed upon their freedom to move about within the polity and structures of the established churches it became easier for them to justify more permanent organization of the holiness adherents under their own denominational banners.

Another factor which hastened the organization of the holiness associations was the harm brought to the cause by the inability of the movement to exercise proper discipline among

those who identified themselves with the movement. Hundreds of holiness evangelists and other workers were literally going everywhere promoting various representations of the holiness message ranging through all extremes and combinations of the many doctrinal commitments and historical conditioning represented in the various segments of the revival as outlined above. Many were lay evangelists whose only theological preparation was the understanding of the doctrine and life which they had picked up at camp meeting or revival services, reinforced and sometimes guarded by a strong commitment to biblical understanding. Most of those who were already ordained were younger men and women of zeal who left the ministry of the established churches very early because of their disappointment with the lack of enthusiasm for holiness often found there. A significant number were seasoned ministers within the Methodist Churches, North and South, and a smaller number still of such men and women among the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. In such a movement with its primary emphasis upon a wholehearted response to the leadings of the Spirit as the primary evidence of the entirely sanctified life, it is not difficult to understand why the tendency toward erraticisms and fanaticisms was a pervasive concern of the responsible leaders of the movement. The need for nurturing church fellowships and the desire for church order and discipline were two of the major forces which created the numerous holiness churches which were organized toward the end of the century and in the first decade of the next.

It was out of circumstances such as the above that Martin Wells Knapp and George B. Kulp, established elders in Michigan Methodism, eventually gave their lives to God's Bible School in Cincinnati, Ohio—Knapp as founder and Kulp as an early general superintendent of the Apostolic Holiness Church which then was closely associated with that early holiness center. These dynamics brought Methodist laypersons Charles and Lettie Cowman to the school. There they were among the first to be ordained by the Apostolic Holiness Union as they went on to found the Oriental Missionary Society, now OMS International. Some of these institutions such as OMS, World Gospel Mission, Taylor University, Asbury College, and later Asbury Seminary, along with the continuing influence of the

National Holiness Association with its hundreds of affiliated camp meetings, served as organizational links between the holiness movement which remained within Methodism and the new holiness churches. This continuing liaison allowed both parties to move across the new organizational lines. Methodist leaders continued to minister to the new holiness churches and influence their leaders.

It was this revival network which brought Seth Cook Rees and his spouse and coworker, Hulda Rees, to join with C. W. Ruth and Martin Wells Knapp in that inauspicious meeting at Cincinnati in 1897 which formed the International Holiness Union and Prayer League, the parent body of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. It was in this network that the Wesleyan Methodist movement found its most influential and comfortable associations as well. The holiness revival created the lines of communication and relationships which allowed the two Churches to move on to union in the next century—one hundred years after the post-Civil War holiness revival had begun.

NOTES

¹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, September 8-14, 1926* (Cincinnati, Ohio: The Pilgrim Holiness Advocate, n.d.), p. 36.

² Paul S. Rees, *Seth Cook Rees, the Warrior Saint* (Indianapolis, Ind.: The Pilgrim Book Room, 1934), pp. 23, 24.

³ Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas, *An Outline History of The Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Wesley Press, 1990), p. 133.

⁴ Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, pp. 55-58, see chart, p. 60.

⁵ Phoebe Palmer, *Four Years in the Old World: Comprising the Travels . . . of Dr. and Mrs. Palmer in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales* (New York: Foster and Palmer, Jr., 1867).

⁶ Gilbert Haven, *Sermons, Speeches and Letters on Slavery and Its War* (Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1869), pp. 629-30.

⁷ L. R. Marston, *From Age to Age, a Living Witness: an Historical Interpretation of Free Methodism's First Century* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Light and Life Press, 1960); also, Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980; originally published in 1957), pp. 129-34.

⁸ A. B. Earle, *The Rest of Faith* (Boston: James H. Earle, 1873).

⁹ William E. Boardman, *The Higher Christian Life* (Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1858).

¹⁰ William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire: or the True Power of Christianity* (New York: Harper and Brothers, [1857]).

¹¹ As quoted from Henry C. Lay, "Grant before Appomattox: Notes of a Confederate Bishop," *Atlantic Monthly*, (March 1932) in Bruce Catton, *A Stillness at Appomattox* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p. 361.

¹² Ernest Lee Tuveson, "Chosen Race . . . Chosen People," Chapter 7, *Redeemer*

Nation: the Idea of America's Millennial Role (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 137-86.

¹³The text of Wesley's sermon, "On Dress," I Peter 3:3-4, was the same text that was used most commonly in the movement to decry the wearing of gold and other bodily adornments. See *The Works of John Wesley* (Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1979), 7:15-26; Wesley calls his Methodists to account for their growing love of finery and for being attracted to the "profusion of ribands, gauze, or linens. . . ." "Huge hats, bonnets, head-dresses" gave them a "bold, immodest look. . . ," he said, engendering lust and pride. But his main complaint was that the undue expenditures for clothes and adornments showed utter disregard for the poor who could be helped more generously if less were spent on these things. "Everything about thee which cost more than Christian duty required thee to lay out is the blood of the poor." *Works*, 7:21.

¹⁴Charles G. Finney's writings were well known to the revivalistic churches of the later nineteenth century and especially to the holiness movement. In them he decries the "display of vanity" in women which fills "their ears with ornaments and their fingers with rings. . . ." As a result, "their influence is reversed: heaven puts on mourning and hell may hold a jubilee!"; see his *Revivals of Religion* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, n.d.), pp. 170-71, 474-76. It is true that a conservative style of dress and daily living characterized a large segment of the holiness movement. But there were wide variations in the movement with at least two streams of thought flowing together relative to matters of practice and conduct. One was more sophisticated—less inclined to rigidity or extremes in proclaiming negatives. The other as indicated here was more inclined to perpetuate simplicity, more conservative of older cultural practices, tending more to rigidity and extremes.

¹⁵This constitutes the main thesis of his book *From State Church to Pluralism: a Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971).

¹⁶Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley: a Theological Biography* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), Vol. II, Part 1, 96-107. This is a description of Wesley's classes and bands.

¹⁷Wesley, *Works*, 8:251-252.

¹⁸For a summary of the founding of the National Camp meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness (now the Christian Holiness Association) and its relationship with the revival and the founding of the holiness churches, see, Melvin Easterday Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980), pp. 98-119; also, Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974), pp. 16-46.

¹⁹William McDonald and John E. Searles, *The Life of Rev. John S. Inskip, the President of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness* (Chicago: The Christian Witness Co., 1885), pp. 185-211.

²⁰Laurence E. Breeze, "Union in Holiness," *Methodist History* 13 (July 1975) 4:25; Kenneth O. Brown, "The World-wide Evangelist—The Life and Work of Martha Inskip," *Methodist History* 21 (July 1983), 4:171-191.

²¹McDonald and Searles, *The Life of Rev. John S. Inskip*, gives details of Inskip's leadership.

²²Charles Johnson concludes that the camp meeting movement in America had about died out by the Civil War Period. See *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religious Harvest Time* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1955).

²³Henry B. Ridgeway, *The Life of Rev. Alfred Cookman* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873), p. 327.

²⁴Hannah Whitall Smith, holiness evangelist, famous author of *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* and staid Quaker observer of religious experience, late in life, recalled the spiritual vitality of the Holiness camp meeting as unlike that of any other worship experience she had ever known. See Melvin E. Dieter, "The Smiths—a Biographical Sketch with Selected Items from the Collection," *The Asbury Seminarian* 28 (Spring 1983), p. 31.

²⁵Charles Edwin Jones lists more than fifty periodicals which began (and sometimes

ended) publication within the movement before the end of the century; see his book *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1974), pp. 74-80.

²⁶Dieter, *Holiness Revival*, pp. 204-13; Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion*, pp. 50-51; Timothy L. Smith, *Called unto Holiness, the Story of the Nazarenes: the Formative Years* (Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), pp. 18-21.

²⁷*Methodist Quarterly Review* 57 (January 1878), 176; and (October 1878), 696-97. See also *Advocate of Christian Holiness*, 9 (March 1878), 64.

²⁸*Christian Standard and Home Journal*, 8 (November 27, 1875), 380.

²⁹Smith provides the best summary of this period in *Called Unto Holiness*, pp. 33-47.

³⁰The most recent comprehensive account of Finney's life is, Keith J. Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney, 1792-1875: Revivalist and Reformer* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987).

³¹Adam Wallace, ed., *A Modern Pentecost: Embracing a Record of the Sixteenth National Camp-Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness Held at Landisville, Pa., July 23d to August 1, 1873* (Philadelphia: Methodist Home Journal Publishing House, 1873), p. 15.

³²Steven Barabas, *So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention* (Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1952); Melvin E. Dieter, "From Vineland and Manheim to Oxford and Brighton: the Holiness Revival in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 9 (Spring 1974), pp. 15-27.

³³The actual circumstances which led to Smith's "fall" were revealed to us only in 1964—almost one hundred years after the event. See, J. C. Pollock, *The Keswick Story: the Authorized History of the Keswick Convention* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), pp. 30-37. Pollock concludes that the "truth is pathetic rather than shocking . . .", p. 35. Apparently Smith had begun to speak to some women about their union with Christ using sexual imagery—an ancient Christian heresy which sometimes arose in American Perfectionist circles as "spiritual wifery" and had arisen from time to time within orders of nuns in the Catholic tradition as "bridal mysticism." It seems that in this case, the young woman whom Smith had counseled vividly embellished the accounts of their encounter. There is no evidence of any sexual involvement. The rumors about the incident circulated for over ninety years in Evangelical circles before the fuller story finally came out. The bitter failure of his ministry, combined with the manic-depressive nature with which he and other members of his family suffered, eventually contributed to his complete loss of faith. Hannah Whitall, his wife and coworker, remained stalwart in her faith until her death in 1911.

³⁴For an example of the last listed, note liberal sprinkling of explicitly holiness and Keswick gospel songs throughout the latest official Southern Baptist hymnal.

³⁵Smith, *Called unto Holiness*, p. 35.

³⁶For a contemporary nineteenth-century summary of the healing movement in American and European holiness/higher-life revivalism of the period see, A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing: Miracle Cures in All Ages* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1882).

³⁷Carter's initial views were developed in R. Kelso Carter, *The Atonement for Sin and Sickness; or A Full Salvation for Soul and Body* (Boston: The Willard Tract Repository, 1884); his book, *"Faith Healing" Reviewed after Twenty Years* (Boston: The Christian Witness Co, 1897) outlines his revised understanding of the question.

³⁸The author of this chapter remembers his father, Harold D. Dieter, longtime president of Allentown Bible Institute, and R. G. Flexon, Pilgrim Holiness evangelist and general superintendent, debating this issue. Dieter defended the position that the atonement did not include a general and present provision for the healing of the body in the same way that it did for the immediate salvation and entire sanctification of the soul by the individual's faith in Christ. Flexon espoused—at least at that point in his life—the opposite view.

³⁹Sarah A. Cooke, *The Handmaiden of the Lord, or Wayside Sketches* (Chicago: T. B. Arnold Publisher, 1896), pp. 42-43; J. C. Pollock, *Moody: a Biographical Portrait of the Pacesetter in Modern Evangelism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), pp. 84-91.

⁴⁰To oppose one of these "side issues" did not necessarily position one against the other as well. Daniel Steele strongly opposed premillennialism in the movement; see his *Jesus Exultant, or Christ No Pessimist* (Boston: The Christian Witness Co., 1899). At the same time he was deeply involved with Cullis's healing center in Boston. The premillennial stance strongly offended his native Wesleyan optimism; the prohealing stance was confirmed by it.

⁴¹L. L. Pickett and H. C. Morrison debated and published on behalf of the premillennial position. One of Pickett's most widely read books was *The Blessed Hope of His Glorious Appearing* (Louisville, Ky.: Pickett Publishing Co., 1901), for which Morrison wrote the introduction.

CHAPTER 5

BECOMING A CHURCH: WESLEYAN METHODISM, 1899 - 1935

Robert E. Black

INTRODUCTION

The new century ushered in a new era in the religious life of North America. Both D. L. Moody and Robert Ingersoll died in 1899—one the premier evangelist of the day, the other its most prominent and outspoken agnostic. Liberalism was becoming a major force on the American scene and within a few years would be its dominant theology. A new view of sin and salvation called “the Social Gospel” was picking up support, and that movement in turn would give rise to the Federal (now the National) Council of Churches, born in 1908.

At the other end of the spiritual spectrum, the holiness revival was in full swing and the holiness message was more widespread than at any time since Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke. When Southern Methodism moved against the holiness advocates in its ranks, it scattered them into a number of new holiness denominations, among them the Church of the Nazarene and the Pilgrim Holiness Church.¹ Pentecostalism was budding, too—in the Southwest (Charles F. Parham’s Bethel College, 1900), in the South (Church of God, Cleveland, Tennessee, 1902-03), and in the Far West (the Azusa Street revival of 1906).²

For Wesleyan Methodists a new era was dawning as well. Years before, the soul of the movement had shifted from reform to revivalism, and now its structure would be significantly altered. Through a series of changes begun in 1891, Wesleyan Methodism determined its identity and became what it had long hesitated to be—a fully operational denomination.

Speaking for the founding fathers, Luther Lee had contended that only a local body of believers could rightly be called a church.³ The 1891 General Conference began the move away from that position by changing the corporate name to "the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America," a change which appears to have affected much more than the legal transactions of the corporation. "Connectional" sounded "congregational," and though Church polity had always been Presbyterian in form, holding the middle ground between congregationalism and episcopacy, the addition of the designation "Church" to its official name undoubtedly reinforced that spirit and encouraged the establishment of a stronger and more consolidated organization.

That same year a third full-time officer, missionary secretary, was added. From 1843-1891 only the editor and the publisher had served between general conferences. A general missionary secretary in the field meant that Wesleyan Methodists were looking to the denomination for leadership on a broader scale than publishing alone.

Also, the Book Committee was designated by the 1891 General Conference to be a board of managers for all the Connectional corporations—in other words, more like the general board which it has since become.

The 1895 General Conference continued the same thrust with the development of the "Dollar Plan," the first attempt at establishing a general budget. As a formula for apportionment it was short-lived, being deleted from the *Discipline* in 1907, but it paved the way for other, more effective plans to follow.

A fifth building block was laid in 1899. Starting in that year, the schedule of annual conferences was arranged to allow the missionary secretary or another general official to be present at each one, in order to address the conference and to represent the denomination.

Building on this foundation, the Church in the years from 1899-1935 made the transition from a loose connectional arrangement to a broad-based and functional denominational system.⁴ Two more full-time general officials would be added, a highly successful financial program instituted, three colleges established, mission work expanded, auxiliaries formed for women, children and youth, a number of new conferences

added and growth registered in all categories.

But behind the achievements stand the achievers, and it is there that the story of this period must begin. The year 1899 saw a changing of the guard.

THE CHANGING OF THE GUARD

The Grand Old Man of the Church

When Eber Teter was elected general conference president in 1899, he succeeded Nathan Wardner, a leader who had served six quadrennia in that office before his death in 1898. Teter would serve seven, a record unmatched by anyone else in the history of the Church, and for most of his tenure would combine that high office with the full-time position of general missionary secretary.

Teter's parents were charter members of Wesleyan Methodism, organizing a Wesleyan Methodist church in their hometown of Boxley, Indiana, in 1844. Their home was a station on the Underground Railroad. While still in his teens Eber fought as a Union Soldier in the Civil War,⁵ and after the war he studied for the ministry at two former Wesleyan Methodist colleges, Wheaton in Illinois and Adrian in Michigan. Following pastoral service in Indiana and Tennessee and a hiatus from the ministry (which he later regretted), Teter was elected the first full-time president of the Indiana Conference in 1887.⁶ He was 41 years of age.

Fourteen years later he gave up the conference presidency to serve as general missionary secretary; the record he left behind in Indiana was remarkable. Sixty-nine new churches were organized in those 14 years, though not all achieved permanency, and membership increased by one-third. Income almost tripled. As conference president, Teter led Indiana to unquestioned leadership in the denomination. It was the largest, strongest and most influential of all the conferences, a fact reflected in the significant number of leaders it produced for general office. Of men who served the Church full-time from 1899-1935, six were from Indiana; no other conference provided more than two.

Teter's work in denominational service was as solid as his

record in Indiana. The work in Sierra Leone was strengthened during his term in office as general missionary secretary (1901-19) and a new field was opened in India. At the time of his retirement due to old age and ill health, Wesleyan Methodist missionaries were preparing to enter Japan. Several new conferences were added at home, and others were salvaged through his efforts. Nowhere was this one-time Union soldier more acclaimed than in the South, where he gave new life to a struggling North Carolina Conference, played a vital role in the development of Georgia, encouraged ministry among blacks, and was called "the Father of Central Wesleyan College" because of his direct and personal involvement in its founding in 1906.⁷ After Teter's death in 1928, Roy S. Nicholson, Sr., paid him tribute in *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*: "His name has been passed from father to son with the prayer that it will never be forgotten."⁸

That Eber Teter did not belong only to Indiana or to the South is apparent in his popular designation as "The Grand Old Man of the Church."⁹ Here was a churchman who deserves to be ranked with Orange Scott and Adam Crooks as a shaper of Wesleyan Methodism.¹⁰ Each, in a sense, was "present at the creation"—Scott in the founding of the Connection, Crooks in its re-orientation after the Union Movement, and Teter in the transition from Connection to Church, in fact as well as in name.

A Roll of Honor

He was not alone, of course. A forest is not made by a single oak, however grand. There was a broader legacy of leadership in the changing of the guard.

Consider John Starbuck Willett of Derbyshire, England, by way of the Lockport Conference. J. S. Willett came to Syracuse, New York, in 1904 as the office editor under denominational editor A. T. Jennings, but his major contribution was on the business side of the publishing house. Elected publisher in 1913, he inherited an uneven enterprise, saddled with a monetary deficit of \$10,000 and an even greater deficit of confidence. A Book Committee member who was a businessman declared that no power on earth could save the situation.¹¹

Willett steered the publishing house to solvency and kept it solvent (and deficit-free) through the war years and the depression which followed. He died in office in 1935, having served long and well as publisher, pastor of the Eastwood Church in Syracuse, which he founded, and, for a time, as president of the Rochester Conference. The legacy of the English lad who was the first graduate of Houghton's college program was that he kept the publishing house solvent.

Consider T. P. Baker, general missionary secretary (1913-23) and, after that office was divided, home missionary secretary (1923-35). Baker, who had sat in Eber Teter's chair as full-time president of the Indiana Conference, succeeded Teter as missionary secretary. "He was a leader of men," one of his contemporaries wrote at his death,¹² and the evidence is found on the home missions map. The Church grew during the Baker era, but *where* it grew is even more significant. He took the Church into urban areas, like the Middle Atlantic States, and to the Far West in California—locations with the potential for unlimited growth and the potential for expanding the cultural definition of "Wesleyan Methodist" as well.

Consider Allegheny's Ira Ford McLeister. He was the first full-time general Sunday school secretary and editor (1919-27), the driving force behind the creation of the Wesleyan Young People's Society and the first editor of its youth periodical (1935), the first recipient of an honorary degree from Houghton College (1936), the author of the most comprehensive history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church yet written (1934), and one of her finest general editors (1927-43). In fact, he remains the only individual honored by the church as general editor emeritus.

And consider Joe Lawrence of Georgia. Lawrence was born in Ireland. Settling in the American South to farm, he soon became influential statewide as a publisher of farm papers. When the Georgia Conference seated its first general conference delegates in 1899, Joe Lawrence was half of the delegation. In time he would serve as lay vice president of the general conference an impressive eight consecutive terms (1907-35) in addition to four terms on the Book Committee.

There were others, of course; five trees don't make a forest, either. Michigan's E. F. McCarty, who directed the work of foreign missions for 25 years; E. D. Carpenter of Champlain,

president of the general conference for 12 years and member of the Book Committee for 40; and a long list of leaders like A. J. Shea (Canada, Middle Atlantic States) and P. B. Campbell (Allegheny) who never held general office, all deserve mention. This is their story, too.

GROWTH — AND ITS LIMITS

A Profile Of Progress

Wesleyan Methodism grew from 1899-1935. Along with the division of Georgia into northern and southern conferences (1903), conferences were added in Oklahoma (1904), Alabama (1910), the Middle Atlantic States (New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, part of Pennsylvania, and metropolitan New York City, 1921), Kentucky (1923), California (1924) and East Tennessee (1929). India and Japan should be included, too.

The total number of churches jumped from 506 to 745, and membership increased from 17,181 to 27,811.¹³

Indiana, Allegheny, South Carolina, and Dakota all registered significant gains, as did the young Alabama Conference. For sheer Horatio Alger heroics, however, the prize must go to the conference which on its own accounted for one-fourth of the total denominational gain in this period.

North Carolina had been a mission since 1847 and a conference since 1879, but in 1899 it was able to report only 220 members. It sent no delegates to the general conference that year and raised the grand total of \$123.56 for all purposes.¹⁴ Understandably, the denomination decided that the situation was hopeless and sent officials to disband it. Instead, the committee—Eber Teter, missionary secretary; A. W. Hall, publisher; and J. N. Bedford of Houghton College — detected signs of spiritual life and agreed to H. W. Hawkins's plea for a chance to let the conference prove itself. Hawkins served as president of the North Carolina Conference for nine years and laid a solid foundation for rapid growth and expansion. Teter later laughed and said that it was the only corpse he'd ever seen which refused to be buried.¹⁵

By 1935 North Carolina had grown to 69 churches and 2,620 members, both figures second only to Indiana in the

denomination, despite spinning off the Tennessee Conference. In the face of sometimes violent opposition—one revival tent had more than one hundred bullet holes in it¹⁶—North Carolina had “proved itself” and found a place in the church.

Overall, though, growth was modest. The membership increase of 60 percent over 36 years is less than 2 percent annually, a figure which exactly parallels the Free Methodists but is swamped by the Nazarene average gain of more than 8 percent annually over this period.¹⁷ (Since the Pilgrim Holiness Church began in 1897 as an interdenominational union, there are no membership figures available until 1906 when 2,744 members were reported. Through a series of mergers as well as through evangelistic efforts the membership had grown to 27,418 by 1940.) Why didn’t Wesleyan Methodism grow more rapidly?

Lee Haines and Paul William Thomas suggest five reasons:

- 1) Lack of an efficient central organization for the promotion of growth.
- 2) The movement toward stronger antilodge and proholiness positions of the Church. (Although with some differences these positions were also taken by the Nazarenes.)
- 3) A de-emphasis on Church membership not uncommon to the holiness movement.
- 4) The linking of financial assessments to membership.
- 5) An exclusivistic attitude in some quarters which seemed to hold new believers at arm’s length until their life-styles passed examination.¹⁸

There is, however, a prior question: Since Wesleyan Methodism was already in existence, why didn’t the Nazarene and Pilgrim Holiness leaders and people join its ranks instead of launching out on their own?

Some seceders from Methodism did join with the Wesleyans, but not in significant numbers. Nor did the Free Methodist Church, founded in 1860, harvest much of this new holiness crop. Perhaps there was a reluctance to maintain the name “Methodist,” whether *Wesleyan* or *Free*.

It is more likely, though, that the common experience of the exodus from Methodism created a bond between the refugees which tended to draw them toward each other and the formation of new churches with which they could identify more readily than with Wesleyan bodies whose struggle had been waged

in another day under other circumstances. Besides, the leaders created by Methodist pressure continued to lead, and the most natural outlet for that leadership was to be found in new denominations, not affiliation with established ones.

That still left open the possibility of merger somewhere down the line. The new groups were certainly not antimerger; the Nazarenes merged with eleven different groups by 1922, the Pilgrim Holiness Church with five.¹⁹ But the Wesleyan Methodists were not among them, despite J. B. Chapman's editorials in the *Herald of Holiness* in 1924 calling for the Nazarenes to merge with all three—Wesleyan Methodists, Free Methodists, and Pilgrim Holiness.²⁰

For a time, merger between Wesleyan Methodists and Free Methodists seemed possible. Fraternal delegates were exchanged, committees were appointed, and consideration was given it from 1911-19. The barriers—differing forms of Church government, differing views on the millennium and some differing standards of life-style—may not have proved insurmountable, but the illness and death of A. T. Jennings, chairman of the Wesleyan committee and perhaps merger's strongest supporter, and the protracted illness of Free Methodist Bishop W. T. Hogue effectively ended the consultations. (Hogue had initiated the proposal "wholly on my own responsibility" in his fraternal address to the 1903 Wesleyan Methodist General Conference.)²¹ The talks would be revived twice in the future (1943-55 and 1972-76), but without issuing in merger.

The 1923 General Conference appointed a committee to look into merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (now a part of The Missionary Church), but again, nothing came of it. What Timothy Smith calls "the long quest for Wesleyan unity"²² has a checkered history.

Affiliation with the emerging Pentecostal groups was never considered, although some local churches were swept into that camp in the early days of the Pentecostal movement. The first radical, third-work-of-grace body in North America was the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, formed in Iowa in 1895 by Benjamin Hardin Irwin. He held services in Wesleyan Methodist churches in South Carolina and Georgia, and several of those churches disbanded and reorganized under his

banner.²³ "Indeed, many of the older churches of the pentecostal-holiness movement of today began their existence as Wesleyan Methodist churches," Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan points out. The example he offers is Beulah Church near Elberton, Georgia. Founded as a Wesleyan Methodist church in 1896, it became Pentecostal Holiness in 1911.²⁴

From the beginning, Wesleyan Methodism claimed no kinship with Pentecostalism. An early resolution decried "the heresy which has found place within our borders, if but only in small degree,"²⁵ and the State of the Church report in 1907 dismissed Pentecostalism as "the last innovation."²⁶ Meanwhile, others were responding in similar fashion. In 1919 the Nazarenes dropped the word "Pentecostal" from their name to avoid confusion and identification with an emphasis with which they did not agree.²⁷

Multiplied Ministries

One evidence of a more active central organization, which developed during the first 35 years of the twentieth century, was the formation and promotion of Church auxiliaries. The oldest is the youngest—the Young Missionary Workers' Band, formed in 1902 by George H. Clarke as a children's group for missions education and support. A missionary to Sierra Leone, Clarke conceived the idea while watching a boy spend pennies for candy on a train. "A penny a week for missions" quickly became the YMWB's distinctive theme.

The women's auxiliary which has supervised the operations of the YMWB since 1907 is, in fact, a year younger than its ward. The 1903 General Conference authorized the creation of a "Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society," following the lead of those conferences which had organized societies as early as 1890. The WH&FMS soon proved its worth as the principal promoter of missions interest in the Church under leaders like Mrs. Mary P. Manwell of Michigan, the first president. *The Wesleyan Missionary* began publication in September of 1919.

Youth had more difficulty winning a place in the life of the Church. Although the 1899 General Conference had approved youth meetings in the local church, the idea was not universally applauded. One conference, for example, quickly voted down

a proposed Young People's Society, seeing it as "a disguised means of sapping the church of spiritual life" and "tending to worldliness."²⁸ A Senior YMWB was in operation from 1917-47. The 1923 General Conference authorized the formation of the Wesleyan Young People's Society (WYPS). Not until 1931, however, did youth ministry begin in earnest on the general and annual conference levels. W. L. Fancher of Houghton was elected at that time as the first WYPS general superintendent, and upon his death in 1934 was succeeded by Roy S. Nicholson. For Nicholson, it was the first step in a brilliant career of service to the Church at large.

Other ministries were expanding too, among them Wesleyan higher education. In 1899 Houghton Seminary added a college department, and in 1904 the campus was moved a short distance to its present location. Central Wesleyan College in South Carolina was born in 1906, followed by Miltonvale Wesleyan College (Kansas, 1909) and Marion College (Indiana, 1920), so that within the space of two decades Wesleyan Methodism went from a single school with an academy-theological department to a complete system of four functional colleges covering the developing Church. (See Chapter 9.)

At the same time, conferences were building camp facilities which would contribute to the bonding of churches and people in addition to providing new ministry opportunities. Again, Indiana pioneered the concept. Fairmount Camp Meeting was established in 1894, with the first camp meeting held the following year. Allegheny's Stoneboro, Pennsylvania, camp meeting dates from 1901, and North Carolina established a camp meeting in Gastonia in 1902 before making Colfax the official camp and conference grounds 25 years later. A permanent camp ground in Michigan was secured in Hastings in 1903-04 and in Champlain in 1904-05; other conferences, such as Kansas, in 1909, quickly followed those leads.

A Plan For All Seasons

Financial growth and stability came more slowly. The Dollar Plan gave way in 1907 to "Connectional Funds," and the denomination began keeping separate accounts for home

missions, foreign missions and education. The next step was a logical one; in 1911 a "budget system" apportioned the needs of general departments and schools to the individual conferences.

At the close of the First World War, a mammoth interdenominational drive was launched for money, personnel and spiritual renewal. The Interchurch World Movement (ICWM) was led by John R. Mott, a religious statesman who was the popularly acknowledged leader of American Protestantism. Mott had great success in raising funds for the war effort and expected similar success in this, the boldest ecumenical effort in the history of Christianity. The grandiose goal: one billion dollars (in 1920 dollars), to be raised by cooperating churches and "friendly citizens," who were unchurched but sympathetic to Christianity.

Like many smaller denominations, Wesleyan Methodism chose not to affiliate with the ICWM. Several reasons were given: extravagant use of money, employment of worldly men and women, pressure on pastors or churches of cooperating denominations who did not participate, an emphasis on the Social Gospel—even the use of motion pictures to promote the ICWM.²⁹ Instead, the Church came up with its own program, called the Forward Movement. The goal was one million dollars over a four-year period—\$400,000 for education, \$400,000 for missions, \$100,000 for ministerial pensions, \$75,000 for general evangelism, and \$25,000 for Sunday school work.³⁰

The ICWM was a colossal failure. Far from raising the first dollar for the churches, it could not pay 15 percent of its considerable operating expenses, and the cooperating churches were left to cover the deficit.³¹ "It is only another case of pride having its fall," *The Wesleyan Methodist* declared.³² Unfortunately, by February of the following year, barely halfway through its own campaign, the Forward Movement had failed as well.³³

For conservatives and liberals alike, big dreams held false promises. When "the drive" was replaced by "the tithe," however, Wesleyan Methodism took new ground financially. A Churchwide commitment to storehouse tithing may well have been the single most significant decision of the era, since its success made possible the success of all the Church's ministries

which were dependent upon it for their support.

As early as 1899, Publisher A. W. Hall reported that "the principle of tithing is meeting with growing favor in many portions of the church."³⁴ Various editorials in *The Wesleyan Methodist* commended it,³⁵ and a letter to the editor in 1900 observed that it appeared to be "the proper thing according to the sense of the Connection. . . ." ³⁶ Under the Conference Fund system in place at that time, in which annual conferences were free to raise an assigned amount in any way they chose consistent with Scripture and the *Discipline*, North Carolina took the lead in promoting *storehouse* tithing, the local church being designated as the proper and biblical place to bring the tithe. A resolution requiring ministers of that conference to be *storehouse* tithers was passed in 1916 and reprinted in *The Wesleyan Methodist* the following February as a suggestion to the rest of the Church.³⁷ In fact from 1917-25, the denominational periodical became a regular forum for protithing articles and testimonials, some of them quite lengthy.³⁸ Tracts appeared as well, produced by the publishing house. All emphasized the *storehouse* concept.

E. W. Black, who is credited by Roy S. Nicholson, Sr. with developing and promoting the *storehouse* plan for the denomination,³⁹ wrote in 1922, "The Wesleyan Church has long since acknowledged the ordained amount; happy shall we be when we acknowledge the appointed place."⁴⁰ He didn't have long to wait. The 1923 General Conference recommended *storehouse* tithing as the general financial plan of the Church, and for the first time it was written into the *Discipline*.⁴¹

The results were dramatic. By 1928 the denomination stood sixth in per capita stewardship in the United States and Canada. By 1932, deep in the Depression, the ranking had risen to fourth (and would climb higher).⁴²

Leadership For New Programs

Numerical growth necessitated, and financial growth permitted, the addition of more support personnel for the general level. In 1919 a general Sunday school secretary was added, and in 1923 the duties of general missionary secretary were divided between foreign and home missions responsibilities.

Sunday schools had always been important in Wesleyan Methodism. The First General Conference in 1844 made provision for the publication of literature including *The Juvenile Wesleyan*, a Sunday school paper. Through the full-time Sunday school secretary, the Church began to play a role in the organization and administration of local Sunday schools as well. This was a milestone in Christian education for the denomination, and the man tapped for the position was more than capable. I. F. McLeister, who was named Sunday school editor the following February by vote of the Book Committee, set a new high standard for Sunday school organization. When McLeister was elected general editor in 1927, the office of Sunday school secretary was occupied in succession by retiring General Editor F. A. Butterfield (1927-31) and F. R. Eddy (1931-35). Both enrollment and average Sunday school attendance doubled between 1919-35, confirming the wisdom of this step toward centralization.

The division of the missionary secretary's job proved to be a happy decision as well. On his election to the office of general missionary secretary in 1919, T. P. Baker had assigned E. F. McCarty supervision of the foreign fields. Four years later McCarty was elected foreign missionary secretary, and Baker was elected to oversee home missions in the divided arrangement.

Under Baker's direction, home missions included not only traditional church extension and the organization of the new conferences mentioned above, but also specialized ministries to the poor and the disadvantaged, such as the mountain mission projects in North Carolina and Kentucky, Spanish-American work in California, and black ministries in Alabama and other southern states. Local churches and districts also operated rescue missions in urban areas during this time. Most were gone by 1935, however, as they became victims of a general decline of interest in social action.

One which survived was Hephzibah Orphanage, founded by Betty Tyler and offered to the Wesleyan Methodists in 1921 when her own Free Methodist Church turned down an invitation to assume its support and control. Initially, that offer was rejected by the Wesleyans, too. The Book Committee decided against accepting the orphanage after conferring with other

Church leaders.⁴³ The five southern conferences of the Church did take up the challenge, though, and the Home was managed on that basis for eight years before being transferred to the general Church in February 1930.⁴⁴

Progress was achieved on the foreign front, principally in the established field of Sierra Leone, where significant strides were made in education, medicine and church planting. India, first recognized as a Wesleyan Methodist mission in 1915, and Japan, which opened four years later under the leadership of Rev. and Mrs. M. A. Gibbs, were building national churches under very difficult circumstances. (See Chapters 11 and 12.) Foreign Missionary Secretary McCarty, who visited all three fields after assuming his post in 1919, returned to Africa as a missionary after stepping down from general service in 1944.

Growing Pains

But growth was not without its problems. On February 12, 1907, A. W. Hall resigned as publisher and treasurer, effective in March of that year. Examination of the books had brought to light discrepancies and a series of entries "of doubtful propriety," in the view of the Book Committee.⁴⁵ Several thousand dollars had been diverted from other general funds for the use of the publishing house, which was Hall's primary responsibility and which, at that time, was in financial straits. The matter was further complicated by unauthorized personal loans to Hall himself and by irregularities relating to property and taxes.

The official investigating committee, made up of William Seekins and Eber Teter, reported "serious losses to the church from the lack of close attention to the business and on account of the unauthorized, unwise, wholly unwarranted, and illegal transfer of funds from one of the church corporations to another without proper security."⁴⁶ The Book Committee chose to forego repayment or any other financial settlement. The matter was "left to the conscience and moral consideration of all concerned."⁴⁷ Hall took a pastorate in the Michigan Conference and was replaced by James H. Bowen.

What was called in the minutes of the Book Committee "the present financial embarrassment"⁴⁸ was both an indication of the problems attending institutional growth and a sign of the

progress and maturity of the Church. The *problem* resulted in large part from Hall's greatly increased portfolio, which included far more than one individual should have been expected to manage. The *progress* may be seen in the way the system worked. The denomination balanced its books, eventually, and balanced itself.

A second financial jolt occurred in the next quadrennium. In 1895 Rev. and Mrs. H. T. Besse created a \$40,000 annuity contract with the Church—\$28,000 in real estate, \$12,000 cash—from which the Besses were to receive five percent annually. By 1910 the agreement was unraveling. Besse had become dissatisfied with the Church's handling of his funds, and, on the other hand, the Church was not realizing enough profit from the real estate to cover the interest due the donor. In the summer of that year a settlement was reached, in which Besse agreed to donate to the Church \$15,000 already invested in the construction of the girls' dormitory at Houghton. For their part, the denomination returned the remaining assets of the fund.⁴⁹

Repayment was difficult. The courts would not allow the publishing house at Syracuse to be mortgaged, ruling that property built by contributions to the Church should not be placed at risk to correct what the judge called "mismanagement in the current work of (the) administration."⁵⁰ Alternative security was finally arranged in December 1910. Eventually a \$10,000 mortgage was placed on the publishing house.

All in all, 1907-11 was a fiscally frantic quadrennium. Bowen died of meningitis in 1908, 18 months after assuming office. "One noble life (has) been hastened to its close in earnest effort to save the Church financially," his successor, William Seekins, reported to the 1911 General Conference,⁵¹ and the editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* echoed those thoughts in the tribute to Bowen which appeared after his death.⁵² Yet stability was achieved, and those dark days were not revisited, even in the economic turmoil of the Great Depression.

There were other problems, though, which were associated with growth. Three new colleges in 14 years stretched the Church. Marion, the youngest of the lot, had to weather the removal of her first two presidents for cause—H. C. Bedford for

doctrinal differences over Christian holiness (1922), and John W. Leedy for fiscal and administrative policies (1927).⁵³

In the upper Midwest, the problem was secret societies. Minnesota petitioned the 1895 General Conference for repeal of the rule against secrecy and notified the Church that Minnesota would not be bound by that law. "It is the opinion of nearly every member of the Minnesota Conference," A. T. Jennings wrote in his denominational history, "that the rule against secret societies has made it hard for ministers of that body to do the work to which they have been assigned."⁵⁴ The 1903 General Conference was pleased to report "all cloud lifted" in their relationship to the Church,⁵⁵ but before 1907 Minnesota had been absorbed into the Iowa Conference.

There was another matter with which Wesleyan Methodism, along with the rest of American Protestantism, had to deal. A theological firefight was raging, and the consequences were considerable.

FUNDAMENTALISM, MODERNISM, AND WESLEYAN METHODISM

A Look at the Controversy

While the fourth-century Council of Constantinople was debating the nature of the Trinity, the man on the street was debating it, too. "If you ask anyone in Constantinople for change," Gregory of Nyssa observed, "he will start discussing with you whether the Son is begotten or unbegotten."

Allowing for ministerial exaggeration, that sounds like America in the twenties. The war was on between Fundamentalism and Modernism for control of entire denominations, with church-supported colleges often the battlefields. Religion became front-page news.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, a strong strain of liberalism had crossed the Atlantic and was offering new and innovative challenges to the orthodoxy which had been predominant in America since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, arguably the most significant book of the century, had done more than pose an alternative view of human origins; it had also popularized the whole

concept of evolutionary development, which was quickly applied to religious institutions (like the Church) and elements of the faith (like the Scripture). Higher criticism of the Bible seemed calculated to undermine the foundations of the faith by calling into question the authenticity and reliability of the Bible. Absolutes were becoming obsolete and relativity reigned.

A. T. Jennings addressed the issue before the turn of the century. "We do not know a single individual in the Wesleyan Methodist Church who is tainted with the modern infidelity called higher criticism," he concluded. "Possibly the people from whom our membership mostly comes are too honest to enter a Christian church while taking the part and place of infidels."⁵⁶ On related issues, the Church was equally outspoken. Jennings claimed to know "very few greater farces" than the celebrated World's Parliament of Religions held at Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1892-93.⁵⁷ The Parliament had in effect conferred legitimacy on a roll call of the world's religions and cults and had indicated that all were of value in man's search for spiritual truth.⁵⁸ Jennings supported his proposal to raise Houghton from academy level to "college grade" by presenting it as an alternative to the theologically liberal education which could spawn a spectacle like the Parliament.⁵⁹

Arrayed against the Liberals, or Modernists, were the Fundamentalists, whose name came from a series of paperbacks published from 1910-15 and provided free to every pastor, missionary, religion professor, religion student, YMCA and YWCA student, Sunday school superintendent and religious editor in the English-speaking world. Entitled simply *The Fundamentals*, these twelve volumes dealt with a wide range of topics.

In the same year that publication of *The Fundamentals* began, a short creed of sorts was adopted by the Presbyterian General Assembly to establish the essentials (or fundamentals) of the faith. Theological territory was not to be surrendered under any circumstances. This narrower list soon attracted more attention than the more elaborate and detailed paperback series, with much of the denominational blood-letting of the period revolving around these five doctrines: 1) the inerrancy of Scripture; 2) the virgin birth of Christ; 3) His substitutionary atonement; 4) His bodily resurrection; and 5) miracles. Other groups added premillennialism, which was rapidly gaining in popularity.

Wesleyan Fundamentalism

For all their sympathy with the Fundamentalist struggle, Wesleyan Methodists were generally cheering from the sidelines. The Fundamentalist ranks were dominated by Calvinists, and it was largely in Reformed denominations, Presbyterians and Baptists in particular, that the fiercest battles were fought. (Methodism lost its taste for the fray after the heresy trials of two prominent Boston University professors.) Most Fundamentalists were Dispensationalists as well, though Old School Presbyterians like B. B. Warfield rejected that position. In his classic study of *Fundamentalism and Modern Culture*, George Marsden distinguishes the holiness movement from Fundamentalism by designating it as a “closely-related tradition.”⁶⁰ Even at that, the Keswick tradition of holiness, with its roots in Reformed theology, was closer to the action than its Wesleyan counterpart.

There was, however, a “Wesleyan fundamentalism” at work during this period. In October 1919, Miltonvale College President H. C. McDowell published in *The Wesleyan Methodist* a list of “Christian Fundamentals” which included entire sanctification. Also among his essentials were the Trinity, the deity, virgin birth, resurrection of Christ, the fall of man, the new birth, fiat creationism, a personal devil and literal hell, and the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.⁶¹ Later that same month the same list, in altered order, was approved by the educational board of the denomination as a standard for prospective teachers,⁶² and in the general conference of 1923 a “Reaffirmation of the Doctrines of Our Faith” was adopted. These “doctrines that have been held as fundamental” also addressed the vicarious atonement, the Ascension and the second coming of Christ.⁶³ Clearly, holiness was not forgotten in the fight.⁶⁴

Still, from 1900-25, through the white heat of the controversy, there is surprisingly little mention made of it in official sources. Now and then a few references appear in the pages of the official periodical or in a general conference report, such as a blast against Harry Emerson Fosdick here or an advertisement for an anti-evolutionist book there.⁶⁵ But by and large, the war was underreported to Wesleyan Methodists. Even the infamous Scopes Trial of 1925, held in Dayton, Tennessee, received little

coverage in the denominational magazine compared to the reams being written in the secular press. A summary sentence in *The Wesleyan Methodist* seemed to say it all: "The best and wisest of men have long been of the opinion that evolution and modernism are responsible for the crime wave and the low state of morals prevailing generally at the present time."⁶⁶

The Scopes trial was a costly victory for Fundamentalism; Scopes was found guilty. But the consensus was that conservative champion William Jennings Bryan had clearly been bested by Defense Attorney Clarence Darrow, and the case was lost in the court of public opinion. *The Wesleyan Methodist* published an analysis of the trial at its conclusion, and the same issue reported the sudden and unexpected death of Bryan. The text of Bryan's last address, prepared for the trial's summation but preempted by Scopes's guilty plea which brought the trial to an abrupt end, was printed in full in several successive issues of *The Wesleyan Methodist*.⁶⁷

Little else of Fundamentalism appears. Houghton's President James S. Luckey was on the program of the World's Fundamentalist Conference in Atlanta in 1927,⁶⁸ but only an occasional reference is made on the pages of *The Wesleyan Methodist* to the continuing uproar in mainline denominations. Interest-without-involvement seems to have been the formula. This was not their war, at least not directly, and that was exactly the point on which Wesleyan Methodism did fasten: it must not become their war. The place to build the doctrinal barricades was higher education. The 1923 General Conference declared,

We are aware that most great moves away from the simplicity of the gospel and away from the fundamentals of the faith in the various churches have had their beginnings in the school systems, . . . and we believe that it must be insisted upon that all our schools should function to produce trained Christian workers for her ranks. General education should be a secondary matter, not the primary object of the Church. No school under Church patronage and support shall be allowed to call in question, much less deny, the position of the Church on any point of doctrine or Church polity.

The province of the Church is to declare doctrine,

they concluded, "and of the school to teach what the Church declares."⁶⁹ To that degree, the controversy touched the Church.

A SOCIAL ACTION SCORECARD

The Great Reversal

Social involvement had become the “road less traveled” in evangelical circles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Wesleyan Methodism was no exception. Timothy Smith called it “The Great Reversal,” because later generations backed away from the social action agenda which once had characterized their movement’s ministry and mission.⁷⁰ Several factors produced that effect, from the rise of premillennialism to the backlash against increased immigration and urbanization.⁷¹ One great factor was the rise of the Social Gospel. When liberal theology began to define salvation in social terms, conservative Christians tended to swing to the opposite extreme and withdraw from the social arena altogether.

For example, an issue of *The Wesleyan Methodist* from this period disclaimed just the kind of social issues for which early Wesleyans would have crusaded. But this was 1923, and the conclusion was very different indeed. “In these humanitarian works,” readers were told, “the State must be the leader. . . . It is a foregone conclusion that should the Church tax herself to lead in all these humanitarian works, then her one great mission must be greatly handicapped, if not permanently crippled.”⁷² For the denomination’s first generation, those works would have been seen as *part* of the Church’s great mission, not a poor substitute for it. But then, the crusades of the past were distant memories in 1923.

Not that the Church was without her causes. She had them, though they usually centered more on personal morality than societal reform. One issue qualified on both counts and evoked all the hallowed ghosts of the past. What abolition was to the founding fathers, prohibition was to this generation.

Prohibition

An article entitled “Five Reasons Why I Am a Prohibitionist” by I. B. Pratt, appeared in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 4, 1899. The author really needed only one

reason. "I am a Prohibitionist," he wrote, "because I can't be a Christian and not be a Prohibitionist."⁷³ The editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* was only slightly less dogmatic. "God bless every Wesleyan Methodist who is a Prohibitionist and make him effective as a Christian and a reformer in this work; and God bless every Wesleyan Methodist who is not a Prohibitionist and make him one just as soon as possible."⁷⁴

Friends of Prohibition were friends of Wesleyan Methodism, and enemies of Prohibition were its enemies. Carrie Nation was a friend. Editor A. T. Jennings probably spoke for the Church as a whole when he wrote, "(She) may have our hatchet, and if need be, we will go along with her to wield it."⁷⁵ Warren G. Harding was a friend, too, even though he was a weak president whose administration was wracked by political and personal scandal. He supported Prohibition's Volstead Act which earned him glowing tributes before and after his death.⁷⁶

Al Smith, on the other hand, was the enemy. Governor Smith had three strikes against him. He was Roman Catholic (Romanism was high on reform agendas in evangelical circles), he was the Tammany Hall candidate and he was "wet." The Committee on Resolutions in the 1923 General Conference called him "a traitor to the public trust" for leading the drive to repeal the State Prohibition Act and for supporting nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment.⁷⁷ When he ran for president, the fight was on in earnest.⁷⁸

The 1891 General Conference added a statement on "Temperance and Prohibition" to the *Discipline*, and every general conference heard from a Committee on Prohibition, right up to the point at which it became the law of the land in January of 1919. When repeal loomed in the early thirties the committee was revived.

In 1903 Wesleyan Methodism officially sanctioned the Prohibition Party and urged church members "to support this party at the ballot box."⁷⁹ Church-sponsored promotions for Prohibition candidates were not uncommon,⁸⁰ and in 1920 E. G. Dietrich, a Wesleyan lay person from New York State, president of the Publishing Association and chairman of the Book Committee, ran for Lieutenant Governor of New York on the Prohibition ticket. His nomination was seconded at the

convention by Publisher J. S. Willett.⁸¹ Dietrich's campaign was unsuccessful. So, ultimately, was Prohibition. It was repealed in 1933 and the Church has not mustered as much enthusiasm for any social issue since.

Women's Rights

Women's suffrage found support in the Church, in part because the vote for women was closely linked with the politics of Prohibition but mainly because Wesleyan Methodism had always championed women's rights.⁸² Except for the period from 1879-91, the denomination had not refused the ordination of women to the Christian ministry.⁸³ Mary E. Depew was not ordained, but she was recognized as "the leading holiness evangelist among Wesleyans"⁸⁴—not just the leading *female* holiness evangelist—in the late nineteenth century. She was the sister of denominational publisher D. S. Kinney. One of her proteges, Clara Tear Williams, who was ordained and who traveled with her some in evangelism, wrote the popular gospel song "All My Life Long I Had Panted."⁸⁵

There were limits to Wesleyan progressiveness, of course. Insistence on the right of child-bearing outside of marriage was far too liberal and so was refusal to take the name of a husband.⁸⁶ But women like Mary Depew, Clara Tear Williams and Clara McLeister (who published books of poetry and religious biography, served for twenty years as Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society president and pastored while her husband worked as denominational editor) were fully and warmly accepted as part of the Wesleyan mosaic.

That mosaic, however, was not as colorful as once it had been.

Racial Understanding

In 1903 the denomination approved the voluntary segregation of "a body of Christians of any particular nationality desir[ing] to be organized into separate churches and conferences."⁸⁷ It was an *ex post facto* approval, for permission had already been granted a small black conference in Tennessee⁸⁸ in 1891, and South Ohio had been formed on that principle in

1894. Some whites belonged to South Ohio churches, but the overwhelming majority of its members were black.⁸⁹ Another voluntarily segregated conference sprang up in Central Alabama (1907).

The Ku Klux Klan was officially repudiated on the grounds of secrecy and bigotry,⁹⁰ but at times the voice of the Church was somewhat ambivalent, appearing sympathetic to the goals, though not the methods, of the Klan. Jews, Catholics, immigrants in general and labor unionists were sometimes viewed with suspicion, even hostility.⁹¹ Studies of Fundamentalism in the South, particularly, show that Fundamentalists tended to align themselves with the Klan on that basis, but the antisecrecy rule effectively protected Wesleyan Methodism from the temptation to such an ungodly alliance.

War

Attitudes toward war were somewhat ambivalent, too. Wesleyans didn't favor war unless it was a war they favored. The jubilant jingoism which characterized public commentary on the Spanish-American War was seasoned by a strong antiwar guest editorial in April 1900.⁹² World War I was prefaced by repeated published prayers for peace, but support for the war, when it came, was strong.⁹³

Between the world wars came the most trenchant statement yet from Wesleyan Methodism on the subject of war. A peace paragraph had been in the *Discipline* from the beginning, but W. L. Thompson and others pressed for a more pacifist position. Memorials to that effect were sent to the 1935 General Conference, and the result was a significantly expanded statement which was a forerunner of the conscientious objector provision in the 1968 *Discipline*.⁹⁴

Reformers Redefined

Social institutions affiliated with the Church, whether general, annual conference, or local, were phased out as the century progressed. A school for blacks in Brent, Alabama, was sold after almost 35 years of operation, and Bethshan Home, a facility for unwed mothers maintained by the Allegheny Conference,

was closed in 1941. The recommendation of the conference board in the Bethshan closing gives a glimpse into the mind-set of the era. They felt that "it was not the mission of the conference to operate a purely social institution."⁹⁵

Wesleyan Methodists still thought of themselves as reformers, and in a sense they were. Lively-but-limited might be the best way to describe the shifting social conscience. "Amusements" (movies, card-playing, dancing and popular music, especially jazz), dress, divorce and Sabbath observance preoccupied the Church when its attention was turned on society. Important as they were, these issues were focused more on personal behavior than on the greater needs of society. The balance was missing.

THE VIEW FROM THE PEW

What was it like to be a Wesleyan Methodist in these years? Some aspects of the Church's personality—Prohibition, store-house tithing, secret societies—have already been surveyed, but the portrait needs more shading.

A Wesleyan Methodist in 1899 was probably a postmillennialist, but by 1935 he had in all likelihood become strongly premillennial. That was the trend for evangelicals as a whole, as prewar optimism gave way to a more sober appraisal of man and his world.⁹⁶

The signs appeared early. As the State of the Country Committee reported to the 1899 General Conference, "During the past four years evils have become terribly intensified. The Millennium is apparently no nearer at hand."⁹⁷ Martin Wells Knapp, one of the founders of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, was premillennial. His book *Holiness Triumphant: or Pearls from Pentecost* was warmly reviewed in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, except for his premillennialism, and even that was fine, "if Brother Knapp can secure an earlier return of the Lord than some of the old theologians have believed possible. . . ." ⁹⁸

The march of opinion is measurable. The 1903 General Conference adopted an open position on the Millennium, specifically designed to include premillennialism.⁹⁹ By 1919 the Book Committee was moving to place at least one good premillennial textbook in the course of study.¹⁰⁰ The *Discipline*

had never reflected any single millennial view, but there had been an unquestioned "Connectional consensus" for postmillennialism. That changed during these years.

A Wesleyan Methodist in this era debated the question of tobacco and Church membership. A strong stance was eventually taken against the use of tobacco, but it took almost 20 years to settle the issue. Prior to the 1911 General Conference, the question was put to local churches and annual conferences: Should the use of tobacco be a bar to membership? The sentiment was clear, and the restrictive measure passed by a greater than two-thirds majority on each level of voting. In 1911, however, it failed by a single vote to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority on the floor of the general conference, apparently because the vote was taken near the end of the session in the absence of a number of the proposition's supporters. In a second-round reversal of roles, the 1915 General Conference approved the restriction by a large margin and the annual conferences agreed, but the local membership voted it down.

"The main point of difference is not the question of the harmful and undesirable effects of tobacco using," E. F. McCarty explained, "but rather the best method of dealing with those who have the habit and have not received the light and been saved from the habit's grip." Besides, he asked, what about other "harmful experiences," like gossip, Sabbath-visiting, lawsuits between believers, and even coffee and tea, none of which were tests of membership?¹⁰¹

A constructive compromise in the 1923 General Conference paved the way for passage of the proposal. A "grandfather clause" exempted those already members of the Church from the force of the rule, and associate members were also exempted. It became Church law in 1927.

A Wesleyan Methodist in this period was concerned about the breakdown of morality in the age of the flapper and the breakdown of the economy in the Depression. He gave the vote to women in 1920 and frowned on the antics of Aimee Semple McPherson.¹⁰² Perhaps he had moved from a circuit to a single congregation, perhaps from a frame church to one of brick or stone. From 1911 on, he spoke of associate rather than probationary members, and he found the local church more efficiently organized as new committees were added.

In short, the general level was not the only part of the denomination which was intent on "becoming the Church."

CONCLUSION

According to the model identified by Ernst Troeltsch and elaborated by H. Richard Niebuhr and others, a "sect" becomes a "church" over a period of time by gradually losing the distinctives which were its original reasons for existence and by becoming absorbed into the larger society around it. The institutional emphasis replaces the call to a personal faith, and respectability is gained at the expense of fervor and fire.¹⁰³

Wesleyan Methodism managed to move toward centralization and institutionalization without surrendering either its doctrinal distinctives or its commitment to them. It approached its centenary in 1943 with a clear sense of identity and purpose.

On the way to becoming a Church Wesleyan Methodism never stopped being a people.

NOTES

¹According to Vinson Synan, more holiness seceders from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South went into Pentecostalism than into the more conservative holiness denominations. See *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), p. 75.

²For the full story, see Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1974) and John Leland Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Company, 1985). America's oldest Pentecostal church began in 1886 as an outgrowth of the holiness revival under the name Christian Union. Reorganized in 1902 as the Holiness Church, the name Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.) was adopted in 1907. *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches*, C. H. Jaquet, Jr. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985).

³Luther Lee, *Wesleyan Manual: A Defense of the Organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection* (Syracuse: Samuel Lee, Publisher, 1862), pp. 155-56.

⁴The climax was reached in 1947, as detailed in Chapter 7.

⁵His predecessor, Wardner, was a Civil War hero, the "Fighting Chaplain" of the second battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia. See Ira Ford McLeister and Roy Stephen Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment: The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*, Fourth Revised Edition; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 1; Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter, eds. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1976), pp. 111-12.

⁶In that, Indiana anticipated the denomination by a full 60 years. Not until 1947 did Wesleyan Methodism have a full-time general president.

⁷By no less an authority on Wesleyan Methodist higher education than Houghton's President James S. Luckey in a memorial issue of *The Wesleyan Methodist* dated August 15, 1928, p. 15.

⁸Roy S. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933), p. 238.

⁹Not to be confused with the venerable Aaron Worth, who was called "the Grand Old Man of Indiana." Teter was also from Indiana, of course!

¹⁰Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas have done just that in their *An Outline History of The Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Indianapolis, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1990), pp. 74, 91. Nicholson himself then took up Teter's mantle to complete the leadership quartet, p. 105.

¹¹*The Wesleyan Methodist*, July 3, 1935, p. 8.

¹²*The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 27, 1935, p. 3.

¹³The total in the statistical blank included in the *Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Held at Sheridan, Indiana, October 18-25, 1899* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1899), is in error. The figure used here is correct.

¹⁴Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, p. 135.

¹⁵Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, p. 138.

¹⁶Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, p. 149.

¹⁷Carl L. Howland, *The Story of Our Church: Free Methodism* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1951), p. 129; Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes—The Formative Years* (Kansas City, Mo.: The Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), pp. 229, 348.

¹⁸Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁹Some of the same groups, in fact. Five years after leaving the Nazarenes, Seth Rees's Pilgrim Church in Los Angeles joined the International Holiness Union in 1922, at which time the name was changed to the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The People's Mission Church in Colorado, founded by William Lee in 1902, joined the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1925, with some of its members going to the Nazarenes.

²⁰Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, p. 296, 395.

²¹*Minutes of the Sixteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America, Held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 21-28, 1903* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1903), p. 72. See also pp. 30-31 for the creation of the committee.

²²Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, p. 296.

²³Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 65, 75. For the view from within Wesleyan Methodism at this time, see James Benjamin Hilson, *History of the South Carolina Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America: Fifty-five Years of Wesleyan Methodism in South Carolina* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Light and Life Press, 1950), p. 45.

²⁴Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, p. 75.

²⁵*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, pp. 27-28.

²⁶*Minutes of the Seventeenth Quadrennial Session of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Held at Fairmount, Indiana, October 16-22, 1907* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1907), p. 85.

²⁷Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, p. 320.

²⁸Wesley Griffin, "A History of the North Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church" (unpublished ms. commemorating the 75th anniversary of the conference), August 1962, p. 10.

²⁹*The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 3, 1920, p. 1; March 10, 1920, p. 8.

³⁰*Minutes of the Twentieth Quadrennial Session of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America, Held at Fairmount, Indiana, June 25-July 1, 1919* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Publishing House, 1919), p. 18. "Our own Forward Movement was begun before we ever heard of the Inter-church," *The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 3, 1920, advised its readers (p. 1), and in fact the Forward Movement was authorized four

months before two representatives attended the first ICWM meeting in 1919. However, the ICWM's organization and attendant publicity date back to December 1918. Very likely the idea, though not in finished form, was afloat in Wesleyan Methodist circles from that time.

³¹Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1975), 2:382-84.

³²*The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 30, 1920, p. 9.

³³*The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 2, 1921, p. 8.

³⁴*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, p. 48.

³⁵E.g., *The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 29, 1899, p. 7.

³⁶*The Wesleyan Methodist*, February 7, 1900, p. 4.

³⁷*The Wesleyan Methodist*, February 14, 1917, p. 7.

³⁸A typical example is E. W. Black, "Where Should the Tithe Be Placed?" *The Wesleyan Methodist*, May 15, 1918, pp. 10-11. See also the issues of April 27, 1921, p. 2; May 25, 1921, p. 11; October 26, 1921, p. 2; and March 8, 1922, p. 2.

³⁹Roy S. Nicholson, "History of the North Carolina Wesleyan Conference" in *Centennial Celebration: North Carolina District Centennial, 1879-1979* (n.p.: n.d.), n.p. Black first convinced his home conference of North Carolina and then the Church as a whole, authoring the original proposal on storehouse tithing adopted by the 1919 General Conference (although not a member of the committee making the report; see *The Wesleyan Methodist*, April 7, 1920, pp. 2-3), expanding it for use as a tract published by the Forward Movement campaign, and serving the Church in various capacities relating to stewardship until his death in 1948.

⁴⁰*The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 8, 1922, p. 2.

⁴¹*Minutes of the Twenty-first Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, or Church, of America, Held at Fairmount Indiana, June 27-July 3, 1923* (Syracuse, New York: Wesleyan Publishing House, n.d.), p. 79. The machinery for advancing it was added in 1935.

⁴²Statistics were compiled by the United Stewardship Council and printed in *The Wesleyan Methodist* (May 1, 1929, p. 2; April 5, 1933, p. 2).

⁴³"Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Book Committee," June 2, 1921.

⁴⁴*The Wesleyan Methodist*, February 1, 1922, p. 10; February 19, 1930, p. 2.

⁴⁵"Minutes of the Book Committee," 1:109.

⁴⁶The report was published in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 19, 1907, p. 9, by order of the Book Committee. See "Minutes of the Book Committee," 1:115.

⁴⁷*The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 19, 1907, p. 9. No mention is made of the matter in Hall's obituary, which appeared in the February 4, 1931, issue of *The Wesleyan Methodist*. Instead, his accomplishments were highlighted.

⁴⁸"Minutes of the Book Committee," 1:97.

⁴⁹See the "Minutes of the Book Committee," 1:154-56, and *The Wesleyan Methodist* July 6, 1910.

⁵⁰"Minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association," July 1, 1910.

⁵¹*Minutes of the Eighteenth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, or Church, of America, Held at Fairmount, Indiana, October 18-26, 1911* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1911), p. 70.

⁵²*The Wesleyan Methodist*, September 23, 1908, p. 8.

⁵³Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 103. Interestingly enough, the published report of Bedford's resignation refers to financial, not doctrinal difficulties. See *The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 25, 1922, pp. 12-13. Other references are also in Lee Mark Haines, Jr., "The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana, 1843-67" (unpublished B.D. research paper, Christ Theological Seminary, 1959).

⁵⁴Arthur T. Jennings, *History of American Wesleyan Methodism* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1902), p. 149.

⁵⁵*Minutes of the Sixteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1903*, p. 35.

⁵⁶*The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 18, 1899, p. 3.

⁵⁷*The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 8, 1899,

⁵⁸The congress's motto was taken from Malachi 2:10, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?" Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America*, 3d ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), p. 288.

⁵⁹*The Wesleyan Methodist*, March 8, 1899.

⁶⁰George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 4.

⁶¹*The Wesleyan Methodist*, October 1, 1919, p. 5.

⁶²"Minutes of the Executive Board of the Wesleyan Educational Society," October 15, 1919.

⁶³*Minutes of the Twenty-first Quadrennial Session . . . 1923*, pp. 108-10. Still another list appears in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 20, 1923, p. 1. It was a day of lists.

⁶⁴See also Timothy Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, pp. 305-06, for the Nazarene parallel.

⁶⁵*The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 16, 1924, p. 1; January 23, 1924, p. 1, et. al.

⁶⁶*The Wesleyan Methodist*, July 8, 1925, p. 1.

⁶⁷*The Wesleyan Methodist*, August 12, 1925, pp. 8-9; August 19, pp. 8-9; August 26, p. 9; September 2, p. 2; September 9, p. 2.

⁶⁸*The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 1, 1927, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁹"Report of the Committee on Education" in the *Minutes of the Twenty-first General Conference*, 1923, p. 80.

⁷⁰David O. Moberg borrowed that phrase for the title of his study of this period. See *The Great Reversal* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1977), especially pp. 11, 30.

⁷¹See Donald W. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 121-141.

⁷²Quoted approvingly in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 27, 1923, p. 1, from an article in *The Christian Sun*.

⁷³I. B. Pratt writing in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 4, 1899, p. 7.

⁷⁴*The Wesleyan Methodist*, July 18, 1900, p. 1.

⁷⁵*The Wesleyan Methodist*, February 20, 1901, p. 1. See also front-page editorials on Carrie Nation in the issues of February 6 and 27 of that year.

⁷⁶See, for example, *The Wesleyan Methodist*, August 15, 1923, p. 1.

⁷⁷*Minutes of the Twenty-first Quadrennial Session . . . 1923*, p. 111.

⁷⁸A two-part series ran in the pages of *The Wesleyan Methodist* in May of 1927 (May 9, pp. 2-3 and May 16, p. 3) and a pamphlet entitled "Al Smith for President: Shall We Support Him? No! Never!" was advertised, (December 7, 1927, p. 21).

⁷⁹*Minutes of the Sixteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1903*, p. 34.

⁸⁰Two examples: a prominent two-column front-page photo with story on Prohibitionist candidates ran in the August 16, 1916, issue of *The Wesleyan Methodist*; which followed by one month the publication of the agenda for the national Prohibition Party convention, July 12, 1916, p. 8.

⁸¹*The Wesleyan Methodist*, July 21, 1920, p. 1.

⁸²*The Wesleyan Methodist*, June 12, 1901, p. 8.

⁸³Luther Lee preached the ordination sermon for Antoinette Brown, the first woman ordained in America, and the first women's rights convention met in 1848 at the Wesleyan Methodist church in Seneca Falls, New York (see Chapter 2). At the Sixth General Conference convened at Adrian, Michigan, June 1, 1864, the question of ordaining women was raised. The Illinois Conference had elected a female to Elder's Orders. An attempt to condemn the action failed and the whole subject was left to each annual conference to do as they wished on the matter. Jennings, *History of American Wesleyan Methodism*, p. 113. At the Tenth General Conference of 1879, the question of licensing and ordaining of

women was raised, with the decision that it was proper to license them to exhort and to preach, but not to ordain them (Jennings, *History*, p. 120). At the Twelfth General Conference in 1887, the question came up again. A vote was taken after many delegates had gone home. The matter had been tabled and the remaining delegates were unable to take the issue from the table in order to act (Jennings, *History*, p. 123). At the next general conference of 1891, the rule forbidding the ordination of women was defeated, but a rule to allow their ordination could not be passed. It again was left to each conference that wished to ordain women to do so, on the basis that what was not forbidden by the *Discipline* could be done (Jennings, *History*, p. 124).

⁸⁴Lee Haines, "History of the Indiana Conference/District 1843-1971," 1971 *Indiana District Annual Journal*, p. 88.

⁸⁵Curiously, the song (then called "Satisfied") was not included in the new 1897 denominational hymnal, even though it had been written six years earlier and Mrs. Williams was on the hymnal committee. It first appeared in the hymnal of 1910.

⁸⁶*The Wesleyan Methodist*, October 25, 1922, p. 8.

⁸⁷*Minutes of the Sixteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1903*, pp. 23-24. The same General Conference added to a long-standing nondiscrimination clause in the *Discipline* a footnote opposing racial intermarriage, which remained a part of Church law until it was dropped as superfluous in 1972. See *Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America, 1904* (Syracuse, N.Y.: A. W. Hall, 1904), p. 48, and *The Discipline of The Wesleyan Church, 1972* (Marion, Ind.: The Wesleyan Publishing House, n.d.), pp. 651-52.

⁸⁸It was called the Tennessee Conference, in distinction from white West Tennessee. The East Tennessee Conference, a later development, was also white.

⁸⁹See McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 571. A. T. Jennings's contention that the color line was "not the chief factor in the organization" (see *American Wesleyan Methodism*, p. 159) is not borne out by the evidence. For more information on South Ohio, see Leslie D. Wilcox, *Wesleyan Methodism in Ohio* (n.p.: n.d.), pp. 82-84.

⁹⁰*Minutes of the Twenty-first Quadrennial Session . . . 1923*, pp. 107-8; reprinted in *The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 14, 1925, p. 8. See also the issues of February 14, 1923, p. 8; February 28, 1923, p. 1; and April 9, 1924, pp. 6-7.

⁹¹In a *Wesleyan Methodist* reprint from *The Manufacturer's Herald* and another from *The Immanuel Herald*, Catholic immigrants are identified as dangerous enemies of the country. See *The Wesleyan Methodist*, November 22, 1922, pp. 6-7; October 26, 1921, p. 7; and March 26, 1924, p. 7.

⁹²H. A. Day, "War," *The Wesleyan Methodist*, April 4, 1900, p. 7.

⁹³See, for example, *The Wesleyan Methodist* issue on the Declaration of War, April 11, 1917.

⁹⁴Thompson's article, "When War Comes Again," appeared in the January 17, 1934, issue of *The Wesleyan Methodist*, pp. 3-4. See the *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Quadrennial Session . . . 1935*, p. 26.

⁹⁵Joseph B. Markey, "The Church of Today," in *The Allegheny Conference Centennial: the History of One Hundred Years of Conference Activities*, I. F. McLeister and Joseph B. Markey, eds. (n.p.: n.d.), p. 49.

⁹⁶Several writers have traced this movement, but one of the best is Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1982). The shift occurred throughout the holiness ranks.

⁹⁷*Minutes of the Fifteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1899*, p. 83. The aforementioned evils: worldliness and formality of churches, Sabbath desecration, liquor, "impure and sensational novels and papers," oath-bound societies, profanity, moral impurity, abortion, tobacco, political corruption.

⁹⁸*The Wesleyan Methodist*, August 29, 1900, p. 9.

⁹⁹*Minutes of the Sixteenth General Conference . . . 1903*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁰*Minutes of the Twentieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1919*, p. 33. Their suggestion was the best-selling *Jesus Is Coming*, by W. E. Blackstone (Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1908). It remained in the Second Year Reading Course through the rest of this period.

¹⁰¹*The Wesleyan Methodist*, January 5, 1916, pp. 10-11. This was only one of many articles on the subject. Most issues of *The Wesleyan Methodist* in 1916 carried one or more articles on the subject.

¹⁰²See, for example, *The Wesleyan Methodist*, September 9, 1925, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰³See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1931), I:331-349, and H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1957), *passim*.

CHAPTER 6

THEY CONFESSED THEMSELVES PILGRIMS, 1897-1930

Leon O. Hynson

The Pilgrim Holiness Church¹ arose as an expression of the holiness movement that swept across many denominations in the last half of the nineteenth century, especially in American Methodism. Deriving its original ethical earnestness from the Wesleyan revival of biblical Christianity, the holiness revival in Methodism experienced a dynamic renewal through the work of Phoebe Palmer and others who were perceiving the importance of the Christian's call to Christlikeness. Crossing denominational lines and particular historical theologies, the quest for holy life was becoming a vital part of religious life in America. It has been asserted that Christians in America were being reshaped by the "triumph of Methodism."² This describes the ways in which the concern for moral integrity and purity was molding American life. In the ministry of Charles G. Finney and Asa Mahan, Jesse Peck and Gilbert Haven, Phoebe Palmer and Frances Willard, the power of divine righteousness was leavening society.

Much of the energy of the widespread aspiration for holiness would be expended in the antislavery crusade. The temperance reforms of Frances Willard and the rise of women's self-conscious leadership potential may be related to the holiness revival. We have discovered the importance of women's religious societies, especially those emphasizing Christian holiness, as the source of an emerging cadre of female leaders.³

The zeal of the perfectionist impulse would flower in all kinds of unusual societies. Some exotic varieties appeared and soon faded and died. The regulated "free love" of the Oneida Community, and the disavowal of sexual love among the

Shakers, while radically opposite in life-style, rested upon the quest for perfectionism. The Mormons and Adventists possessed similar philosophical underpinnings. The communitarian (sometimes called "communistic") societies, such as New Harmony, had a narrow vision of perfection for themselves if not for the larger society.

The early commitments of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection centered upon abolition. Only after the Civil War would the attention of the Church be concentrated on the preaching of holiness. Ironically, yet in harmony with the majority of Americans, the reforming efforts which had helped in the destruction of slavery had been drained and dissipated. By 1899 Wesleyan Methodists focused almost exclusively on a personal holiness which had previously undergirded a strategy of social holiness. Unfortunately, the Methodists who possessed their sources to show the natural relationship between personal and social holiness, failed to bind these firmly in a theology of faith and life. The holiness movement, which after the Civil War was becoming an intentional development in the nation (the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness was launched in 1867 at Vineland, New Jersey), defined its goals more in terms of the experience of holiness, achieved through the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Personal experience was accented without the parallel Wesleyan quest to reform the nation and the church.

The trend in the Methodist Episcopal Church was toward a redefinition of holiness in harmony with social gospel lines of thought. The "new holiness" would concern itself with social regeneration and sanctification.⁴ The natural conjunction of personal and social holiness which Wesley had emphasized in his ethics was becoming divided. The river would be separated into two streams that flowed sometimes far apart. Seldom was there real intersection since conservatives and liberals generally didn't meet, except in debate.

Holiness people were promoting specialized attention on sanctification, while Methodists were seeking to build a church. Methodist bishops, therefore, resisted the appeals for holiness associations while affirming the place of holiness in the larger body of Methodist doctrine.⁵ It is probably beyond the realm of possibility to build a church on a singular theology, whether

that doctrine be predestination, baptism, speaking in tongues, pacifism, justification by faith or holiness. For a church, that is, the communion of saints, to develop as a church, attention must be given to the complementary character of all Scripture. Very few churches succeed in grasping the full promise of Scripture. This probably explains why sectarian groups emerge. Nevertheless, enduring growth and maturity demand that they move beyond specialization. They are called into being to redress weakness or failures in the church. While the needs they address may be permanent, as in the promotion of holiness, they must find theological balance. To remain perpetually sectarian is to deprive one's small company of the larger family of God.⁶

The larger history of the Church is set forth in *The Days of Our Pilgrimage*.⁷ This present chapter offers an interpretive summary of the major influences and expressions of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. As such, attention is broadly focused on the history and theology which shaped and informed the developing society. Its place in the context of the social and economic forces of the 20th century will be assessed. The personalities, well-known and virtually unknown, which brought forth its distinctive life, deserve acknowledgement. As a clearly identifiable variation of Protestant evangelicalism, it would be formed by impulses similar to those which spurred fundamentalism and evangelicalism in America. Yet, it was more than a mirror. Its image would be impressed upon the society, both secular and religious, in important ways. One historian of revivalism has indicated that the holiness and the pentecostal churches alone successfully resisted the cultural forces which drew most American churches into a position of accommodation to the world.⁸ Too often, the world set the religious agenda for the churches. The sense of cultural alienation experienced in the Pilgrim Holiness Church is best understood through this conflict with and resistance of social norms.

FIRST GENERATION - BEGINNINGS

The Pilgrim Holiness Church began in 1897, resulting from the ministries of Martin Wells Knapp and Seth Cook Rees. Inaugurated as the International Holiness Union and Prayer

League, the Union was an interdenominational fellowship, founded for worldwide holiness evangelism.

Knapp (1853-1901) was a zealous evangelist from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan. Experiencing personal sanctification through holiness writings and the influence of William ("California") Taylor, Methodist missionary bishop, Knapp became a man aflame with the call of God. He was filled with the word of God which "like pent-up fire" he testified, "must find expression." Some of that zeal would burst forth in the founding of *God's Revivalist* (1883) a holiness periodical, and God's Bible School and Missionary Training Home (1900). Knapp's preaching and writing reflected a skillful and imaginative approach to the Scriptures, an intensive spiritualizing of the events and stories of the Bible. "Beulah Land" and Canaan became the locations of spiritual progress, a land entered on the way to heaven.

Seth Rees (1854-1933) was a successful evangelist before the International Holiness Union and Prayer League began in 1897. Serving as a pastor, evangelist, and general superintendent, Rees's special calling was evangelism. His gifted ministry would lead him to a broad relationship with several church groups. A Quaker upbringing preceded his work with the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, the independent Emmanuel Church in Providence, the International Holiness Union, the Church of the Nazarene, the Pilgrim Church of California and finally the Pilgrim Holiness Church.

Deeply convinced of the power of indwelling sin in his nature, Rees suffered intensely from his self-avowed ambition and thirst for reputation. At last, he experienced a "second rest" and the Spirit's witness that he was entirely God's man. A man of exceptional power in preaching, he would mount up on the wings of eloquent words until he soared in the heavens. The fervent evangelism of Rees and Knapp gave the new fellowship its evangelistic identity, an emphasis continuing to this day among many of those with Pilgrim or Wesleyan heritage.

Mergers

From the beginning the Pilgrim Holiness Church was intensely evangelistic and missionary minded. The missionary

emphasis was a major factor that attracted an amazing number of small churches and missionary organizations to become part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. It was also a realistic consideration that small groups could not adequately support or supervise foreign missionary work.

Beginning in 1919 several like-minded church groups became a part of the movement: the Indiana, Illinois-Missouri, and Kansas-Oklahoma Conferences of the Holiness Christian Church, based in Indiana (1919); the Pentecostal Rescue Mission of Binghamton, New York (March 1922); the Pilgrim Church of California (October 1922); the Pentecostal Brethren in Christ, a group of about six churches, became a part of the Ohio District (1924); the People's Mission Church of Colorado Springs, Colorado (1925); the Holiness Church of California (1946); and the Africa Evangelistic Mission (1962).

These "mergers" were without prolonged study and preparation and did not involve a basis for union with a new manual or discipline. The Church grew by revivals and evangelism as well as by the uniting of these groups. In 1919 the name was changed to International Holiness Church and with the union of the Pilgrim Church of California in 1922 it became the Pilgrim Holiness Church, which continued for forty-six years until merger with The Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1968 forming The Wesleyan Church. Soon after the beginning of the International Holiness Union and Prayer League in 1897, members of the Union went forth to Southern Africa, India, China, Japan and the West Indies, usually raising their own funds from the constituency of the International Holiness Union. In 1898 Charles Stalker, a Quaker evangelist, and Byron Rees, son of Seth C. Rees, were sent as "Round the World Missionaries" for the entire sanctification of the many missionaries that had gone to all parts of the world. Appeals for financing this venture were made in *God's Revivalist*. The workers personally raised the needed funds in addition to donations which came through these appeals. It was believed that if missionaries would hear the message and be baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire it would result in the conversion of many "heathen." Byron Rees dropped out in England, but Stalker ministered to many missionaries in India and China with good results.

The effect of these mergers was the linkage of bodies from

major sections of the nation. Missions initiated by the churches and missionary organizations that united with the Pilgrim Holiness Church included work in Central America, Alaska, Mexico, the Orange Free State, Transvaal and Mozambique in Africa.

Church Development

In the early years of the Union, little attention was given to the larger concerns of Church formation. The several components which were to form the Church were led by energetic leaders, men like Rees and Knapp, Albert Wilson (Pentecostal Rescue Mission), Paul Westphal Thomas (People's Mission), C. C. Brown (Holiness Christian), others like George B. Kulp, general superintendent (1905-21), and Ralph G. Finch, general superintendent of foreign missions (1922-30). The missionary work in the first years was under General Superintendent George B. Kulp who worked closely with Mrs. M. W. Knapp and the trustees of God's Bible School. *God's Revivalist* was effective in raising missionary money in addition to what each missionary was able to raise by his own efforts. Many of the early missionaries were educated at God's Bible School. Tensions arose between the Union and the trustees of the *Revivalist*, since the latter controlled the distribution of many funds given by Union members for support of missionaries. A debate, mainly between Rees and the trustees over the use of certain funds (Rees pressed for foreign missions while the trustees wished to promote home missions), led to a crisis. Rees left the Union in 1905, perhaps as the result of this problem. The larger issue was organizational. The controversy illustrates the difficulties revival movements often face in moving from charismatic styles to ordered programs.

The growth of the Union toward denominational status was steady but not without difficulty. The spirit of independency among some of the people created problems. They had resisted "ecclesiastical popery" in the past and wished for none of this in their creation of a new society.

The emerging Church, despite these problems, established a membership covenant (1906) and a *Manual* (1902) for Church governance. Bible colleges like Greensboro, North Carolina;

Beulah Park, Allentown, Pennsylvania; and Owosso, Michigan, were begun. Kingswood Holiness College, Kingswood, Kentucky, became the general Church school in 1919. Periodicals promoted the message of holiness of heart and life. In 1922 the *International Holiness Advocate* became the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*.

The year 1906 was the beginning of the first missionary board with Kulp as chairman. In 1922 R. G. Finch was elected general superintendent of foreign missions and W. R. Cox was elected general superintendent of home missions. Finch had served in Barbados and in Trinidad as superintendent of the work prior to his election in 1922. George Beirnes, O. L. King, R. A. Taylor, R. W. Ives and J. Maxey Walton with their wives and families played a critical role in the development of the West Indies program.

The Taylors were West Indians and were always considered an essential part of the missionary team. They accomplished an outstanding work in Nevis and ministered effectively in other islands. They were the parents of Ira and Wingrove, the latter who has served as general superintendent of the Caribbean Provisional General Conference since its inception April 3, 1974.

Crisis

The first generation of Pilgrims would flow into the second in the national and worldwide atmosphere of crisis. In October 1929 the stock market crashed. Pilgrims felt this blow in the years to come by its impact on their jobs and education. In the long term, the Pilgrims would aspire to overcome the limitations of these years by educational and economic upward mobility.

In 1930, however, the main burden of the Church would be organizational and a financial crisis. Three general superintendents directed the work, with W. R. Cox and Seth Rees serving the home Church, and Finch the foreign program. Little correlation existed among them. Five different headquarters existed: Kingswood (for missions), Cincinnati (publishing), Greensboro (Cox's center), Pasadena (Rees's home) and Battle Creek, Michigan, where George B. Kulp had lived and labored. The latter was the legal headquarters at this time.

Financial activity was based on special appeals, a pattern long sustained in the Church. One program would compete with another. Success could be based on the skill by which the speaker addressed the need. Ego intruded itself in some of these efforts.

In 1930 the general assembly, led by Rees, moved to create a plan for stable government. The general board was to be the focus of this new program. A general budget was established to provide flexibility and unity in financial affairs. O. L. Ruth, Paul W. Thomas, and W. L. Surbrook were the key architects of these changes. Foreign missions were coordinated with the larger organization under Seth Rees. (After 1930 until 1958 the Church was led by only one general superintendent.) R. G. Finch continued to serve as a pastor in Colorado Springs but his influence in the Church was waning. His theological radicalism was problematic but not typical of Pilgrim Holiness ministers. Leadership tensions were also involved. He later led a schism in Colorado from the Church to start his own work, The Emmanuel Missionary Church.

The first generation of the Pilgrim Holiness Church had closed with substantial success in evangelism, church growth, education, missions, and church organization. Its deepest flaw—church organization—had been greatly improved. It was becoming a denomination with the strengths and problems which structured societies always develop.

Centrality of Preaching

The Church may also be studied through its sense of mission. From the first, the founders held a definitive concept of its goals and its geographical parameters. The fulcrum of ministry was fervent, evangelical preaching. The evangelist became the mirror of the Church's zeal to evangelize the lost and to bring the converted to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The Church's affection, even adulation, would place the evangelist at the summit of esteemed personalities.

Luke's history of the early church in the Acts of the Apostles would become the mission paradigm for the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The call to preach the gospel to the whole world was evident in the Apostolic Holiness Union's credo. Seth Rees and

Martin Wells Knapp exemplified the zeal for foreign missions which would dominate the Church during these inaugural years.

If preaching was the central catalyst in effecting the mission, what may be said concerning the interpretation of Scripture? Given the particular gifts of hundreds of preachers, it is difficult to narrow the approach to a few major styles. Nevertheless, we recognize the familiar use of allegory or spiritualizing in preaching. Using a technique employed by the Roman Catholic Church for a thousand years, but rejected by the Reformation, the ministers of the Pilgrim Holiness Church would frequently turn stories of ancient kings and patriarchs into expressions of Christian experience. When Jacob wrestled with the divine man at Jabbok (Genesis 32), he was exemplifying the human pattern of self-reliance and manipulation. Charles Wesley had earlier fashioned the story of salvation from this narrative in his "Wrestling Jacob."

Come, O thou Traveler unknown,
Whom still I hold but cannot see;
My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with thee;
With thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.

In the Genesis story the wrestler is Jacob, but becomes Wesley in Wesley's hymn. In the former, Jacob wrestles to achieve his own ends, while the latter describes the spiritual zeal of the seeker. In the Pilgrim Holiness Church spiritualizing would be raised to a fine art. Its legitimacy in bringing out the true and full meaning of Scripture must be questioned, but its power to evoke decision is obvious.

The careful, systematic exposition of Scripture is the corrective to the abuse of Scripture found in allegorical preaching. Only in a restricted sense would the exegesis (the unfolding) of Scripture be developed systematically. Much preaching was on topics or texts which allowed the preacher to say what was on his mind at that particular time. The Church would be represented by a company of significant, powerful personalities. Usually, these were clerical persons, men and women, rather than lay. Nevertheless, there would arise a memorable company of lay persons who mirrored in their lives the power and purity which the preachers declared to be God's plan for everyone.

The Place of Women

The place of women in ministry was recognized from the beginning by both Knapp and Rees. In his *Ideal Pentecostal Church*, written in 1897, ninety-five years ago, Rees asserted unequivocally the equality of women in ministry. That was a phenomenon virtually new to historic Christianity. It had previously been affirmed by Phoebe Palmer, B. T. Roberts, founder of the Free Methodist Church (1860), and the Wesleyan Methodist theologian, Luther Lee. Lee had preached the ordination sermon in 1853 for Antoinette Brown, first female ordained in American history.⁹ Basing their claim on the Pentecostal declaration "your daughters shall prophesy," the early Pilgrims set the pace for the ministry of women as pastors and evangelists, as well as the traditional missionary. The question of women in ministry was settled by Pilgrims nearly a century ago, but in time would be deeply eroded. This accent of the holiness movement would be removed from its Pentecostal, evangelical moorings to the logic of feminist thinking. The rationale of Pentecostal authority to preach differs from the special appeals of feminist thought. The former represents the unity of men and women in ministry, i.e., "your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." The latter lacks that kind of cohesive logic. Its voice is louder, strident. This is not surprising since aspirations long curtailed usually burst forth in strong appeals for equity. The holiness movement could contribute substantially to the entire discussion by reaffirming the Pentecostal Magna Charta of woman's right to preach. We have that right by a long history of advocacy for women in ministry.

These are some of the larger issues which constitute the story of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The narrative which follows is an interpretive look at the strands of history, strands which are woven into a whole cloth. Usually the hues are bright, but in varying places or with personalities they are shadowed. The garment is attractive, but it is imperfect. The story of one's pilgrimage, like the accounts of biblical history, will sometimes cause pain. Acknowledging that reality can lead to reform and sanctification.

RENEWAL OF PENTECOST

In its emerging self-consciousness the Pilgrim Holiness Church was shaped by the impulse of Pentecost. The ancient Hebrew festival which in Christianity became the focus of the coming of the Spirit, was regarded by the early Pilgrims as the equivalent to the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection. Indeed, the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire would become the preferred theological definition of holiness. The Church sought Pentecostal purity and authority by a return to Pentecost.¹⁰ With the rediscovery of Pentecost there would follow the reprise of its dynamic breakout in revival and world evangelism. The theology of Pentecost was optimistic, expecting significant spiritual progress in the world. It was radical in that it reached to the roots of social division, calling for the equality of women with men in ministry, and the contradiction of war and militarism with New Testament faith, to identify two issues.

Although its genetic history is specifically traced to English and American Methodism, the Church would derive its Pentecostal interests largely from the teachings of Phoebe Palmer, from the Oberlin preachers, Asa Mahan and Charles G. Finney, as well as the Englishman William Arthur's *Tongue of Fire*.

The definition of sanctification through the event of Pentecost reached a crescendo in the preaching of holiness people, such as Martin Wells Knapp, Seth C. Rees, Charles Stalker and W. B. Godbey, in the post-Civil War era. God's Bible School, founded by Knapp, was the geographical center of this new focus. A periodical, *God's Revivalist*, and a camp meeting, the Mount of Blessings, were part of this movement in the Spirit. The story of the camps would be chronicled annually by Knapp's book *Electric Shocks from Pentecostal Batteries*. The title reflects the crisis-orientation of the early movement. The wind and fire, or the electric energy of Pentecost would be sought and expected. The focus on achieving the experience of holiness "shockingly" would become part of the common coin of the Church.¹¹ Knapp's use of Pentecostal categories may be seen in his *Lightning Bolts from Pentecostal Skies*, *Pentecostal Aggressiveness*, and even in *Revival Tornadoes*. Seth Rees's

Ideal Pentecostal Church (1897) and *Fire From Heaven* (1899) paralleled the work of Knapp. Some forty years later the General Board published sermons by Pilgrim preachers in *Flames of Fire*.¹²

In developing the meaning of Pentecost, the Church stressed that the gift of the Spirit is to be repeated in every believer's experience. Preaching emphasized the privilege of achieving "my Pentecost." A corollary of this teaching was the principle of dying to the sinful nature, the "old man." The "carnal nature" described the problem while eradication of sin was its cure. As long as the point of emphasis was the fullness of the Spirit, the Church's emphasis on holiness was largely healthy.

Finch was a prominent Church leader and general superintendent in charge of foreign missions from 1922-1930.¹³ Finch's role in creating dissension and division in Colorado is considered by Church historians the major issue in his ministry, while his view that entire holiness ensued from "an anguished struggle with the 'old man' of sin," is less significant.¹⁴ The theology of dying to sin, when centered in the divine grace which Jesus gained in His death (Rom. 6:6), represents a sound description of holiness experience. Finch's theology was perilous because it led to extremes in personal seeking¹⁵ and legalism in practice and was not typical of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. It involved a moving from the Protestant doctrine of grace toward a Catholic theology of righteousness achieved by good works. The consequence of this kind of preaching is a low self-esteem fostered by the frustrations of unfulfilled aspirations, a standard of legal expectations never to be achieved. Sanctification is never realized through personal striving. The "tyranny of the oughts"¹⁶ leads to a never-ending cycle of effort, discipline, struggle to do more. That pattern is as old as religion but it doesn't satisfy New Testament criteria. Only God's grace can meet our need. The kind of theology which accents the "death route" or the "real funeral"¹⁷ but fails to glorify Christ's dying for us, leads to spiritual malaise for many.

If the Pentecostal perspective was sometimes diluted or distorted in the Church by legalism or extremes in theology, its renewal of the theology of the Spirit was of incalculable value for the Church. For centuries the role of the Holy Spirit in the church had been muted, controlled by the fears that spiritual

dynamics might stretch the church beyond itself. God the Spirit is equally the Spirit of order and ardor. Rather than permitting the Spirit to blow freely through the harp strings of its life, the church tended to build the Spirit's life into the hardened structures of its forms. The Protestants of the Reformation heritage did little to truly free the Spirit from churchly forms, although they, like Luther, sometimes lamented the absence of preaching about Pentecost and the Holy Spirit.¹⁸

The holiness movement in general, and the Pilgrims particularly, raised the accent on the Spirit's overflowing life to a high note. The Pilgrims gave the American church a significant bequest which could not be fully comprehended through their early years. They struggled to separate the wind and fire from the tongues. In certain spheres of life-style, the approach employed was more likely to be legal prescript than appeal to the leadership of the Spirit. The form of preaching might be ridicule, denunciation or other kinds of "close preaching." Conformity to the rules would be encouraged by constraints of fear, or even the hope of salvation. By such processes the wind and the fire of the Spirit were diminished and dampened. Concentration on the *love* of God was attacked by some, presumably because it called to mind the liberal Church's rejection of God's wrath and its exaltation of His love. However, the result was an insensitivity to human psychology which requires more the awareness of love and less the reminder that it deserves judgment.

Women in Ministry

The Pilgrim Holiness Church was shaped by the interpretive counsel of Pentecost when it affirmed the right of women to preach. Phoebe Palmer had evoked Pentecostal authority for women to preach in 1859. Her book *The Promise of the Father* looks to Acts 2 as a premise for that ministry. The newly Spirit-filled Peter called to the memories of his Jewish hearers the prophecy of Joel, "your sons and your daughters shall prophesy."

The founders of the church, Knapp and Rees, both affirmed the wisdom of the infant Spirit-baptized church. The hermeneutic of holiness would be shaped by a theology of the third

Person of the divine Trinity. The word of Pentecost would be regarded as the norm for ministry while Paul's counsel of silence (1 Cor. 14:34) would be seen as reflective of a social cultural issue. No one concluded that Paul disagreed with Luke, and certainly Paul's own arguments must finally be harmonized.

Seth Rees's *Ideal Pentecostal Church* follows Acts 2 as the outline for his book. He wrote, "Nothing but jealousy, prejudice, bigotry, and a stingy love for bossing in men have prevented woman's public recognition by the church." The ideal Pentecostal church "knows no sex," Rees claimed. It is

without distinction as to the prominence given to the sexes. The women were equally honored with the men when the Spirit was poured out . . . Women, as well as men are to prophesy when this holy baptism with the Spirit shall be administered. But just in proportion as the grace of God and the light of the Gospel are shed abroad, in that proportion woman is elevated, until at Pentecost she stands, a second Eve, by the side of her husband . . . No church that is acquainted with the Holy Ghost will object to the public ministry of women. We know scores of women who can preach the Gospel with a clearness, a power, and an efficiency seldom equalled by men.¹⁹

Knapp affirmed that "Women may be Pentecostal preachers . . . By her divine call to this sacred ministry, by her gifts and graces and fruitage, she has demonstrated the genuineness of her call, and is recognized among the most effective of Pentecostal preachers" (see Godbey's *Woman Preacher*).²⁰ The words of the founders were followed by acts. In 1900 Charles and Lettie Cowman were ordained by Knapp, Rees, Charles Stalker and Byron Rees. Lettie and Charles with Ernest and Hazel Kilbourne founded the Oriental Missionary Society. Lettie became president in 1928, succeeding Ernest who followed Charles (d. 1924).

Bessie Jones Mitchell (1884-1960) is a classic illustration of a woman devoted to a ministry of evangelism and church planting. Converted in a Methodist church at nine, she later wandered from God, to be restored at seventeen. Soon thereafter she was sanctified and began preaching in her eighteenth year. She was ordained to the gospel ministry on July 26, 1910. General Superintendent George B. Kulp, Charles Cowman,

Oswald Chambers, Cora Downes, her colaborer, G. L. Helsby, T. F. Tabler who started the holiness work at Landing Neck, Maryland, in 1899, and others laid hands on this fragile woman who was so mighty in faith. Her ministry was curtailed by physical suffering which lasted for forty years, but she and her husband, Willard, launched a fellowship in Dover, Delaware, which has continued to the present as a vital part of the Church.

Married in 1907, the Mitchells became the parents of three children: Etta, Roland, and Russell. All entered the ministry of the Church, each giving decades of service. Willard was a member of the Caroline County, Maryland, Holiness Association, and president of the Denton Holiness Camp which the Association launched in 1898. Together, Willard and Bessie pastored the Holiness Church in Hillsboro, Maryland, Harrington and Dover, Delaware, *simultaneously*. While ministering in two churches, they conducted a revival in Dover and began pastoring there. They served nine years in the former churches, and seven in Dover. Conducting services in the mornings in Hillsboro, afternoons in Harrington, and evenings at Dover, they traveled one hundred miles each Sunday in a Model-T Ford.

Mrs. Mitchell records her experiences in her booklet *My Testimony*. Her affirmation of her women colaborers is in no sense defensive:

There was quite a team of young, consecrated women preaching and singing in evangelistic services and doing evangelistic work on the [Maryland] district at that time. Some will yet remember the names of Sisters Etta Gibson (Hoffman), Bertha Raymond (Pitcher), Mary Brown (Olsen) [wife of H. J. Olsen], Ethel Brown (Roser), Cora Downes (Boyer). All of them preached and Sr. Gibson (later Sr. Hoffman), was known all around for her special singing and musical talents. Her famous holiness choir which she conducted for so many years on Denton Campground will ever be remembered for its holy appearance and the way they sang the glory down on the services.²¹

Maintaining a Trinitarian Theology

In the twelfth century, Joachim of Fiore (1132-1202), a Benedictine monk, presented a trinitarian conception of history

which included the dispensations of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In line with his larger historical scheme, we may recognize during the last stages of the nineteenth century the rise of spiritual (Spirit-centered) consciousness. The Pilgrims participated in that resurgence in important ways.

Pentecostalism would emerge to become one of the mighty waves of the present century. The Pilgrims insisted that tongues speaking (*glossalalia*) must be interpreted as languages and, along with the Nazarenes and others, would follow a different track than the pentecostal churches. Nevertheless, both movements would give maximum attention to the doctrine of the Spirit resulting at times in a diminished accent on the work of God as Creator and Jesus as Savior and Teacher.

Pilgrim preaching centered on the sanctifying Spirit. Pentecost was judged to be the equivalent of entire sanctification, and Pentecost was the Spirit's "day." Historically the Christian Church had centered its approach to faith upon Jesus' life, death and resurrection. This biblical accent highlighted the historical objectivity of the faith, the observable character of Jesus' ministry *for us*. However, the Protestant Reformation and its heirs had difficulty moving from the work of Christ *for us* to the action of the Spirit *in us*. In Scripture, the historic days of Calvary and the empty tomb were complemented by the day of Pentecost. In Pentecostal preaching the full expression of the outreach of God in Christ would be accomplished. It is in the ministry of the Spirit that God's work in Christ is executed. Thus the Spirit is called "the executive of the Godhead." He effectively completes the redemptive ministry in believers by taking them toward the divine unity: "that they all may be one as we are one" (John 17:22).²²

The inadequacy of Reformation thought on trinitarian theology would be redressed by the holiness movement's Pentecostal proclamation. The river of the Spirit, so often subterranean in its movement, would break out in the Pentecostal renaissance of the holiness revival.

This positive contribution of the holiness churches was weakened by their specialized concern for a theology of the Spirit. The new day of the Spirit, viewed by Rees, Knapp and many more, as the reprise of Pentecost, would not be balanced by the New Testament *kerygma*, the focus on Christ's death and

resurrection. The Church's preaching magnified the Christian experience of the Spirit. The interior work of the Spirit was exalted above the historical work of Christ. The infilling of the Spirit could be desired as an advance beyond the ministry of Christ. In consequence, religious experience, which is always dominantly inner-directed, detracted from the objective, visible and historical work of the Atonement. Expressed in the testimony of the Church ("You ask me how I know He lives? He lives within my heart"), the certainty of faith too often rested on inner consciousness more than the fixed certainty of Christ's work. J. Roland Mitchell, veteran Church leader and evangelist, was born a late first-generation Pilgrim. Emphasizing the dominant pneumatological (Spirit-centered) emphases of the Church, he eventually would join with R. G. Finch, his father-in-law, in the separated Emmanuel Missionary Church. After some years of struggle, Mitchell's ministry would move toward the winsome Christ-centered dimension which would characterize his preaching for more than three decades. In the power of the Spirit, he drew his hearers to Christ. Evidently the Christological content lacked the familiar Pentecostal focus in the mind of a veteran comrade in ministry. He suggested to Mitchell: "Anyone can preach about Christ. We need preaching about the Holy Ghost."²³

H. Richard Niebuhr, one of the most perceptive religious thinkers in American history, over sixty years ago warned against the tendency to distort the New Testament's balance with regard to the Trinity. When the Spirit is worshiped virtually as "God alone," the believer "looks to the reality *found in the inner life* rather than to the Being [the Father] *beyond nature* or to the *Redeemer in history* for the fundamental principle of reality and value."²⁴ In simpler language, what takes place *within me* achieves an ascendancy above that on which our experience is eternally grounded, that is, Jesus' atoning and resurrecting gift. Only Christ's work makes our salvation possible and only the Spirit's work makes it effective. Where is the balance found? The task, as Melvin Dieter correctly indicates, is "to formulate a theology of Pentecost which . . . keeps close to the theology of the cross."²⁵ The Pilgrim Holiness Church did not succeed at this any better than the larger movement. It may be questioned whether a proper trinitarian equilibrium would be

achieved prior to the merger of 1968.

It may be claimed that the Pentecostal accent of the Church blunted the sharp edge of a Christ-centered theology. Wherever that development is found it creates a plethora of problems. Believers tend to turn inward in order to examine the quality and power of their faith, failing to look outward to worship the glory of God's faithfulness. The Lutheran theologian Paul Althaus has proposed the corrective: "I do not know *whether* I believe, but I know in *whom* I believe, and only thus do I know *that* I believe."²⁶

Another product of this accent on inner experience is the failure to develop social holiness or a social sensitivity. The total sense of Pilgrim people would be narrowed by the dominant concern for personal holiness. While the holiness theology of the Church possesses a powerful moral dynamic, relatively little attention was placed on it. The Wesleyan revival in eighteenth-century England and the Great Awakening in America had fostered ethical reforms. The holiness movement should have developed the teaching toward a social gospel rooted in Pentecost. Except in narrow ways, the Church moved inward instead of outward. To its credit, the Church created rescue missions, homes for pregnant unmarried girls and some programs for the poor. It took a sturdy New Testament pacifism into World War II, and while it was modified by the awesome militarism of Nazism, the essence of its resistance to war remained. In so doing, the Church bypassed centuries of Christian support for the "just war." Finally, as has been previously detailed, the Church anticipated much of Protestantism by a full century in its affirmation of women in ministry.

The pervasive concentration upon holiness sometimes resulted in a weakened doctrine of regeneration. Drawing upon English Methodism's statement that it was raised up by God "to reform the nation, especially the Church, and to spread scriptural holiness across the land," the holiness people tended to truncate justification while accenting sanctification. The mission of the Apostolic Holiness Union was specific. Preaching the regeneration of sinners and the baptism with the Holy Ghost for sanctification was its *raison d'être*. Keeping the priority of regeneration before, but leading to, sanctification became difficult. The result of this loss of perspective on the order of

salvation which Wesley had preserved in his theology, was the diminution of the faith foundation on which sanctification rests, the root from which it matures. Seth Rees recognized this problem: "God has let some of us see . . . that our only hope for the successful spread of true holiness is the emphasis of the truth in its initial stages. People must start well."²⁷ The Church would give inadequate attention to Wesley's principle that the "whole tenor of Scripture" must be recognized.

THE CHURCH IN MISSION

The mission of the church was precisely formulated. Rooted in the impulse of Pentecost, Jesus' call to His nascent church to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth would be implemented by the Pilgrims. A missionary burden dominated the early leaders, Knapp, Rees, the Cowmans, and others. Knapp's thirst for missionary service had to be redirected because of ill health. This sublimated desire would burst forth in the establishment of the enduring ministry of *God's Revivalist*, a holiness periodical advertising "God as founder" and Knapp as editor. God's Bible School and Missionary Training Home, founded in 1900, provided the institutional setting for the Church's missionary work until 1922. Many of the Church's leaders, including Robert Heckart, William H. Neff,²⁸ H. D. Dukes and others, were educated at God's Bible School. While the significance of the school diminished sharply for the Pilgrims as they began establishing their Bible schools, the vision of God's Bible School would to some degree be carried through the Church's entire history.

Charles and Lettie Cowman voyaged to Japan in 1901, to be followed by E. A. and Hazel Kilbourne in 1902. Elizabeth Ferle and Beatrice Kinney from God's Bible School crossed the Atlantic en route to Capetown in 1902. A. Lee Grey and his family, who had served the Apostolic Holiness Mission in Denton, Maryland, went to India in September 1903. The Church, prepared by consecration and faith, would experience "Pentecostal fire" and "the whole heathen world would feel the shock of a thousand earthquakes. . . . Pentecost makes missionaries out of all of us either at home or abroad," Rees proclaimed.²⁹ The dynamic mission ventures of a multitude of men

and women in many parts of the earth became the stuff of which the Pilgrim Holiness revival was constructed.

Camp Meetings and Revivals—Means to Mission

If the mission was defined as the preaching of the regeneration of sinners and the baptism of the Spirit for believers as the privilege of all,³⁰ the highly visible means for achieving the mission were the camp meeting and the religious revival. This was true especially in America, and in a lesser sense the mission centers. Undoubtedly other avenues of ministry were prominent at home and in the foreign fields. The Church established elementary and secondary schools and Bible schools. Medical clinics, homes for unwed mothers, and missions for the poor and dispossessed in the cities were developed. The New York District of the Church began as the Pentecostal Rescue Mission. Books and magazines were central to the ministry of Knapp and Rees. George B. Kulp, general superintendent (1905-21), wrote titles on prayer, stewardship, healing, pastoral theology and the Holy Spirit, among others, published by the *Revivalist* office.³¹ In 1922 the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, successor to some twelve earlier periodicals, began publication. These papers demonstrated the centrality of holiness and missions, but included emphases on healing, social programs for the unfortunate and education.³² Regular reports came in concerning revivals, camp meetings and tent meetings. Given this qualification, however, the contention remains that camps and revivals were the most prominent means for promoting the mission of the Church.

At the human center of this program was the evangelist. Frequently a highly charismatic, fervently motivated preacher,³³ the evangelist gained a position of honor won by few others in the Church. The voice of the evangel was the voice of God. The impress of the evangelist's ministry was decisive in the life of the Pilgrims, resulting in advancement to the highest offices of the denomination, in general and district administration and education. This charismatic style, so dominant in the early decades of the Church, would be succeeded by the more constrained, organizational type of leadership which a maturing Church requires.

The camp meeting became the most spectacular means for extending the Church's mission. Never the most enduring aspect of ministry, it would be for many the forum and symbol of evangelism and nurturing. It was the annual festival of prayer, praise and preaching, analogous in our minds to the feast of Pentecost.³⁴ The revival meeting in the local church was the fall and spring parallel on a smaller scale.

Camp meetings were a familiar part of the geography of the holiness people. It was as if all roads led to Beulah Park, Denton, the Mount of Blessings, Owosso, or Kernersville. Evangelists crisscrossed the country to bear tidings of full salvation. Powerful tides of the Spirit washed over these gatherings, providing a pattern for the ministry of the local church. The Church's greatest preachers—Seth Rees, Paul Rees, Charles Slater, Richard Flexon, Martin Wells Knapp, David Wilson—preached in these camps and won hundreds to Christ. The rigors of camp meeting life were designed for persons under orders. Pitched tents, small cabins, or cottages without running water or toilet accommodations, and with minimal power sources, were standard. Ice boxes kept the food from spoiling. Ice men would deliver ice on a regular schedule for a few cents. Public stands, always crowded after the services, offered refreshments. On Sundays the grounds were packed, and family groups all over the camp relished the delicious foods which had been prepared over hot stoves at home. Flies and bees fought a losing battle with diners.

Religious services constituted the center of family activities. Beginning with prayer services at 6:00 or 7:00 a.m., the worshiper could attend three major preaching services. There were services for children and youth, a time for praise and testimony, a "ring meeting" (persons gathered in a circle under the trees), and night bells about 10:00 p.m. One day would be given to the Church's foreign and home missionary emphasis. A healing service reflected the early faith of the Church in divine healing. The sacrament of baptism celebrated the entrance of persons young and old into the joys of Christian faith.

Preaching was generally divided between the invitation to repentance and regeneration, and the call to the baptism of the Spirit. Sermons were extended, often to an hour, and altar calls were lengthy, lasting as long as a half hour. A formal ritual of

invitation would follow the message, beginning with one or more verses of an altar hymn. "Softly and Tenderly, Jesus Is Calling," "Just As I Am," "I've Wandered Far Away From God, Now I'm Coming Home," might be sung in the earlier stages of the call. The evangelist frequently exhorted at the end of a verse, urging surrender to Christ. The psychology of the experience was designed to break down the barriers of resistance. Following a more gentle initial approach, the appeal would rise toward the crescendo often accompanied by singing:

"Almost persuaded" now to believe;
"Almost persuaded" Christ to receive;
Seems now some soul to say,
"Go Spirit, go Thy way,
Some more convenient day
On Thee I'll call."

In concluding the appeal, a final summation was given:

"Almost persuaded," harvest is past.
"Almost persuaded," doom comes at last!
"Almost" cannot avail; "Almost" is but to fail!
Sad, sad, that bitter wail, "Almost," but lost!
(P. P. Bliss)

The evangelistic pattern was a strategy of confrontation, creating a crisis of decision. The extended appeals too often evoked responses based on fear. They were supported by a variety of stories which could chill the saints and petrify the sinners. Frequently, the altar call became a standoff. Who would overcome, the evangelist or the sinner? The consequence for some was the hardening of hearts, or emotional enervation. Some departed the services feeling like those who had committed the unpardonable sin. Not frequently enough did the appeal center upon the gracious love of Jesus for the lost sheep.

During the altar call, some of the saints frequently moved out through the audience asking individuals if they were "saved." The prospect of imminent death would be proposed by the preacher: "If you were to die in five minutes, where would you spend eternity?"

This psychology and technique of revival produced both positive and negative results. Many came to Christ and the Church by this process, marking their passage from death to life at a rugged camp meeting altar which had been dampened with

the tears of a thousand mourners. After earnest seeking, the penitent was often lightened by the sunshine of spiritual assurance and would leave in exaltation. Others turned away in turmoil created by their own resistance, which sometimes was attenuated by the dynamics of the evangelistic situation. One prominent evangelist privately lamented the techniques of his co-evangelist, affirming his own need to repent and seek God if his brother's words were true. The final service could be like a wake, like the crossing of a line from which the impenitent might never recover.

The camp meeting was the spiritual and social event of the season. Frequently located in sheltered groves, the camps were retreats and vacation centers. In the early years, little recreational activity was permitted the youth, who were sometimes given free room and meals in return for service in the dining room. At Denton, for example, meals were prepared by experienced black cooks, announced by the expert ringing of the dinner bell by the black herald, Winnie Wayman, and served family style. It could be a gourmet's delight, including three meats and many of the Eastern Shore's delicacies. Winnie's bell-ringing technique was distinct and skillful, resonant and measured, a work of art. I still hear its sprightly cadence after forty years.

The revival meeting was the microcosm of the camp. Services were conducted every night, and on Sundays, as many as three times, lasting for two weeks or more. William H. Vickers, peripatetic evangelist in Chesapeake country, wrote to the denominational paper concerning the five weeks of extended tent meeting services held in Dover, Delaware. Twenty-one persons were saved or filled with the Holy Ghost.³⁵ A pattern of fervent prayer often led to a crescendo of spiritual energy and a "break" in the meeting resulting in seeking at the altar. During these years the revival was a special event in community life, both for religious and irreligious.

Divine Healing

In the *Manual* of the International Apostolic Holiness Union in 1905, divine healing was affirmed.³⁶ The Church recognized healing as a gracious gift which may be received by faith, but was at times imprecise, at others careless, in its definition of the

relationship of healing to Christ's work of redemption. Noted twice in the "Object" of the *Manual* for 1922, healing was described in Article XV as the privilege of every child of God to be healed in answer to the prayer of faith. . . . " Warning against the breaking of fellowship over the belief, the Church confirmed its faith repeatedly in the *Manual* for 1922, 1924, 1926, and 1930.

Seth Rees regarded divine healing as an important aspect of belief in the miraculous in an age of doubt. The holiness ministry was "responsible for the modern revival of healing. . . . Shall we contend for the doctrine . . . and deny . . . the legitimate outgrowth of the faithful . . . preaching of that doctrine?"³⁷ To those who called healing a "sidetrack," Rees derisively commented that for three years Jesus was "sidetracked."³⁸ Knapp described "Pentecostal Healing" as a "special sovereign gift" received by faith, a "special gift" as well. He urged recognition of the gracious possibility of healing.³⁹

Editor C. G. Taylor of the *International Holiness Church Paper* described the Church's mission to be "to show the church its privilege of *healing through the atonement*," and the Ohio Camp Meeting reported "bright cases of healing."⁴⁰ Whether Taylor's comment suggests the universal possibility of divine healing by faith in the Atonement isn't clear. The holiness movement had some who espoused this view. It is theologically perilous, for it results in the conclusion that the faith of those who are not healed is deficient. The result is that personal faith is undermined in the false belief that the person is second-class in terms of faith.

A UNITIVE FELLOWSHIP

The principle of qualified ecumenism has characterized the Church since its inception in 1897. It was not Knapp's vision to be a come-outer or schismatic. While he asserted that "true Christianity splits wherever it goes," he affirmed God's will to be the avoidance of division among those who live in the Spirit. Judgmental toward those churches composed of "feasting, fair and festival, lodge-wed members," he called for unity among "God's true children." Pentecostal life was the criterion for unity. Knapp resisted sectarianism as unscriptural but doubted

that the type of churches he was developing were "sectarian Churches for the promotion of holiness." He acknowledged that some believers had "backslidden into a sectarian spirit."⁴¹

Some leaders probably protested too much. The spirit of independency was around. Later in 1921, S. M. Stikeleather, superintendent of the North Carolina District, indicated that "the spirit of independency and discard [sic] was scarce, and what little might have been lurking around received mighty little welcome."⁴² It is problematic to call for the unity of the church in the Spirit while affirming the liberty of Pentecostal people to remain or exit, as the Spirit leads. The Pilgrims demonstrated the tendency toward separation so common in reform movements. To criticize a church of "worldling"—of interest in amusements and feasts—while insisting that people stay in that church as the Spirit leads, represents a nominal gesture toward unity. Knapp wanted to avoid accusations of being schismatic, but division, as he must have realized, was inevitable.

The Pilgrims nevertheless achieved a remarkable measure of community among a wide range of holiness people. Union developed across widely scattered regional lines. From 1897 until 1925, holiness ministries beginning in Ohio (the Apostolic Holiness Union), and spreading to Maryland, Michigan and North Carolina were linked with fellow believers in Pennsylvania and Indiana (the Holiness Christian Church.) A strong evangelistic and social ministry from New York (the Pentecostal Rescue Mission) united in 1922. Across the nation, in California, a revival-produced body (The Pilgrim Church) founded through Seth Rees, united, bringing the name which identified the Church after 1922 as the Pilgrim Holiness Church. From Ohio, again, the Pentecostal Brethren in Christ came to union in 1924, and in Colorado the People's Mission Church merged in 1925.

The separate segments were characterized by strong and gifted leaders. Knapp and Rees were matched by the capabilities of Albert H. Wilson, Paul W. Thomas and others. That these strong-minded men could labor under the single canopy of the Church is itself a testimony to their Christian zeal. Other powerful leaders joined in their early pilgrimage: Richard G. Flexon, Harold D. Dieter, H. J. Olsen, S. M. Stikeleather, Walter Surbrook, and Paul S. Rees.

THE CHURCH AND CONTEMPORARY EVANGELICALISM

Wherever evangelicalism, fundamentalism, and related strands of contemporary orthodoxy are assessed, the holiness people are frequently forgotten. Concerned that the Wesleyan heritage has an inadequate view of biblical authority, or that its conception of God's sovereign lordship is deficient, much of the evangelical world has rejected the view held by holiness people that they are authentic evangelicals. The Pilgrims held firmly to the Wesleyan position that God's grace always precedes any human movement toward saving faith, a thoroughly evangelical stance.

Despite this uncertainty felt by Reformed evangelicals, the Pilgrim Holiness Church would evince the impress of evangelicalism in significant ways. While the reciprocal influences of the two streams have been studied very little, some perspectives seem clear. The Church was shaped by the controversies which drove fundamentalists and liberals apart. Pilgrims sustained their sure commitment to the theological loyalties of the fundamentalists, i.e., the virgin birth, substitutionary atonement, the Second Coming and more. While never as powerful as the historic Methodist influences, fundamentalist evangelicalism would evoke a warm collegiality from the Pilgrim Holiness Church.

Many in the Church accepted the prophetic interpretations which arose from the Plymouth Brethren, to be developed by the notes in the *Scofield Reference Bible* and the dispensational charts of Clarence Larkin. Premillennialism, the belief that Christ would return before the Great Tribulation, and subsequently appear in a revelation inaugurating the Millennium, would be held by some as equivalent to Holy Writ.

The Pilgrims held closely to a high view of Scripture. Stressing the adequacy of the Scriptures for salvation, rather than arguing about its truthfulness, the Church would retain a view of biblical authority that is properly associated with evangelicalism. Its Scripture position would be derived from the Twenty-five Articles of Religion, drawn by Wesley from the Church of England's Thirty-nine Articles crafted during the English Reformation of 1540-1560. The doctrine of inerrancy,

later defined as the benchmark of evangelical doctrinal purity, was never part of Pilgrim theology. The Scripture's truth was unquestioned.⁴³

The Church also followed fundamentalism's educational models. Whether intentionally or not, the patterns set by the creation of Moody Bible Institute and other Bible colleges, would be the pattern for Pilgrims. Greensboro, North Carolina, Bible and Literary School; Bible Holiness Seminary (Owosso, Michigan); Frankfort, Indiana, Bible College; Beulah Park Bible School (Allentown, Pennsylvania); Pilgrim Bible College (Pasadena, California); Colorado Springs Bible School; and Kingswood College were some of the programs fashioned during these years. Unlike the Wesleyan Methodists, who established Houghton, Marion, Central Wesleyan, and Miltonvale Wesleyan, the Pilgrims would never achieve an accredited liberal arts program. On the foundation of Owosso Bible College, the Church sought to build Owosso College with limited success as a liberal arts institution. The Wesleyan Methodists never created a Bible school, although they inherited one when a merger occurred with the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada in 1966. The college is Bethany Bible College at Sussex, New Brunswick. The Bible college movement became firmly entrenched in fundamentalism, with an accrediting agency, membership in the Council on Post-Secondary Accreditation (COPA), and growing recognition in wider academic circles. In the Pilgrim Holiness Church the Bible college would be sustained until merger, but thereafter would have a more tenuous position.

Up to 1930 there was no other educational program. Some of the Church's leaders, such as Walter L. Surbrook, would achieve substantial higher education, but this was a very clear exception.⁴⁴ Some anti-intellectualism was found in the Church, and the source of that tendency can be found in the heritage of American Methodism, where there was a suspicion of theological education in particular. It is likely that we must also look to fundamentalism, with its reaction to the liberal overvaluation of human reason, as the source of some of the suspicion of education, especially liberal arts education. Coupled with the strong Wesleyan emphasis on experience which characterized these years, the sharpening of reason and

intellect through education would be regarded as threatening. It cannot be claimed, however, that the Pilgrim Holiness Church **acquired** an anti-intellectualist tendency from fundamentalism. Fundamentalists were thoughtful students of Scripture and human experience. They were suspicious of reason when it is exalted above Scripture. The Pilgrims preserved the suspicion in a less theological, more experiential church setting, leading to a limited interest in education. Expressed differently, the Church was pietistic in life-style, concerned more with living and breathing the life of God than with proper formulation of its experienced faith. While that strategy may have been adequate for the first generation, the second generation began to feel some of the tensions of a biblical faith which was deeply felt by the first, but imprecisely taught by the second. Revival movements must find a way to get the message clearly to subsequent generations if the spirit of renewal is to be carried forward. The Pilgrims faltered at that point, until a generation of young people born in the 1920s were largely lost to the Church. Camp meeting altars were virtually barren. Many youth raised in the Church were persuaded that the Lord's people were few in number.

THE CHURCH AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

The world in which the Pilgrim Holiness Church was born and came to early maturity experienced the highs and lows of a supreme optimism, pervasive and universal warfare, the search for peace in the League of Nations, the demoralization which is war's sequel, deep economic valleys which resulted in the "Great Depression," and a multitude of parallel problems. In the religious life of the nation, liberalism was gaining an ascendancy over orthodox theology which had been fashioned over a period of many centuries. In consequence, much of conservative Protestantism retreated in uncertainty and confusion. Relationships between liberals and conservatives were marked by acrimony, name-calling and loss of respect. The God of liberalism was not considered to be the faithful God whose sovereignty is utterly dependable, but one who "would not embarrass anyone by challenging the 'realities' determined by prestige opinion."⁴⁵ In other words, the liberal tradition sought

ways to commend the faith to modern man by showing faith's continuity with science and philosophy, but in the process lost sight of the God who created the realities which science and philosophy seek to comprehend.

Social Alienation, Sectarianism, Separatism

Socially the nation was experiencing the breakdown of moral stability which follows war. The horrors of war in the first two decades of the twentieth century had been impressed upon the American mind and political isolation became a reality. Life-styles were changing. The familiar patterns of life were shaken while the uncertain future loomed ahead. The sad experience of moral deterioration evidenced in the age of the "flappers" or in the criminal explosion which occurred during Prohibition, combined with other problems to foster negative responses to culture⁴⁶ by religious bodies like the Pilgrims.

The Church was self-consciously a minority reforming movement, the "Lord's despised few," an alien leaven in the world's (and the mainline churches') mass. A company of believers separated from the world, the Church was often perceived, from without and within, more as orphans than family in the socio-economic mix. Churches were frequently found on the wrong side of the tracks, plain as a Quaker meetinghouse, typically rural and small town. Many of the Pilgrims were from rural settings, somewhat isolated, lacking urban amenities.⁴⁷

Like the ancient Hebrews, who possessed a special spiritual identity, Pilgrims sang the Lord's songs in a strange land. Even when consciousness-raising led to the shift of lyrics from the "Lord's despised few" to the "Lord's chosen few" Pilgrims were still few. Holding no position of esteem among peers in the prestige churches, Pilgrims believed in the ultimate transvaluation of relationships. Faith gave a sense of exaltation, a royal identity, a psychological liberation, and even an economic impulse. Were Pilgrims not children of the King?

A tent or a cottage, why should I care?
They're building a palace for me over there.
Though exiled from home, yet still I may sing
All glory to God, I'm a child of the King.

Once life had been different. Spiritually an alien, exiled from God, the Kingdom had come in power and glory. The sinful exile was past and the pilgrimage to heaven was in process.

I once was an outcast, stranger on earth
A sinner by choice and an alien by birth.
But I've been adopted, my name's written down.
An heir to a mansion, a robe, and a crown.⁴⁸

As a revival movement it may have been natural for the Church to identify itself with the poor and unplaced peoples of this world.⁴⁹ The social relationships of most of its members undergirded the Church's sympathy for the dispossessed. Roy S. Nicholson, a Wesleyan Methodist, once stated that he did not know that he was disadvantaged economically until he was fifty years old. Nevertheless, the sense of certain kinds of deprivation were ingrained and lasting.

The writer's own early identification was forged by this sense of living in an alien world. Separation from that world which was then conceived to be most alluring was not an acceptable idea of the good life. Only later would the perception of the meaning of the pilgrim vision and the relatively homeless nature of existence in this world become clear. Then, too, would come the understanding of the difference between the changing symbols of separation from the world and the enduring spiritual power which the symbols help one to grasp.

Persecution

A corollary of a sectarian, exclusive interpretation of the church and an alienation from the customs of society, would be the experience of persecution. Sharply contrasted with the world, the Pilgrims felt the sting of rejection. Believing in the righteousness of the way, the little flock expected and even welcomed opposition. Pentecostal preachers are persecuted preachers, Knapp taught.

Men who are on the battlefield will hear the bullets whiz and are liable to get hit. Pentecostal persecutors camp there and are never off on furlough. Persecution is one of the gauges which helps a Pentecostal minister measure his effectiveness. No persecution, no Pentecostal power.⁵⁰

At the Mount of Blessings Camp, opposition arose because of enthusiastic (even noisy) expressions of joy.⁵¹ Seth Rees suggested that "a spiritual church, from Pentecost to the present, has always been a noisy church."⁵²

Opposition arose to Knapp when he preached in Bowens, Maryland. The Methodists charged him with violations of ecclesiastical propriety. He appealed to Wesley's precedent of preaching at Bristol, England, against the bishop's directive for him to go home. Criticizing "Protestant popery," Knapp insisted that when a human rule collides with a divine command "the handcar must give way to the express train."⁵³

Social Adjustments

With the passing years, the sectarian and exclusive emphases would be diminished. That God has many sheep in other folds would be freely and gladly acknowledged. The sense of alienation was replaced by social participation. As culture gradually penetrated their life-styles and thought world, the Pilgrims became less inclined to the symbols which had marked their separation. Socially and economically, the people began the upward climb. The Depression had imposed extraordinary burdens on Pilgrims in common with millions of their fellow Americans. Out of that crucible many people sought for a way of life that would offer security. Pilgrims aspired for better things for themselves and their children. Economic realities drew the people into more of the mainstream of society. As commercial relationships had broken down the insularity of Puritan life in colonial New England, so a variety of social, economic, and political demands were pulling Pilgrims out of their isolation.

Seth Rees expressed the theme, so common in Christian idealism, that economic advancement was perilous for Christians.⁵⁴ The Wesleys had preached to and won many disadvantaged persons to Christ in the Evangelical Revival. The early Wesleyan Methodists preached the gospel to the poor, and the Pilgrim Holiness Church was drawn to the same sector. During the Depression when church attendance declined in the mainline churches, the membership of holiness and pentecostal churches increased. For the Pilgrims, membership doubled

during the twenties and continued into the next decade.

The experience of deprivation and social estrangement evidently prepared the psyche of many Pilgrims either to strongly suspect even relative wealth or to create strong hopes for social improvement. As changes reshaped American society many Pilgrims moved with the society. Familiar life-style standards were being modified. Questions arose concerning the wedding ring and other issues. Some conservatives perceived this as a matter of indifference,⁵⁵ neither commended or condemned by Scripture. The *Manual* set forth a position on Scripture congenial to their view, stating: "whatever is not read therein [in Scripture], nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as any article of the Faith . . . " Naturally many practical matters required the consensus of the group even if unnecessary to salvation.

The adjustments which were being made by some were interpreted by others as compromise. A pattern of legalism emerged as a strategy for regulating trends toward social accommodations, or "worldliness." Restrictions of styles of dress, hair, jewelry, entertainment or social activities became prominent. Ridiculing "cir-cusses" or "carn-evils" was one tack. Readiness for ministry included for some the rejection of rings, along with short hair or colorful clothes. Long skirts,⁵⁶ long sleeves and high necklines were normative. Red shoes might be suspect and toeless/heelless shoes were a sign of worldliness. Baseball games were off-limits.

However we may question the legitimacy of such value judgments, we must never doubt the validity of the Pilgrims' world-denying piety. The symbols of their faith were often acquired through sacrifice. It is never easy to reject one's own culture. The restrictions placed on Church men and women were thought to be external marks of their holy faith. When these symbols were pressed upon the people by the legal constraints of Church rules, by fears or threats, the Church could only fall into spiritual doldrums. The result was stifling. Altars at camps would be barren. Spirituality was sometimes forced.

No community lives without the symbols which express its identity. How are the distinctions from this evil world to be represented, as strangers and pilgrims journey to the promised land? The answer is complex. To many persons the question is

threatening. It invokes memories of a legalistic past which ought to be forgotten. Are we returning to the old nay-saying "do's and don'ts"? The issue isn't as simple as that. Symbols possess meaning! At best they point to a greater reality. If they are buried with the past, what shall be the symbols which replace them? Symbols never arise apart from some reality which gives them life. In the Pilgrim experience, some found other ways to proclaim their faith. Some discarded the past, abandoning the best in their flight from the worst.

In some situations in the Church, the symbols could be identified with the reality. In illustration, the altar assumed a powerful symbolism as the threshold to Christian experience. "Going forward" became a formalized ritual in which the act of public contrition was virtually equivalent to conversion. Part of that may have come from Phoebe Palmer's "altar theology." Certainly that represented a distortion of the altar experience. Usually the ministry avoided that deviation by urging seekers to press through to personal assurance. Even so, Christian experience seemed inseparable from the altar event.

Social Accommodation

The gradual breakdown of the Pilgrim mentality and its corollaries of alienation and economic deprivation led to both positive and negative results. Better able to understand and communicate with social contemporaries, the Church began a different kind of ministry. Colleges became more academically sound, faculties better trained and programs more adequately designed for the world in which graduates worked.

As the Church moved into its second generation, culture increasingly impacted the values of the people. Legalism could not sustain the vitality of the communion. Spiritual tornadoes and lightning bolts must subside to be replaced by an ordered Church life. The Pilgrims were unprepared for the transition. The preoccupation with crisis (exemplified in the language of Knapp and Rees, such as electric shocks, fire from heaven, lightning bolts, tornadoes) prevented the Church from emphasizing spiritual nurture. People lacking spiritual maturity had their values reshaped by culture. The force of materialism often captured the interests of people. Far more subtle than many things

considered worldly, materialism sums up the perils of worldly idolatry. Paul writes: "Put to death . . . whatever belongs to your earthly nature. . . . evil desires and greed, which is idolatry" (Col. 3:5). More than one person wanted to admit there were serious trends within the Church toward adoption of values based on material standards. The kind of education sought, the vocations chosen, homes, automobiles, clothes, reflect this tendency. None of this is in itself the central problem. The problem is spiritual. What shapes one's life in the daily decisions made? What is the relationship between inner spiritual motivation and external forms of behavior or life-style? That Scripture demonstrates the unbreakable connection between inner life and outer life-style is clear from a study of Galatians 5, Colossians 3, Romans 6 and more. The task must be to lead the Church to spiritual life which flows outward in a fruitful personal and social morality. The Church needs no longer to say, "Silver and gold have we none." The Church must always say to the lame of earth: "In the name of Jesus Christ, rise up and walk."⁵⁷

The Church and Warfare

The climate of American life in the aftermath of World War I was decidedly isolationist and antimilitarist. Many persons, both liberals and evangelicals, adopted a pacifist stance, justifying it on differing grounds. Harry Emerson Fosdick, an "evangelical liberal,"⁵⁸ and Reinhold Niebuhr, a leading representative of the "new orthodoxy,"⁵⁹ shared in the general revulsion against war.

The Pilgrims expressed their antipathy toward war in idealistic language:

Military warfare and the spirit of it are contrary to the teachings of the New Testament and the Spirit of Jesus Christ, therefore we are opposed to military training and strongly urge our members to refrain from bearing arms in war.⁶⁰

This position, which Niebuhr might have considered "religious perfectionism," was maintained by the Church throughout the years between the wars. Eventually in the face of the Nazi threat, many would shift their opinions. The Pilgrims followed

that pattern with a pragmatic statement which supplemented their New Testament pacifism with a recognition of emergency circumstances. From 1922 to 1942 the language is unequivocal. In 1942 the *Manual* position is flexible and mediating:

Inasmuch as many of our people believe that military warfare is contrary to the teachings of the New Testament and their conscience is therefore violated by being compelled to take part in such; while others believe that their obligation to the state is such as to require them to take their place in the armed forces . . . in times of national emergency: We therefore agree to lend our moral support to the cause of all who are members . . . of the Pilgrim Holiness Church that their conscience be not violated.⁶¹

This position of the Church was judicious. It allowed for men and women in the Church to declare their pacifism or to follow what they believed was their duty. Harold Garrison, later academic dean at Eastern Pilgrim College, registered as a conscientious objector before the war. In 1942 he was summoned to a hearing at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. After review the lawyer agreed that his position was legitimate, but asked if he would serve as a noncombatant. He agreed and was called up in 1944.

Six months before Pearl Harbor, Reinhold Niebuhr, by now having broken with pacifism, criticized the perfectionism which "shuns the realities of politics in one moment and embraces the sorriest political relativities in the next. . . ." ⁶² Expressed differently, when idealism is shattered by the realities of terrible evil, the idealist too readily moves to a pragmatic justification of war.

The Pilgrims were not chastened dreamers. Their doctrine of human sinfulness was Wesleyan, acknowledging the depth of human corruption. Like Wesley they knew their limits of human altruism and the dark powers which shadow the human race. Their exalted idealism was preserved even while they recognized the boundary situations which constitute our existence in the world. Here is a realism which Niebuhr may have surmised "religious perfectionists" could not achieve. Some will mourn the weakening of the exclusive New Testament pacifism of the prewar years. Theological realism may assert that in Jesus the kingdom of God *entered* history. However, that event was only the invasion. The final victory is yet to be won.

PREACHING PILGRIMS

Any historical analysis of the Church must account for the high view of preaching it sustained. Nothing was more important. The value attached to preaching was reflected in the multitude of gifted preachers the Church nurtured. The creation of a competent preaching ministry is not accidental. Wherever this is a priority in due time a strong ministry emerges. Some churches consistently prepare a superior brand of clergymen and -women while others fail. Much modern preaching tends to be submerged to other priorities. The organization man has been esteemed at the expense of preaching skill and spirit.

The first- and second-generation Pilgrim preacher was "born to preaching." If exception must be taken to the frequent use of allegory,⁶³ the use of types which Scripture does not authorize, reading holiness teaching into texts which do not teach it, and more, the zeal which consumed so many of God's servants cannot be missed. When they changed the meaning of specific texts, replacing the plain sense of Scripture by typologies and allegories, they substituted that meaning with other truths found in Scripture. For example, when Joseph is made a type of Christ, a position unauthorized by Scripture, the message of Christ is still preached.

What did these persons preach? They preached as holiness preachers, as "Pentecostal preachers." The hermeneutic of holiness regulated their approach to biblical exposition. Scripture in its entirety was viewed as a sourcebook for teaching holiness. Simply and beautifully the story of Egyptian bondage would be contrasted with the liberty of Canaan. The Exodus through the Red Sea would be followed by entrance through the Jordan. A second, perfect rest awaited the believer who had been regenerated. The note of urgency characterized the call to conversion and holiness. Rees and Knapp particularly set the tone for the Church's strong emphasis on crisis in Christian experience. Knapp wrote *Electric Shocks From Pentecostal Batteries* to describe the dynamism of the Mount of Blessings Camp. Titles like *Revival Tornadoes*, *Lightning Bolts From Pentecostal Skies*, and *Revival Kindlings* illustrate the "electric" character of his preaching. Rees's *Fire From Heaven*, like Knapp's writings, drew attention to crisis, to the death of depravity. The goal was

to bring seekers into grace clearly, without question. One illustration presented a man "struck by lightning."⁶⁴

The typological emphasis is best seen in Knapp's *Out of Egypt into Canaan*. *Pearls from Patmos* shows the hermeneutic of holiness in its most precise expression. Writing about the book of Revelation, Knapp declares that holiness represents the focus of John's message. Holiness is not only the central idea of the book, it is the single, controlling idea. The "silence in heaven" passage (Rev. 8:1) is the stillness of the heavenly hosts who await the outcome of the work of holiness on earth.⁶⁵

Preaching in the Church was based on biblical texts of topics from which the preacher moved freely to declare the gospel. Exposition of extended verses, chapters or books was less common. Storytelling, which has come into a place of esteem in preaching theory, was ever a part of the sermon. Many preachers had finely tuned techniques of storytelling. Stories evoked laughter and tears, anxiety or fears, as they spoke to the circumstances of hearers. Sarcasm or ridicule were part of the repertoire of some. Rees once wondered why some Church members went to the seashore "to keep cool (as if a refrigerator needed cooling) . . . "⁶⁶ One evangelist ridiculed "Episcopians" and "Pres-by-the-tears." When some called the Pilgrims "Holy rollers" they were reduced to the same level of name-calling.

Many volumes are needed to detail the faithful ministry of hundreds of men and women who preached the essential *kerygma* (the major themes of Jesus' death and resurrection, the fundamental doctrines of salvation) even in those times when their approach to Scripture failed to unfold and apply the specific message the biblical writers meant to convey. Allegory and typology make for interesting preaching but it is frequently regulated only by the speaker's imagination. At its worst it can be and is used for the advancement of cultic personalities and heresies.

The Church brought to Christ and nurtured many persons of ability, power and influence, who became preachers of renown among the Pilgrims. By a spiritual dynamic that remains among the divine mysteries, certain churches so affirmed the glory of the gospel as to draw their sons and daughters to ministry. A hypothesis may be suggested: With the growing affluence of the

Church, and the declining sense of its alienation from society, a reduced sense of the romance of ministry would become observable. The ministry of preaching lost some of its earlier attractiveness. Parents expressed their priorities, sometimes subtly, sometimes forthrightly, in terms of the success syndrome. Success is defined in materialistic categories—good jobs, the good life — more often than in ministry. The Church has increasing difficulty in relating to and ministering to the poor. The theory that the acquisition of wealth is a sign of God's blessing, while poverty is indicative of sloth and ignorance, is more widespread than many know. This trend, however, comes later than the decades covered in this essay.

The first generation of Pilgrims was seized by the urgency of the moment. Revivalism evokes a sense of the holy, the mystery and majesty of present promises or the dread of forfeited possibilities. This was manifested in their commitment to ministry. They went out without counting the cost, exemplifying what Harold D. Dieter affirmed forty years ago. "God first! Others, second! Family, last!" Quarrel with the order if you wish, but don't miss the fire which burned, but did not consume. "Did not consume?" Qualify that claim! It burned, purged and consumed the consecrated. Harold Dieter lived here for forty-three years and, consumed by the fire of the holy altar, went to live with the Father. Clarence Wert, fifty-three years in the pilgrimage, is now in the City which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Joseph Artemus Byrd is still a martyr-witness for Christ in this pain-drenched world, living on in the treasures, old and new, which he drew from a storehouse of superlative Scripture exegesis and gave to a generation of preachers.

Like the enthusiastic partisans of the "Hot Stove League" who debate the skills of Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, Joe DiMaggio or Sandy Koufax, the reference to certain persons or types of ministry will evoke debate. Whether Seth Rees or Richard Flexon, Paul Thomas or George B. Kulp, David Wilson or Allie Wilson, William Neff or Charles Stalker are nominated for illustrations of excellence, relative gifts are discussed; partisanships are not proposed.

By any canon of evaluation, it is difficult not to give thanks to God for the consummate preacher, Paul S. Rees. Born in

1900, the son of Seth and his second wife, Paul began his ministry in 1917. In his middle twenties he was an eloquent preacher in the tradition of his father.⁶⁷ Educated at the University of Southern California, he became the most skillful expositor in the Church. His facility with language was incomparable. Using alliteration⁶⁸ with great effectiveness he developed a ministry with wide appeal. Like his sermon "Sellers of Purple" his preaching was an interweaving of the royal fabric of biblical history and theology with the insights of his own age. His work expanded to the other sheep in Christ's fold: The National Holiness Association; minister for twenty years at First Covenant Church, Minneapolis; spiritual mentor to Billy Graham and counselor to pastors in the Graham Crusades; vice-president of World Vision; trustee of Asbury Theological Seminary; gifted contributor to *The Asbury Herald, Christianity Today*; spiritual life speaker at the Keswick Convention and author of *The Adequate Man, Prayer and Life's Highest* and many other books, are some of the high points in his life for Christ. For more than seventy years he has traveled in evangelism, teaching, lecturing. The Pilgrims have reason to be grateful to God for giving the world through them the life and work of Paul Rees. His move from the Church to assume the ministry of the Covenant Church was a sore point for some. His absence could create only regret. He was too much a Christian gentleman to allow small-mindedness to shape events. Paul Rees died in Atlanta in 1991 at 91 years of age.

PILGRIM PERSONALITIES

Like the ancient historian of the faithful in Hebrews 11 who briefly described the "cloud of witnesses," patriarchs and heroes, martyrs and warriors, this essay in the history of a holiness church has described many worthy men and women. Some tower above others because of special gifts and graces which made them public and visible figures. As in Hebrews 11:34, "others" were lesser known, restricted to local churches, quiet saints, lay women and men of integrity in prayer and witness. Time would fail to tell the steadfastness of missionaries Flora Belle Slater or Ruth Bowman, of teachers like H. T. Mills and Joshua Stauffer, of businessmen like Lloyd Gallimore or

John Pizzadilli, of women like Laura Dieter, wife of Harold, who served the college at Allentown for over fifty years, or of Hulda Rees, "pentecostal prophetess" whose death in 1898 was a sore loss to Seth.⁶⁹

Charles and Lettie Cowman joined with Ernest and Hazel Kilbourne, all Pilgrims, to create the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS). Guiding the society for decades they developed a modern missions strategy of great merit. Lettie's sixty years with OMS, as president from 1928-1949, and her devotional works *Streams in the Desert*, *Springs in the Valley*, *Mountain Trailways for Youth*, among others, earned her a distinct place among the great Christian women of her century and of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. She cast "the longest shadow" over the OMS by her consecrated influence.⁷⁰

If another person were interpreting this segment of Pilgrim history, the selection of personalities would differ. The essential story would remain the same. An unusual cadre of men and women marked the life of the Church. Whatever their limitations or eccentricities, their education or lack of it, formal or informal, they carved out a niche in American religious history. Every revival and reform movement attracts and launches unusual types. As Paul Tillich has suggested, an ecstatic out-reaching of the human spirit is the result of the inbreaking of the Divine Spirit.⁷¹ This sometimes results in exotic forms of behavior.

Some persons are unique seemingly by genetic inheritance. God's grace doesn't reconstruct their basic personality. A clown before and after his conversion, Charlie Mowrer, ordained minister from Cincinnati and the Ohio District, possessed a dramatic style which drew crowds to his evangelistic ministry. In one instance at Milford, Delaware, in 1936 he mimicked the demon-possessed man at the tombs by foaming at the mouth. Preaching on the Second Coming at another church, to illustrate the imminence of the day he jumped from a church window not to return until the next service. Mowrer wrote "folk" gospel songs, like "The Little House on Hallelujah Street."

There's a house in "Grumbler's Alley"
Where I lived so many years,
And the walls are swiftly falling to decay

.....
Oh, I'll ne'er forget the day
When I moved from sin away
And obtained a change of address so complete.
From that moment without fail,
I've been getting all my mail
At the little house on "Hallelujah Street."

Herb Mease was another unique preacher, ordained by the Pennsylvania-New Jersey District. When young men at the Bible School owed for the *Advocate*, he publicly prayed that they would pay their debt. In the dining room he first honed, then dulled student appetites when he offered a thirty-minute grace.

When his automobile ran out of gasoline on one trip, he laid hands on it, got back in and drove away. A colporteur who sold books, tracts, the *Advocate* and other literature, Mease did much to spread the word which the Reeses, Knapps, Kulps and Godbeys had written.

In every movement of history there are those whose warm spirits, dynamic expressions and salutary influences are long remembered. William H. Neff, H. J. Olsen, H. D. Dieter, S. M. Stikeleather, L. W. Sturk and many others kept the Church moving forward through good times and bad. These men possessed various gifts and graces, but they all brought spiritual stability to the Church in ways that could be done only by uniquely disciplined leaders.

Such men also were Paul Westphal Thomas, Richard G. Flexon and E. V. Halt. P. W. Thomas was converted in 1912 and worked closely with William Lee in the People's Mission Church of Colorado Springs, Colorado. In 1920 he was elected superintendent of the People's Mission Church and also served as president of the Colorado Springs Bible Training School.

From this position of leadership Thomas was able to lead the People's Mission Church into organic union with the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1926. He served on the general board of education from that date until 1930 when the General Board of the Church was begun. He then served on the General Board for 37 continuous years, longer than any of those who had served 30 years or more until the time of the merger in 1968,

including R. G. Flexon (35 years), E. V. Halt (34 years) and William H. Neff (30 years). The general offices he held, some with other assignments as an assistant general officer, were general secretary (1930-34), general treasurer (1931-33), secretary of foreign missions (1934-46), editor (1946-62) and general superintendent (1962-66).⁷² By all accounts, "a vigorous man in key positions for an extended period of service, he exercised considerable influence on the life and development of the Church."⁷³

R. G. Flexon was a man of intense dedication who was eminently successful in the field of evangelism. He served the Church as a district superintendent for more than 15 years with three terms in the Virginia district (1922-26, 1929-30, 1932-35) and two terms in the Pennsylvania-New Jersey district (1934-37, 1940-44), before being elected first assistant general superintendent in 1938 and continued in that office until 1950.

Flexon, a native of New Jersey, was converted as a boy of seven, licensed to preach at 17 and ordained at 20 years of age. He "lived and labored on the frontiers of the holiness" movement. He was a pastor for 14 years and president of the Beulah Holiness Academy, Shackelfords, Virginia, for nine and one-half years. "He was a forceful speaker and a prolific writer." As a member of the General Board (1930-64) and secretary of foreign missions "he carried a real burden for the foreign work" and filled the position for 12 years (1946-58).⁷⁴ He also served as general superintendent (1958-62), became a leader in the merger movement of several colleges of the Church which did not succeed and finally became president of Central Pilgrim College, Bartlesville, Oklahoma. His long and fruitful ministry both in North America and overseas mission responsibilities is without parallel.

"Few men in the Church filled a more significant and productive post or served in a more unobtrusive manner"⁷⁵ than E. V. Halt. He was a native of Indiana and was called from the field of evangelism in 1931 to help as bookkeeper during the financial crisis of that time. Elected as general treasurer and publishing house manager in 1933 he continued in that office until 1954, at which time he was elected as publishing agent (1954-1966). As a general officer he was a member of the General Board of the Church for 34 years (1933-1966).

Ordained in 1923, Halt served as a pastor of four Indiana churches and as district treasurer for 22 years. He was an active soul-winner as a layman, engaged in city mission work, in evangelism and was a successful businessman. His management of the publishing interests of the Church led to the purchase of the six-story office building in downtown Indianapolis where the Church located its headquarters until the 1968 merger.

IN CONCLUSION

More than seven decades have passed since these first-generation Pilgrims planted the church in America and in missions in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, India and South America. For most of them the pilgrimage is over. They are at Home! Their words echo and their songs ring along the corridors of memories. Laughter mingles with tears. The joy of a father's faith which burst forth in exuberant laughter is renewed in the writer's spirit. The measured cadence of the camp meeting bells summons to morning and evening prayers. Songs of invitation mingle with words of praise. The lightning bolts and torrents of wind have been succeeded by the latter rain and the flowing river of the Spirit. The spiritual phenomena are less dramatic but the Spirit is the same. The festival of Pentecost is forever beginning.

NOTES

¹This name was not assumed until 1922. Hereafter in this chapter it will be called the Pilgrim Holiness Church, the Pilgrims, or simply the "Church."

²Winthrop Hudson, *Religion in America*, 3d ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), pp. 179-80.

³Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford, "Sisterhoods of Service and Reform: Organized Methodist Women in the Late Nineteenth Century. An Essay on the State of the Research," in *Methodist History*, Charles Yrigoyen, Jr., ed. (Madison, N.J.: General Commission on Archives and History of The United Methodist Church, 1985) 24:1, pp. 21-25.

⁴See John Leland Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), pp. 133-80, for the manner in which the doctrine was modified between 1865 and 1900.

⁵Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism*, pp. 147-48. The bishops said that a holiness "party" had arisen "with holiness as a watchword." Deploing the monopolistic claims of this group, the bishops questioned the adequacy of "two steps" theology and warned against schism.

⁶The restrictive tendencies of the R. G. Finch dissent, as well as the unitive interests of the Church in this era show the danger of exclusiveness.

⁷Paul Westphal Thomas and Paul William Thomas, *The Days of Our Pilgrimage: The History of the Pilgrim Holiness Church*; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 2; Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, Jr., eds. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1976).

⁸George Asbury McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 156. "Only the Pentecostals and Holiness people held to this faith [belief in the miraculous and transcendent], and for them it was purely personal; it saved them from a real world that was doomed by its materialism." Richard John Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), p. 216, cites McLoughlin, and refers to the liberal Protestants as "prophets of the Great Accommodation" to contemporary "prestige opinion."

⁹See Luther Lee's sermon, "Women's Right to Preach the Gospel," in *Holiness Tracts Defending the Ministry of Women*, Donald W. Dayton, ed. (New York: Garland Press, 1984), pp. 1-22.

¹⁰Charles J. Fowler, *Back to Pentecost* (Philadelphia: Christian Standard Co., 1900). Fowler, a Methodist Episcopal preacher, was president of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, now the CHA. He reflects the restoration theme.

¹¹We must see the influence of Charles Wesley and John Fletcher behind "Pentecostal" theology. Their reinterpretation of sanctification was shared only minimally by John Wesley. Methodism generally has followed John in emphasizing Christ's work of sanctification.

¹²*Flames of Fire: Sermons by Pilgrim Preachers* (Indianapolis: The General Board of Pilgrim Holiness Church, n.d.). Undated, the book was published at 1609 N. Delaware Street, the publishing interests being located there from 1932-1945.

¹³Executive Secretaries headed several committees in 1930. H. J. Olsen filled this function for foreign missions for one quadrennium, 1930-34.

¹⁴Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 141-42.

¹⁵One preacher, not Finch, spoke of "dying like a yellow dog under the back porch."

¹⁶David Seamands, *Healing for Damaged Emotions* (Wheaton, Ill.: Victor Books, 1981), pp. 79-88.

¹⁷Seth Rees described his fluctuations of spiritual life prior to sanctification: "I had never had a real funeral." He described his death to the old man. "After hours of agony I began to be filled with a sense of sinking, sinking, and it seemed as if I was dying. . . . I 'died hard,' but I 'died sure.' . . . The Holy Ghost came in, cleansed the temple, spread the table, and I took supper with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that very day. He settled all my difficulties, expelled all my doubts, metamorphosed my duties into delights. . . .

"I am deeply regretful that for years after this I sometimes grieved the Spirit by permitting myself to worry. . . . I was betrayed into a rigid, severe life. I was marvelously preserved from sin, but lacked the sweetness . . . and absolute freedom from care that the Holy Ghost wishes to maintain in His wholly sanctified people," *The Ideal Pentecostal Church*, (Cincinnati: Revivalist Press, 1897), pp. 131-33. R. G. Finch's sermon "Subdued or Dead, Which?" in *Flames of Fire*, pp. 72-77, questioned the cooling off, the slump in missionary zeal, the struggle to maintain fervency of spirit. "Why the alarm so many saints feel and burdens of prayer on the real prevailers . . . ?" The answer: "It is all caused by so many now-a-day workers who have *never been crucified - have never died*. . . . A fight is on when the old carnal nature gets . . . pressed to the cross. The first nail driven makes him yell with anger or sob for pity. . . ." Leaders must hold the seeker to the death route, Finch asserted.

¹⁸Luther worried about "spiritualists" like Munzer who claimed a special relationship with the Spirit. According to Luther, Munzer thought he had "swallowed the Holy Ghost, feathers and all."

¹⁹Rees, *Ideal Pentecostal Church*, pp. 40-41.

²⁰Martin Wells Knapp, *Lightning Bolts from Pentecostal Skies* (Cincinnati: The Revivalist, 1898), p. 231.

²¹Bessie Mitchell, *My Testimony*, Etta M. Clough, ed., privately printed, in 1962, p. 20. Despite this affirmation of women in ministry, the male-dominant role existed alongside this recognition of women. The Apostolic Holiness Mission of Denton, Maryland, was incorporated in 1902 as a center of Pentecostal ministry but voting privileges and trusteeship were strictly for men. In June 1986 the Church was still incorporated as Apostolic Holiness Mission, but the article affirming male control was long forgotten.

²²Killian McDonnell, "The Determinative Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," *Theology Today* (July 1982), pp. 142-61.

²³Conversation with J. R. Mitchell, Wilmore, Ky., June 29, 1984.

²⁴"Theological Unitarianisms" *Theology Today* (July, 1983) p. 152. Phineas F. Bresee, founder of the Church of the Nazarene, illustrates the problem. The incarnation, death and resurrection of Jesus "go before and pave the way for the Pentecost. . . . The Evidence, the manifest power of the Resurrection is the baptism with the Holy Ghost." The emphasis moves to personal experience and fails to sustain the firm ground of Christology. See Bresee, *The Certainties of Faith* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1958), pp. 37-38.

²⁵Melvin E. Dieter, "The Development of Nineteenth Century Holiness Theology," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* (Spring 1985), pp. 61-72. Dieter, a ranking scholar of the holiness movement, suggests: "After Pentecost a *theologia crucis* . . . must be balanced by a *theologia spiritus*."

²⁶Cited by Helmut Thielicke, *The Evangelical Faith* III (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 19-20. Thielicke asserts: "Faith has no place of its own on which to alight or to spread itself as experience. It is exclusively characterized by its object [that is, Christ] and not by the one who experiences it," p. 15. Faith is not an adequate affirmation of experience, but rests on Christ as the foundation needed.

²⁷Seth Cook Rees, *Fire from Heaven* (Cincinnati: God's Revivalist Office, 1899), p. 32. "We have preached holiness, and some of us have practiced holiness, . . . but the doctrine of Bible regeneration is sadly neglected, . . ."

²⁸Neff retired in 1966 from the general superintendent's office. He was on the general board from 1936-66. From 1946-55 he was assistant general superintendent, and general superintendent from 1955-66. Neff was one of the finest preachers in the Church, virtually without peer.

²⁹Cited by Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 25.

³⁰Divine healing and the Second Coming received lesser attention, but were high on the Church's agenda.

³¹See Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 358-59, for a list of nine published books by Kulp.

³²In the *Inter-National Holiness Church Paper* (November 3, 1921), p. 6, William Beirnes wrote of a revival at Howard, Pennsylvania, from which a number of young people went to the "new Holiness Bible School at Beulah Park, Allentown." Later part of United Wesleyan, the school began in 1921.

³³Some of these, like John and Bona Fleming, Charlie Mowrer or Jack Donovan, were unusual, even eccentric men, who specialized in the spectacular. Evangelists such as Knapp, Seth Rees, Paul Rees, Kulp, Stalker, David Wilson, Thomas, Flexon, Stark, Neff or Roland Mitchell, represented the epitome of holiness preaching, decisive, persuasive and fair. Sometimes the altar technique was deficient, unfortunately extended and embarrassing to sinners. The often gracious manifestation of the Spirit overshadowed these flaws.

³⁴Etta Gibson was from Tilghmans Island, Md. She married Jacob Hoffman, a Philadelphian of some financial resources. Both were ordained ministers in Maryland. The steamboat from Baltimore voyaged south around Tilghman and up the Choptank River to Denton. In spite of the extended trip of twelve hours, the Pilgrims savored the camp experience like the ancient Hebrews relished the ascent to Jerusalem. See the Delmarva District Historical Committee "The Wesleyan Camp: 85 Years of Campmeetings" (Denton, Md.).

August 1, 1982, for Mrs. Hoffman's letter: "To go to Denton Camp, many years ago, was not the simple journey that it is today. Now in our automobiles, and over hard surface roads, we can cover the distance in a few minutes what use [sic] to be hours. Those who lived inland drove their horse and buggy or filled a cart with straw and each with a satchel or bundle of clothing and a lunch box, filled with fried chicken and other good things, enough to last during their stay at camp, they started out over narrow winding roads, either dusty or muddy, according to the weather, and after a long tedious trip finally reached their destination. Others of us who lived along the river, had to make the journey by steamboat, then running from Baltimore to Denton. As some of us lived at the mouth of the River, we boarded the boat at midnight, stopping at every little wharf, loading and unloading freight and finally landed at Denton, twelve hours later. (By car the distance can now be made in less than an hour.) But who cared how long and tiresome the trip if Denton Camp was at the other end."

³⁵The IHC Paper (October 20, 1921), p. 6.

³⁶Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 53.

³⁷Rees, *The Ideal Pentecostal Church*, pp. 77-81.

³⁸Rees, *Fire from Heaven*, p. 215.

³⁹Knapp, *Lightning Bolts from Pentecostal Skies*, pp. 122-33, especially pp. 125, 128.

⁴⁰The IHC Paper (October 20, 1921), pp. 3-4.

⁴¹Martin Wells Knapp, *Pentecostal Aggressiveness: or why I conducted the meeting of the Chesapeake Holiness Union at Bowens, Maryland* (S.L.: S.N., 189-?), pp. 54-55. See *Pentecostal Letters: Selected from the correspondence of M. W. Knapp* (Cincinnati: Office of God's Revivalist, Mrs. M. W. Knapp, 1902), pp. 128-32, for Knapp's assertion: "I do not counsel people to leave their respective churches and unite with a new denomination, but tell them to keep full of the Holy Ghost . . . and simply go or stay as He may lead."

⁴²The IHC Paper (November 17, 1921), pp. 5-6.

⁴³The Wesleyan Church combines the inerrancy position of fundamentalism with the Methodist concern to sustain Scripture's adequacy for salvation. Both concerns are legitimate but they are logically separate. One position is about salvation, the other, truth.

⁴⁴As late as 1951, no one on the Allentown Bible Institute faculty held an earned doctorate. It is possible that no such degreed person served the school, founded in 1921, before John P. Ragsdale, academic dean (1972-1984) and president of United Wesleyan College from 1984-90, who earned his degree in 1974.

⁴⁵Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square*, p. 216.

⁴⁶By "culture" is meant the entire social order with its structure of values, influences and distinctions.

⁴⁷R. N. Current, et. al., *American History: A Survey*, 5th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1979), p. 666. In many Maryland farm homes light was provided by kerosene lamps. Radios were powered by a wet cell battery which was itself as large as fifteen hand transistors today.

⁴⁸Written by Harriet Buell, this song of the pilgrim was familiar in Allentown Bible Institute days. Edgar J. Haskins, recognizing the presence of a circle of house trailers on campus, often led students in singing: "A tent or a trailer, why should I care?" The hymn is missing from the present Wesleyan hymnal.

⁴⁹This is the thesis of Belden C. Lane, "The Spirituality of the Evangelical Revival," *Theology Today* (July 1986), p. 175.

⁵⁰Knapp, *Lightning Bolts from Pentecostal Skies*, p. 214.

⁵¹See Martin Wells Knapp, *Electric Shocks from Pentecostal Batteries*, No. III (Cincinnati: The Revivalist, 1901), pp. 56-61.

⁵²Rees, *Ideal Pentecostal Church*, pp. 46-50, gives a description of "A Demonstrative Church." A Humboldt, Kansas, tent meeting brought "many opposers to the true Holiness work." Three pastors from "more popular" churches "came to spy but didn't stay to get

under the power," *The IHC Paper* (October 20, 1921), p. 5. Rees wrote: "God has put something in me that demands a conflict. . . . I would have war if I had to provoke it," *Fire from Heaven*, pp. 319-20.

⁵³See Knapp, *Pentecostal Letters*, pp. 65-68. Rees also spoke against "religious popery" in *The Ideal Pentecostal Church*, p. 115.

⁵⁴"As the church has grown wealthy she has always lost her power to convict and convert sinners. . . . It is the general rule that the more expensive the church edifice, the less spirituality in the society; the higher the church steeple, the lower the real piety. . . . We make a great mistake in catering to moneyed men," Rees, *Ideal Pentecostal Church*, p. 27.

⁵⁵The concept of "indifferent things" (*adiaphora*) has a long history. Wesley believed that he should obey the bishops of his church in all indifferent things, obeying God over man in all fundamental questions involving conflict.

⁵⁶To sing in the camp choir at Denton at a certain era, women needed to wear dresses with skirts no more than twelve inches from the floor. A yardstick provided the canonical test.

⁵⁷Rees's *Ideal Pentecostal Church*, p. 27, traces this variation on the Acts 3 story to Thomas Aquinas, thirteenth-century theologian and monk.

⁵⁸Kenneth Cauthen, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 61-83. Fosdick exemplifies a person whose dependence on Scripture was genuine, but who reinterpreted the Bible by modern insights gained from science or philosophy.

⁵⁹This name describes one who rejected the liberal idea of a God whose transcendence is overcome by His activity in the world, the breakdown of the meaning of human sin, the weakening of the atoning work of Jesus and more. The new orthodoxy failed to sustain the full inspiration and authority of the Bible.

⁶⁰*Manual of the Pilgrim Holiness Church*, 1922 (Easton, Maryland: The Easton Publishing Company, n.d.), pp. 39-40; hereafter the *Manuals* are referred to only as *Manual*, followed by the year. *Manual*, 1924, pp. 39-40; *Manual*, 1926, Section 113, p. 51; *Manual*, 1930, Section 74, p. 45.

⁶¹*Manual*, 1942, Section 76, pp. 51-52. *The Discipline of The Wesleyan Church 1988* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Wesleyan Publishing House, 1989), highlights the quest for peace, par. 187.2, p.44.

⁶²Cf., C. W. Kegley and R. W. Bretall, eds., *Reinhold Niebuhr: His Religious, Social, and Political Thought* (New York: Macmillan Co, 1961), pp. 64-71.

⁶³Allegory reads the hidden sense of Scripture which rests below the surface of the plain meaning of the Bible. Historically the Catholic Church used allegory to set forth teaching. Unfortunately, much use of allegory rests on imagination and misuse of the Bible.

⁶⁴The advertisement for *Lightning Bolts* included this: "There has been much Pentecostal light. The time has come for Pentecostal lightning."

⁶⁵Martin Wells Knapp, *Holiness Triumphant, or Pearls from Patmos* (Cincinnati: The Revivalist, 1900).

⁶⁶Rees, *Ideal Pentecostal Church*, p. 54.

⁶⁷The writer's mother heard him preach c. 1925 at Denton Camp. He was a great preacher then, she recalls. Her statistical sample isn't narrow. At Denton since 1916, she has listened to the noble ones for seventy years. As a student at God's Bible School she knew William Neff, Robert Heckart, and H. D. Dukes.

⁶⁸Alliteration means using the same first letter in main points, sub-points, and other points, e.g., 1. Price 2. Purchase 3. Presentation. Grady Castevens followed alliteration more than any Pilgrim preacher the writer has heard.

⁶⁹See his dedication to her in *Flames of Fire*.

⁷⁰Robert D. Wood, *In These Mortal Hands: The Story of the Oriental Missionary Society—The First 40 Years* (Greenwood, Ind.: OMS. International, 1983), pp. 44-45.

⁷¹Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

1963), 3:111-12.

⁷²Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, passim, pp. 332-338.

⁷³Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 277.

⁷⁴Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 227.

⁷⁵Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 136.

CHAPTER 7

WESLEYAN METHODISTS CHART A NEW COURSE, 1935-1968

Virgil A. Mitchell

INTRODUCTION

A new sense of destiny and direction which ultimately spread throughout the Church, gripped the 1935 General Conference gathering. A new day was dawning. A new-style leadership was emerging. A greater vision for evangelism was apparent. The session was termed "one of the shortest and best meetings of this character in our history."¹ Subsequent events verified this appraisal.

The Twenty-Fourth (1935) General Conference was held against the backdrop of the Great Depression and following the death of several leaders of the Church among whom were: Henry A. West, acting president of Marion College; W. LaVay Fancher, dean of Houghton College and the first superintendent of the General Society of Wesleyan Youth; T. P. Baker, home missionary secretary; J. S. Willett, connectional publishing agent and others.²

In spite of the Depression and the death of esteemed leaders, the vision for evangelism and progressive improvement of church organization gained momentum. A Churchwide revival was felt to be of vital importance.

The keynote of the religious services throughout the General Conference session was evangelism. The passion of the leaders of the Church is for a widespread spiritual awakening throughout the conferences, the home mission fields, and the foreign fields. Accordingly, the speakers emphasized the importance and the possibility of a Connection-wide revival and the scriptural methods to be followed in its promotion.³

The revival emphasis was already producing growth and outreach. "It is interesting to note that there was a 12.9 percent gain in membership during the 1931-1935 period, revealing that the more serious depression years marked our period of greatest numerical gains."⁴ This is just the opposite of the trend of the general church community. "The record shows that between 1930 and 1940 the churches gained at only one-half the percentage rate of the previous ten-year period."⁵ This overall growth pattern continued up to the time of merger in 1968, though at a lesser rate.

Only once in its entire history was The Wesleyan Methodist Church required to fill two positions due to death of its officials during a single quadrennium. The 1935 General Conference faced that task by electing Rev. W. L. Thompson to fill the position of home missionary secretary due to the death of Rev. T. P. Baker. It reassigned Rev. F. R. Eddy from the position of Sunday school secretary and editor to the office of publishing agent following the death of Rev. J. S. Willett. Rev. Roy S. Nicholson was moved from the office of general superintendent of the Wesleyan Young People's Society, a part-time position, to Sunday school secretary and editor. The Book Committee (the General Board of Administration) named Rev. William A. Smith president of the General Wesleyan Young People's Society. Rev. I. F. McLeister was re-elected as connectional editor and Rev. E. F. McCarty was continued as foreign missions secretary. These men faced a formidable task, yet with faith in God and the confidence of the people they courageously charted a new course. The 1935-1968 era was a period of growth and has been identified as a "Period of Centralization and Maturity"⁶ and "Reorganization At Last."⁷

NEW LEADERS

Thomas Carlyle, an English historian, believed: "Biography is the only true history"⁸ and Alphonse de Lomartine, a French poet, concurred when he stated: "History is neither more nor less than biography on a large scale."⁹

Walter L. Thompson

It seemed natural for the general conference to elect Walter L. Thompson as home missions secretary to succeed T. P. Baker under whose ministry he had been converted at the age of 17. He plunged into his assigned task with zeal and determination, developing and promoting a strong program of church extension. One of the facets of this program was the Card Call Plan which he devised to assist financially in church planting. Membership in the plan consisted of volunteers who pledged a minimum of one dollar each time a call was issued announcing the beginning of a new church. Five calls were issued per year, thus several churches often were included in one call. This plan had an appeal as a simple and practical way to become involved in beginning new churches. From its inception in 1937 until "the time of the 1968 merger, thirty-one years of Card Call participation had poured approximately \$450,000 into over 300 church extension efforts in virtually all of the annual conferences."¹⁰ It was carried over into merger, updated and the name changed to Church Builders Club. It is continuing to be an effective tool for support of church planting.

Thompson took a keen interest in Hephzibah Children's Home (Orphanage) at Macon, Georgia. The original indebtedness on the home was paid off during the quadrennium.

It was a shock to the Church and a deep disappointment to "this brave warrior . . . that in the midst of his first term of service he was stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage resulting in partial paralysis and was compelled to curtail many of his activities and handle most of his work by correspondence."¹¹ His service in this office was limited to the 1935-1939 quadrennium; yet he left a lasting impact upon the Church.

F. R. Eddy

The call of the Church to F. R. Eddy to be the publishing agent became the call of the Lord to him. At first he could not understand why the Lord would allow the Church to take him from writing expositions on the Scriptures, stressing evangelism in the Sunday school lessons, and proclaiming needed truths in his work as Sunday school secretary and editor. It dawned

upon him, as he related it, "Publishing and the business of the church is the Lord's business and I must make the Lord's business, my business."¹² This he did with enthusiasm and vigor. He could speak and write of the hum of the printing presses, the saving of money on the purchase of paper, the skillful work of devoted employees, and even the inclement weather in Syracuse, with gusto and conviction.

His business acumen, evangelistic fervor, and ability to inspire confidence launched Eddy into a successful ministry of publishing which spanned 24 years—the longest period of any publisher—from 1935 to his retirement in 1959 at the age of 77. Eddy sought to make the publishing association an integral part of the evangelistic program of the Church.

Dr. Eddy's tenure as publishing agent covered a period of many difficulties such as repairing worn out machinery, coping with labor union leaders, maintaining full operations in spite of acute scarcities caused by World War II, a devastating fire on January 15, 1957, which totally destroyed the publishing building, replacing lost stock and damaged equipment caused by the fire, moving the publishing operation to Marion, Indiana, and securing and training new workers and staff.

Syracuse, New York, was noted for its strong labor union influence. Eddy's patience, willingness to cooperate where possible and understanding of labor/management issues earned the goodwill of local labor leaders. This goodwill enabled him to operate without unionizing the plant. He also seemed to have uncanny ability to anticipate what materials would be in short supply during the war years. The presses kept rolling and the literature kept flowing in spite of great odds.

In his last report Mr. Eddy stated characteristically to the 1959 General Conference:

Out of the embers of this holocaust we sought to reclaim something . . . we recovered more than \$200,000 (from insurance) which together with about \$46,000 which we had in our checking account was the basis of our new beginning . . . Equipment has been secured as money was available. Added pieces of machinery are needed for complete operation but we have no equipment debts and have sought to pay all expenses as they are met. We have obtained what we could, substituted where we could, and did without that which we could not afford.¹³

Thirteen years after retirement he wrote:

The two and a half years after the fire took a very heavy toll on my life. I was so very broken when I retired that I could scarcely get home but I have had wonderful Drs. to help and advise me and I have remarkably recovered my health but really 90 years means that I am no longer a young man in any measure. I maintain my own home and teach a S. S. Class of elderly men and that seems a very fruitful place I guess. I have long believed that the average congregation understands sermons far better if they are delivered in the common terms that are in the business of life. . . . I am doing just that. . . . These men are responding and glowing in the victory of life.¹⁴

F. R. Eddy served as general conference president along with his other duties from 1939 to 1947. He was a masterful parliamentarian. He became a role model for several conference presidents. His principles as a presiding officer and church leader were: "I always sought to be both Legal and Fair. Those are very essential in all public work. Not always was I agreed with but I never held any animosity against a man who disagreed with me no matter how he did it."¹⁵

He bubbled over with enthusiasm. He possessed the gift of laughter.

Dr. Eddy was preeminently an evangelist. This fact came through clear and strong, no matter to what office the Church elected him. . . . He insisted, "If the Word of God is expounded in simplicity under the blessing and urge of Spirit-filled men, revivals will follow as day follows night. Oh, I would like to shout that until you could never forget it."

Without question, his ministry to the Church, like that of Eber Teter, his mentor, was given to placing evangelism and reform in proper perspective. The Wesleyan Church is greatly indebted to the grace of God revealed through this good and great man.¹⁶

Roy S. Nicholson

Roy S. Nicholson served The Wesleyan Methodist Church in every general elective office except that of publisher and secretary of world missions. His influence upon and contribution even to those ministries were extraordinarily strong and effective. He is the dominant figure of the fourth and final period — 1935-1968 — of the history of The Wesleyan Methodist

Church,¹⁷ standing alongside Orange Scott, the dominant figure of the first period, Adam Crooks of the second period and Eber Teter of the third period.

In 1934 the Book Committee named him to fill out the unexpired term of general superintendent of the WYPS, a part-time position. This short period of two years was the beginning of his general Church leadership that continued from 1934 to 1959, a period of 25 years. He accomplished such splendid results that each general conference "moved him to a more responsible position until in 1947 he was named general conference president, where he served the next 12 years, until 1959. His work as Sunday school secretary and editor from 1935 to 1939 built thriving Sunday schools and created quality literature. From 1939 to 1943 as secretary of home missions, Nicholson led the denomination in launching churches in growing population centers such as Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Denver, St. Louis and Chicago.¹⁸

In characteristic style for Roy S. Nicholson respecting his service to the Church he stated:

I gave the . . . place I was asked to fill, the best I had—in fact, all I had—so long as I was in that place. And as I look back on what was left undone, in spite of the exertions to get more done, I am embarrassed at my failure to see some opportunities I missed.

The Lord did wonderful things *for* me, considering what He had with which to start. I never felt I deserved the things that came my way. But Mrs. Nicholson and I never asked what we would receive out of any situation, but how could we best serve the Lord in that place. God forgive us for our failures along the way. And to Him be ceaseless praise for whatever there was that brought honor to Him, and advancement to the church.¹⁹

This spirit is the genius of his greatness and the secret of his success.

Mr. Nicholson not only distinguished himself as editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* but also as an author. He wrote *Notes on True Holiness* (also translated and published in Japanese and Korean languages) and *Studies in Church Doctrine*. He authored "The Pastoral Epistles" in *Wesleyan Bible Commentary*; "First Peter" in *Beacon Bible Commentary*; "Holiness and the Human Element" in *Insights Into Holiness* and "The History of Wesleyan Arminianism" in *The Word and*

the Doctrine. As a meticulous historian, in addition to *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, he produced *History of The Wesleyan Methodist Church* (two revised editions).²⁰

WESLEYAN METHODISM FACES THE FUTURE

The initial beginning in 1843 and the early history and circumstances of the development of The Wesleyan Methodist Church thrust the responsibility for “supervision” on the publishing agent, editor, and Book Committee.

The publishing interests of the Church were the first concern which demanded a continuous central supervision, and a Book Committee operating between General Conferences was a necessity. As other continuing interests came to be developed, calling for continual supervision, it was only natural to place them likewise under the care of the Committee which had already been constituted to care for the publishing interest of the Connection.²¹

It should also be noted that the Publishing Association supplies a headquarters for our Connection, provides . . . an official archive, furnishes the salaries of three of our five continuing Connectional Officials, (Publishing Agent, Editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist*, and Sunday School Secretary and Editor) frequently supplying the Church with its General Conference President and the Chairman of the Book Committee.²²

The needs at that time called for a change—a clarion call for the Church to chart a new course. Roy S. Nicholson became the navigator to steer the Church through the turbulent waters of such a venture. It was a case of “the matched man” for the “matched hour of need and opportunity.” Three new officials joined him in denominational leadership: F. R. Birch, J. R. Swauger, and O. G. Wilson. Also, H. K. Sheets, who filled such an important role in the youth movement and other positions in the Church, was named general secretary of youth. Only F. R. Eddy remained in the office he occupied at the time the general conference met. New leadership, new needs and opportunities, and the serious crisis of the war years challenged the Church to go forward. A “veteran churchman declared that the Church began its new century with a ‘spirit of aggressive evangelism.’”²³

The Church began its second century, not only with that

aggressive spirit, but with a more favorable attitude toward general Church central leadership. The 1943 General Conference enlarged the duties of the general conference president, having rejected similar proposals on two previous occasions.²⁴ It added to his two general duties, namely, "serving as the presiding officer for sessions of the General Conference, and rendering decisions on points of law in the interim," the following, he "shall supervise, coordinate, and promote the various branches of the Church's work; and shall render other service which naturally falls to his office or which may be outlined for him by the General Conference or the Book Committee."²⁵ Furthermore that "Centennial General Conference" named a committee of nine to "consider the field, our resources, our approach, and obligation and that they recommend to this body or to other committees already elected by this body steps which will tend to unite our efforts, strengthen our hands, and enable us to launch a more aggressive program as a Church."²⁶ Its initial recommendations and subsequent actions of the general conference made an indelible imprint upon The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

The committee brought in a recommendation for a ten-point program. Nine of the recommendations were of a more immediate nature, yet focusing on implementation of coordinating Church programs and inaugurating an aggressive effort of church extension and evangelism at home and expansion of missionary activity overseas. These remained basic to the growth and reorganization of the Church during the next twenty-five years. However, the tenth point impacted the Church in a greater way. It stated:

We have seriously considered the need for establishing a central supervisory authority to oversee the work of our Church. This question appears to us as a very complicated problem, involving change in the Discipline which we feel would be too comprehensive to settle within the limited time at our disposal. However, we believe that the idea of such a change is worthy of earnest and thoughtful consideration. To this end we recommend that a committee of five be elected by the Book Committee to thoroughly study this matter and prepare a full report for publication in *The Wesleyan Methodist* within one year from adjournment of this session of General Conference.

Their report shall be reviewed by the Book Committee and presented to the next session of the General Conference for final action, after having been published a second time in *The Wesleyan Methodist* within a period of sixty days prior to the meeting of the next General Conference.²⁷

After 100 years, momentum was building for "the type of leadership which the Church founders had so sadly neglected. Their neglect had resulted in a lack of appreciation for coordinated effort and interdependence. A century of costly experience convinced the Church that a more effective type of leadership was not only desirable, but imperative."²⁸

The next twenty-five years were the most eventful in the Church's history. Time has shown the wisdom of the general conference to authorize that study and the keen insight of the Church to approve the plan of coordination at the next general conference. These were anchor points in history that were greatly needed to improve efficiency in operation, to eliminate weaknesses in organizational structure, to correct an imbalance between annual conference and general conference authority, to provide a means for concerted or coordinated ministries by the various departments and agencies of the Church, and to enhance the image of the Church in a demanding society.

The Twenty-Seventh General Conference in 1947 meeting in Houghton, New York, anticipated with considerable interest the report of Roy S. Nicholson who was the chairman and only member of the Committee on Coordination.²⁹ There had been much discussion pro and con by the delegates prior to the general conference. The report had been published in *The Wesleyan Methodist* as directed.³⁰ It called for, among other things, enlarging the duties of the general conference president, making that a full-time office with its own budget appropriation. He was to supervise, coordinate, and promote the various branches of the Church's work, functioning as a general superintendent, under the direction of the Board of Administration; he was to meet with the heads of all departments, institutions and organizations for the purpose of coordinating departmental activities and more efficiently promoting the entire Church program, making such suggestions concerning their work as he felt would increase their efficiency; he was to be the connectional representative to each annual conference in such order as to

insure one visit to each annual conference during the quadrennium and, upon request, preside at any annual conference he would visit. The entire report along with Dr. Nicholson's excellent documented review of the Church's policy and principles of government since its organization and a clearly stated defense of the plan was ordered to be placed in the minutes of the general conference.³¹ The plan was vigorously debated before a "full house" of visitors including delegates to the Wesleyan Young People's Society (WYPS) Convention whose meeting was adjourned for this crucial issue. Many of them felt they had a vital interest in the outcome of the decision. The plan was strongly adopted and by vote made effective at the rise of the general conference.³²

THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH CENTRALIZED LEGISLATIVELY

The announcement of the chairman, "The motion carries," signaled that legislatively the Church had broken out of its isolation imposed upon it by its previous history. "Thus after more than a century of steps by which it had moved from a Connection of societies that leaned toward independence, the denomination had become a Church whose societies were interdependent, and whose local and general programs were to be given general supervision."³³

Complementing this action, the name of the denomination was changed. The Book Committee was enlarged, given additional duties, and the name changed to the Board of Administration. The name of the connectional officials was changed to denominational officials.³⁴

Changing the name to "The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America" brought the Church full circle to the name Orange Scott argued for in 1843. The insistence of Luther Lee that a denomination is a connection of local churches prevailed in the selection of "The Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America" as the original name. "Of America" was added to distinguish the Church from the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England. Historian I. F. McLeister made the observation that the lapse of many years had made it evident that Orange Scott had seen a fundamental feature of the new Church which was lacking. It

was the need for a cohesive and effective organization for leadership. This weakness had been gradually but only partially overcome.

In 1891 the denomination partially overcame the defect in the original name by changing it to "The Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America." The final name change came in 1947 when "Connection (or)" was deleted. Wesleyans then in name became a church, not a connection; a denomination, not a connection of churches; a church, not a parenthesis.

Resistance to the implication inherent in the name change and reorganization of the Church government structure soon surfaced in some areas of the denomination. The "Connectional bent" was ingrained in some and used by others to attempt to dilute the authority of the denomination over the conferences and local churches. Explanatory paragraphs were added to *The Discipline* in 1959, and again in 1963 and in 1966 to define more fully the nature of the Church, thereby clarifying the relationship of the church universal, the denomination and the local congregation.

To legislate an item is one thing but to implement it is indeed another, especially when traditions have been established and when authority has been given to another. But now a big step had been taken. Its full implementation was slower in coming.

Roy S. Nicholson Elected Full-time General Conference President

The Twenty-Seventh General Conference wisely turned to Roy S. Nicholson to be its full-time president to carry forward what it had voted. He tackled his herculean task, as he said, "with fear and trembling."³⁵ There were no precedents to follow, only past practices which in some instances tended to fetter forward progress. There were sincere differences of opinion as to the best method to implement the plan of reorganization and what was best for the Church. There was also suspicion, undue criticism, foot dragging, and strong opposition. Had he not possessed the qualities of a good leader — integrity, a sense of responsibility, courage, vision, an open mind, the gift of communication, commitment to his assignment, patience and

determination to do what he understood his mandate was regardless of what it cost—the plan for reorganization could well have failed.

He gave himself unreservedly to the work. Early in the quadrennium “life seemed to hang in the balances” due to a severe illness.³⁶ Several heavy responsibilities took an unusual amount of time and energy. An office had to be established, living quarters had to be purchased and occupied. He revised the *History of The Wesleyan Methodist Church* edited earlier by I. F. McLeister. He served on a joint hymnal committee in conjunction with the Free Methodist Church when *Hymns of the Living Faith* was published. The commission on Church merger with a like commission of the Free Methodist Church involved a number of meetings and additional time in preparing the report to general conference. Pursuant to the direction of the last general conference there were three meetings of the general officials with the conference presidents held in Marion, Indiana, (1948), Waterloo, Iowa (1949) and Central, South Carolina (1950). Area meetings with conference presidents were established and a meeting in each area was held: Syracuse, New York, in December 1950; Dayton, Ohio, January, 1951; Charlotte, North Carolina, March 1951, and Waterloo, Iowa, April 1951. These latter meetings were for the purpose of discussing strategy for the work and for general conference planning for the next quadrennium. Nicholson reported that as president he had participated in more than 4500 religious services and public or private conferences, more than 100,000 miles traveled, voluminous correspondence averaging 10 letters per day, writing articles for *The Wesleyan Methodist* in practically each issue. He served as the representative to the general assemblies of The Church of the Nazarene and The Pilgrim Holiness Church, the general conference of The Free Methodist Church, the annual convention of the National Holiness Association, the National Association of Evangelicals, and the advisory council of the American Bible Society.³⁷ The rest of his time was taken in efforts to implement reorganization!

He recognized the attitude of the people toward reorganization and the difficulties facing its achievement. He declared:

In church work, as elsewhere, four distinct types of people are encountered . . . They are: (1) *The reactionaries*, who are always

wanting to return to something in the past. Like a pendulum, they would swing from what is to what was. (2) *The conservatives*, who insist that we “maintain” the “status quo,” who seem to think there is nothing better than the present . . . (3) *The radicals*, who go to the other “extreme of individualism” and discard all the achievements of the past and turn the present upside down in order to set up a new system to suit their imagination . . . (4) *The realists*, who with honest hearts and open minds carefully weigh new ideas before adopting, adapting, or rejecting them . . . They show the patience of self-control, the generosity of tolerance, and the steadfastness of faith.³⁸

Nicholson, with the support of most of the general officials, the conference presidents, the ministers and laymen of the Church, pressed forward. He asked that we “not sacrifice the present and the future by dreaming that we can turn events backward.”³⁹ He pleaded for “greater respect for moral and spiritual leaders.”⁴⁰ He urged acceptance of “a new conception of the Church and church membership.”⁴¹ The record would have been much greater had this timely advice been accepted and followed.

The less than full cooperation with “centralized authority” that emerged in the previous quadrennium gathered strength and encompassed other issues during the 1951-1955 quadrennium and beyond. These issues—centralized leadership; the ruling of the general conference president and sustaining by the general conference that wearing the wedding ring was not a test of membership; the policy and practice of the Foreign Missionary Department and activities of the Youth Society—eventuated in serious agitation resulting in the withdrawal of several churches during the 1966-1968 period.

Nothing deterred Nicholson from his abundant labors nor from his leadership role. He reported to the Twenty-Ninth General Conference which met at Fairmount, Indiana, in 1955: “This has been the most strenuous of the five quadrenniums of service devoted to the Church which means more to me than my own life.” He further stated: “The Peace and Prosperity of the Church has been a primary concern during the past four years.” Also, he noted: “There were three things out of the ordinary round of duties which have consumed considerable time and effort: (1) An appeal for a decision on a point of law

concerning the power of an Annual Conference . . . ; (2) An official visitation in two separate stages to our own and other mission fields which required 35 weeks' time and involved approximately 50,000 miles of air travel; and (3) Work on the Joint Commission on Church Merger."⁴² He gave positive leadership favoring merger with other holiness bodies which resulted eventually in merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, the Alliance of Reformed Baptists of Canada, and other groups. Merger attempts with the Free Methodist Church did not succeed. "He helped to chart the Church's pilgrimage into evangelism rather than legalism by his interpretations of Church law."⁴³ His visit to the mission fields, in the opinion of some, did much to create the sense of a worldwide Church, aided in improved efficiency in the overseas work, helped to solve some internal conflicts on the field, and played an important role toward the goal of indigenizing the mission fields.⁴⁴

Roy S. Nicholson expressed his aspirations for the 1955-1959 quadrennium stating:

For some time I have had a conviction that I should like to see this General Conference end with us on our knees about the altar beseeching divine guidance. Only God knows all that is involved. I should like if it be your pleasure to ask as a favor that when we have voted to adjourn we gather at the altar and beseech divine guidance and pledge God and each other that throughout this quadrennium ours shall be a united effort to spread Scriptural Holiness throughout these lands.

He further urged: "May it be our resolve that we shall not only talk revival, think revival, but that we shall within our own hearts have a revival."⁴⁵

1955-1959 QUADRENNIUM: HISTORIC, TRYING

The 1955-1959 quadrennium did not produce revival but God's blessings were evident even though the Church faced great difficulties. It was described as "one of the most Historic and trying Quadrenniums in the history of the Denomination."⁴⁶

Barely three months into the quadrennium—on September 23—Dr. J. R. Swauger, secretary of home missions, died unexpectedly of a heart attack. The board of administration voted on March 14, 1956, to relocate denominational headquarters in

Marion, Indiana, and in the same meeting voted to purchase a seventy-four acre tract. This involved much time and consumed considerable physical energy. It was upsetting to headquarters personnel and the Syracuse, New York, community as may be the case in relocation of business, industry, district headquarters, or even local churches. The building was planned and was virtually ready for occupancy at the close of Nicholson's administration.

A devastating fire wiped out the historic publishing house in Syracuse, New York, on January 15, 1957. This seeming tragic event was a test of the leadership qualities of the general conference president and denominational officials which they passed with "flying colors." The pre-fire decision to relocate and purchase property in Marion proved to be judicious actions.

Further agitation grew out of a ruling made by the general conference president that a resolution respecting television adopted by the Tennessee Conference was "illegal because it contravenes . . . established provisions of *The Discipline*." The 1959 General Conference sustained the ruling by a vote of 132 to 22.⁴⁷

There was reaction by some in the outcome of merger efforts with the Free Methodist Church. Discussions with and the proposal for merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church drew strong responses pro and con. The "voiced" opposition to merger was fear of additional centralization, concern over further compromise as seen in the rulings by the general conference president in 1955 and 1959, and unpleasant relationships between the denominations in a few isolated cases on the local church level. The recommendation on merger failed by the vote of one person to gain the necessary two-thirds majority for adoption.⁴⁸ Frustrating as such a close vote was, it was accepted that our constitution had served its purpose of "protecting the rights of the minorities" as well as protecting the Church from a decision of the general conference by less than a constitutional majority.

There was apprehension over the proposals of a committee which had been directed to prepare a written constitution which was designed to define what items of *The Discipline* were constitutional and what were statutory laws. The

apprehension faded away when merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church was defeated. The Constitution was approved unanimously by the 1959 General Conference (131 to 0) and subsequently by the annual conferences (1,840 to 35) and local churches (11,324 to 251).⁴⁹ Also, a plan for multiple leadership providing for the election of three general superintendents instead of a general conference president was unanimously approved.⁵⁰

The Church was struggling with keeping viable a pension plan for its ministers. This added to the unrest that was prevalent. The Church had made a noble beginning to care for its ministers, but it was not a "funded plan" and therefore created future obligations that could not be met without greatly increased funding. The pension committee recommended the temporary continuation of the plan for two years and approval in principle of the transition to a funded plan, the details of which were to be worked out by the Board of Administration with actuarial advice. Instead, the general conference approved a substitute motion by a vote of 73 to 35: "That the Board of Administration be authorized to set a budget sufficient to continue the plan as now is and further that the Board of Administration be authorized to work out the details of the funded plan for presentation to the next General Conference."⁵¹ Because it was not fully funded it was suspended in 1963 until after merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The preoccupation with the wide variety of issues and coping with the turbulence of the crosscurrents did not prevent growth. During the quadrennium the gain in total membership in the United States and Canada was 3,150, or 8 percent.⁵² There was a gain of 6,304 or 24.3 percent in the mission fields, bringing the Churchwide gain to 9,454 or 14.2 percent.⁵³ Christ verified His Word, "I will build my church" (Matt. 16:18). He accomplishes this even with our many human frailties and spiritual weaknesses.

Prior to the 1959 General Conference session Drs. Nicholson, Eddy, and Birch had announced their retirement from denominational service. The end of an era was approaching. However, Dr. Nicholson came to the close of his denominational service with the burning conviction that "The Wesleyan Methodist Church is needed today!" He then

outlined three areas wherein it is needed:

(1) The definite, scriptural presentation of the doctrine and experience of heart purity; (2) The cultivation of men and women of deep spirituality who conscientiously demonstrate practical godliness—whose ethics are consistent with their religious profession; and (3) The vigorous promotion of New Testament evangelism at home and abroad.

He declared:

If Wesleyan Methodism is to fulfill its mission each member must believe that "it is God's place for him, and that through no other Church can he witness so clearly or serve so effectively." This is not sectarian bigotry. It is that loyalty which one pledged when he united with the Wesleyan Methodist Church.⁵⁴

It is not generally known the role Dr. Nicholson had in introducing the song "How Great Thou Art" to The Wesleyan Methodist Church in particular and to the nations of the world in general.

In the middle 1950s while Mr. Nicholson was on a tour of Mission stations around the world he was attending a Convention of the Evangelical Fellowship of India which was meeting on the station of a Presbyterian Mission at Jahnsi, India. Weary with travel and homesick, Mr. Nicholson entered the chapel on the station for private meditation. The room was filled with the sweet music of a song he had never heard. It thrilled his heart and lifted his spirit. The organist and singer was pastor of the Carey Memorial Baptist Church in Calcutta.

Inasmuch as Mr. Nicholson was responsible for planning for the next General Conference of his denomination, he immediately ordered a supply of this song from the London Publisher. Under the direction of the Rev. Orval Butcher, the General Conference choir made the song one of the all-time favorites, and its fame spread like fire. One of the office staff at Headquarters, then at Syracuse, New York, was sister to Bev Shea an internationally-known gospel singer and son of a Wesleyan minister. He has since made "How Great Thou Art" world famous by his renditions of it in great Crusades in many, many lands.⁵⁵

Dr. Nicholson retired from denominational service in 1959 to enter the classroom at Central Wesleyan College at Central, South Carolina, where he had received his initial college education. He taught and was chairman of the division of religion at Central Wesleyan College from 1959 to 1968, helping to prepare over 100 for the ministry, the number he asked the Lord to

give him at the beginning of his teaching career. The plate on his portrait which hangs in the "Nicholson Room" of Central Wesleyan College Library, is an excellent summary of his work there: "A Master Scholar—A Masterful Teacher."

He played a significant role in the work of the National Association of Evangelicals and especially in the National Holiness Association, now known as Christian Holiness Association. He served several years as secretary of the NHA; was named the Holiness Exponent of the Year in 1972, the highest honor of that organization; and is now an honorary member for life of its board of administration.

Even after his retirement in 1959 from denominational service, he returned to membership on the Board of Administration from 1963 to 1968. During this period he authored most of the disciplinary changes voted by the 1966 General Conference, and served as a member of the joint Commission on Merger which led to the merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and as a member of the Joint Polity Committee which prepared the *Discipline* for the merged Church and planned the merging General Conference. He moved the adjournment sine die of the closing Wesleyan Methodist General Conference in 1968, and on the following day he served as a co-convenor of the first General Conference of The Wesleyan Church. When one adds to these achievements his unmeasurable labors in writing, in speaking in conventions, camp meetings, and revivals, in counseling church leaders, pastors, laymen, and seekers, and his broad service to the National Holiness Association and throughout the holiness movement, it would have to be said without argument that he was the most influential Wesleyan Methodist of them all.⁵⁶

Roy S. Nicholson made an incalculable contribution to the life and ministry of The Wesleyan Methodist Church, seeing it grow during his twelve-year tenure as general conference president from 32,632 total members to 43,537, a gain of 10,905 or 33.2 percent. The Church strengthened its doctrinal integrity, accelerated its stewardship commitment, reformed its government, and increased its world evangelism thrust. He taught that then and now a denomination can continue as a vital spiritual force into its second century when its leaders are courageous in crisis, decisive in judgment, godly in character, indefatigable in labor and strong in faith.

TEAM WORK ESSENTIAL

A good leader inspires good followers and cooperative leaders strengthen good leaders. The Centennial General Conference of 1943 not only elected a committee to study reorganization, it elected and subsequently kept in place a team of leaders to carry out whatever the Church decided. The varsity members of the centennial team of leaders were F. R. Eddy, publishing agent and the only official remaining in his pre-general conference position and Roy S. Nicholson who succeeded I. F. McLeister as general editor. They were joined by freshmen members Oliver G. Wilson, Sunday school secretary and editor, who succeeded Rufus D. Reisdorph; J. Robert Swauger, home missionary secretary, who succeeded Roy S. Nicholson; Frank R. Birch, foreign missionary secretary, who succeeded E. F. McCarty; and Harold K. Sheets, general secretary of Wesleyan Youth, who succeeded C. I. Armstrong.

I. F. McLeister

The extended shadow of the good influence of I. F. McLeister continues upon the Church today. He was greatly missed on the team. It was he in his monumental, *A History of The Wesleyan Methodist Church*, who called to our attention the weaknesses in the Church government that our early leaders established.⁵⁷ He was not only a careful historian, he was a fine presiding officer who served as chairman of the Book Committee from 1935 to 1943.

He was elected in 1920 to fill the first full-time position of Sunday school secretary and editor,⁵⁸ serving until 1927 in this capacity. He became connectional editor in 1927 and served with distinction until his retirement in 1943.⁵⁹ When he became editor, *The Wesleyan Methodist* was being subsidized by approximately \$3,000 per year. When he left office there was no subsidy. *The Wesleyan Young People's Journal* was also produced without being subsidized. An enviable record! He did his work frugally and without assistance of secretarial help.⁶⁰

Dr. McLeister

was the leader in the Church who served as spokesman for the developing Youth Movement. The organization of the Wesleyan Young People's Society and the launching of the *W.Y.P.S. Journal*, as the *Wesleyan Youth* was then called, were due in large measure to his vision and endeavors in behalf of the youth of the Church. . . . During the terms of his official service and after his retirement he was greatly interested in pioneer work, and was one of the co-founders of the Lyncourt (Syracuse, N.Y.) Wesleyan Methodist Church.⁶¹

He was a godly man who labored abundantly for the Church he loved. He died just prior to the convening of the 1963 General Conference. Dr. McLeister's wife, Clara, an ordained minister, was an outstanding president of the General Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society in which she served twenty-four years. She too retired in 1943 and with her husband pioneered the Lyncourt Church until 1950.

E. F. McCarty

Denominational service for E. F. McCarty began in 1919 when he was named by the Book Committee as foreign field secretary. At that time, T. P. Baker served as general missionary secretary with primary duties in the homeland. Four years later two missionary secretaries were elected: Rev. T. P. Baker in charge of home missions and McCarty in charge of foreign missions. He served sacrificially and efficiently until the 1943 General Conference when F. R. Birch, then on duty in Sierra Leone, West Africa, was elected to succeed him. He graciously consented to serve as the acting secretary until 1944 when war conditions would allow Rev. Birch to return home.⁶² He thus rendered twenty-five years of devoted service to the Church.

When he was elected foreign missionary secretary, the department had reported a deficit of about \$8,000; but by careful and frugal management he was able, by the end of the first quadrennium, to report "no liabilities," a term which characterized all his subsequent financial reports; although at one time in the deepest part of the depression his balance was less than five dollars. With as much satisfaction as he reported "no liabilities," he reported

that this had been accomplished with “no retrenchments” on any of the mission fields . . . At the transfer of the books to his successor, he handed him the sum of \$38,000 as the cash on hand for current expenses. And in this twenty-five-year period the assets of the department had shown an increase of approximately \$150,000.⁶³

The balance on hand accumulated in part due to the inability to send out missionaries during the war years. A build-up of personnel was planned as soon as feasible.

Mr. McCarty believed in and practiced giving sacrificially for missions. He likewise exercised very conservative financial policies for himself, the department and for the mission fields.⁶⁴

His wife, the former Susan Casler, was a great supporter of Mr. McCarty in his work. She was editor of the *Wesleyan Missionary* from 1924 to 1936. She died in an automobile accident on September 23, 1936, while she and her husband were engaged in missionary conventions in Michigan, their home conference.⁶⁵ Brother McCarty also served for twenty-eight years as general conference secretary from 1915 to 1943, a record.⁶⁶

In 1941 he married Margaret Randall. Following his tenure of service he and Mrs. McCarty served as missionaries in Sierra Leone, West Africa. He died on February 3, 1962.

F. R. Birch

To the position of foreign missionary secretary F. R. Birch brought the experience of pastor, conference president, and successful service of more than twenty years of missionary labors, of which six were as field superintendent. Elected by the 1943 General Conference he had to wait a year before war conditions were such that safety in travel would permit him to leave Sierra Leone, West Africa, where he was serving as missionary. The work greatly expanded under his leadership. His contribution to missions will likewise be treated elsewhere.

F. R. Birch was a valuable member of the team from 1943 to 1959, the time of his retirement. He could be counted on to support the forward steps the Church was making. He was active in interboard organizations and served as chairman of the

Evangelical Missions Association. Following his retirement the general conference of 1963 presented him with a citation for distinguished service and elected him Missionary Secretary Emeritus.⁶⁷

The name "Birch" became almost synonymous with Wesleyan Missions in Sierra Leone. In addition to the more than twenty years he and his wife, Zola, gave, his daughter Dr. Marilyn, and his son and daughter-in-law, Marion and Marjorie, have given many years of ministry in the work there. Following the death of his wife in 1950, on March 18, 1952, he married Grace Davis who had served as a missionary in Sierra Leone for approximately twenty-five years. (She stood by his side the remaining seven years of his official service and during seven years of retirement.) He died on March 26, 1966.

J. Robert Swauger

J. R. Swauger was active in general conference affairs before he was elected by the 1943 General Conference as home missionary secretary to succeed Roy S. Nicholson. It was A. L. White and J. R. Swauger, president and vice-president respectively, of the Allegheny Conference and D. B. Hampe and Mrs. Oneida Gleason, also members of the Allegheny Conference, who proposed to the 1935 General Conference that the responsibilities of the general conference president be enlarged beyond his duties of presiding over quadrennial general conferences and interpreting the *Discipline*,

. . . to actively oversee Connectional affairs, by visiting Annual Conferences, endeavoring to promote Connectional unity in the doctrines and standards of our *Book of Discipline*, encouraging aggressive spiritual and numerical development and offering counsel and aid where and when practicable and possible. . . . It shall be the duty of the Annual Conference Presidents and their Advisory Boards to cooperate in every possible way with the Connectional plans for unified efforts. . . . The Connectional President shall also oversee and direct the Home Missionary Department, performing the duties formerly in charge of the Home Missionary Secretary . . . ⁶⁸

The general conference rejected the recommendation. However, the authority proposed for the general conference president was in principle similar to what was adopted twelve

years later at the 1947 General Conference.

Mr. Swauger was also on the special committee of the 1943 General Conference that recommended a study of the need for a plan for reorganization. A proposal was made to the 1947 General Conference. His ministerial experiences as pastor, first in the Methodist Church and then in the Allegheny Conference, and his administrative responsibilities as vice president and then president of the Allegheny Conference evidently alerted him to the desirability for improvement in the Church structure. He was an experienced publisher, having established and served as editor of *The American Holiness Journal*, an important monthly publication. He later disposed of his interest in the printing business and established an office in Syracuse for his work as home missionary secretary.

He gave himself to his task with "methodical zeal," giving special attention to the special ministries of the Church such as mountain missions, Indian evangelism and education, Jewish evangelism, Mexican evangelism, and Hephzibah Orphanage (from 1954 the more popular name Hephzibah Children's Home has been used—the name was changed officially in October 1990). He published several booklets describing these ministries.

Four new conferences were established during his twelve years of administration: Florida, Illinois, Nebraska, and Australia, which at that time was assigned to the Home Missions Department.

He enlarged the Card Call operation. His concern for additional support for church planting resulted in establishing the Church Builder's Revolving Fund, later changed to Wesleyan Investment Foundation. This was the last major accomplishment of his administration, coming to fruition at the 1955 General Conference. This investment/loan plan was later developed into the greatest support ministry of church extension the Church has known.

Barely three months after the 1955 General Conference, J. R. Swauger died unexpectedly on September 23 of a heart attack while in California in ministry of the department. "Brother Swauger's term of service was a relatively long and fruitful one. . . . His labors were untiring and out of deep devotion."⁶⁹

The Church is grateful to Mrs. Swauger who, along with the office staff, kept the office work flowing efficiently and made the transition to the newly elected home missionary secretary, Harold K. Sheets, so smoothly.

Oliver G. Wilson

No one could fully anticipate the significance of the contribution Oliver G. Wilson would make to The Wesleyan Methodist Church when he was elected general Sunday school secretary and editor. Succeeding Rufus D. Reisdorph who entered the military chaplaincy, he came to this position in 1943 bringing with him a wealth of background experiences.

Dr. Wilson's editorial work and promotional efforts in the Sunday school from 1943 to 1947 impacted the Church. The enrollment increased 14.5 percent. The use of Sunday school quarterlies increased 17.3 percent, while that of Sunday school take-home literature increased 29.7 percent.⁷⁰ The quality of his writings is doubtless reflected in the increased demand for Sunday school literature over the growth of enrollment.

The 1947 General Conference turned to this experienced writer to be the denominational editor to succeed Dr. Nicholson. Wesleyan Methodists and others sensed that Mr. Wilson had the unique ability to "express his soul" in his editorials. The subscriptions to *The Wesleyan Methodist* increased 51 percent during his twelve-year tenure as editor.⁷¹ The total full membership of the Church in the United States and Canada grew at a 22 percent rate of growth during this same period.⁷²

O. G. Wilson firmly believed that "overflow, not overwork" was the secret of success. He preached an effective sermon on this theme which blessed many, and wrote an editorial about it. A young pastor complained: "I am not a shepherd, I am a slave, a slave to inconsequential details." He responded: "I have a deep persuasion that if that young pastor would overflow more he would not be so sadly overworked."⁷³ This was the secret of O. G. Wilson's life. In his last report to the general conference he stated: "In every dark place the Christ has been light, for every load He has been strength, for every temptation He has been refuge. At all times He has been an intimate companion, a prime counselor, a covering-righteousness for all my failures."⁷⁴

His writings were practical, philosophical, spiritual, and often expressed in refreshing proverb-like style. He wrote: "He who feeds the sparrow will not starve the saint" and "since he is present at the funeral of the sparrow, He will be present at the suffering of His saints."⁷⁵ He detested shallowness. Reacting to the publication of the book, *Why Not Try God*, he stated: "When a soul knows God in the intimacy of personal relationship he does not try Him, he trusts Him. He does not turn to Him as a last resort, he announces Him to be his hiding place."⁷⁶ He wrote, "The true measure of a man is not how much he knows, nor how much he possesses—not what he does, but what he is."⁷⁷ By this standard, O. G. Wilson was a great man. He also declared: "Life is a tragedy when one has plenty to live on, but nothing to live for."⁷⁸ These brief samplings are shared to explain the influence he had upon his reading public and the role he played as a member of the "centennial team of leaders." He filled his role well. Roy S. Nicholson observed:

For almost thirty years we were colleagues in church work . . . As a coworker, he was appreciated and admired. As a brother in the Lord, he was beloved. As a friend, he was trusted. As a counselor, he was dependable. As a Christian, he was exemplary. In any relationship he was loyal.⁷⁹

The impact of his editorials extended far beyond The Wesleyan Methodist Church. Many daily newspapers quoted them and such magazines as *Reader's Digest*, *Think*, *Quote*, *Union Signal*, *Mercury*, *Congressional Record*, and many church papers made use of materials from the pages of the Church periodical.⁸⁰ He was a distinguished and beloved editor. "His editorials and articles attained a rare standard of excellence."⁸¹ In Dr. Wilson the Lord gave the Church "a concise and analytical thinker and teacher of young ministers, a faithful and prophetic pulpit witness, a trenchant yet healing pen, and above all a Christ-like and loving heart."⁸²

He was a strong supporter of a merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, serving on the committee which recommended a merger with this body and was experiencing disappointment that it was not approved by the 1955 General Conference. He did not live to see a merger materialize. He was on the

international headquarters committee and its construction committee. He preferred the name World Headquarters, feeling it more clearly indicated that we were preaching a worldwide gospel, not merely an international gospel. He moved, and the general conference voted, to change the name to "Wesleyan World Headquarters" just two days before his death.⁸³ His great efforts enabled the publisher to accomplish an "almost uninterrupted appearance of *The Wesleyan Methodist*" following the January 15, 1957, fire which destroyed the publishing house.⁸⁴ He was a member of the Evangelical Press Association board for two years.⁸⁵

It was natural that the general conference turned to Dr. Wilson for leadership in 1959 when it decided to go to three general superintendents instead of a general conference president. He was the first to be elected though he was at that time just a few weeks short of his sixty-eighth birthday.

Dr. Wilson was on his way to the Sunday evening service of the general conference to be installed as one of three general superintendents. Soon after arriving from a climb up the hill on Houghton College campus, he was stricken with a massive heart attack and died before the announced time for the service to begin. The general conference was deeply shocked; yet the evening service was held with the special presence of the Lord upon it and the people.

Mrs. Wilson describes her last moments with her husband:

We climbed many a hill together in our forty-two years of joys and sorrows of married life, but none lingers so vividly in my memory as the last hill we climbed together to the tent on the athletic field on Houghton campus that beautiful Sabbath evening of General Conference. We chatted with friends as we climbed. We paused for pictures just before we parted with those familiar words, 'I'll see you after service'—he to the little tent to meet his brethren of the Church and take his place on the platform in the evening service, and I up the long aisle of the big tent to share the company of friends during the service.

In such a few minutes he had traveled on to the hills of glory and to the Saviour whom he loved and served so intensely, and I was left to continue my way up the aisle of life with my dear family and friends—alone, yes, yet not alone, for He who offered eternal life to as many as would receive Him is walking with me, just as He promised.⁸⁶

Memorial services were held both at Houghton and Marion. "Dr. Wilson was one of the bestloved leaders of the Church. . . . He was in heavy demand as a speaker at conventions, camps, and revivals."⁸⁷

The Christian philosophy he proclaimed to others was hammered out on the anvil of his own experiences. It worked for him. His parting testimony was "The blessings of the Lord made the past quadrennium (which was his last) a good one. The riches of His grace, the joy of His presence, the security of His power have brought gladness and a song."⁸⁸ He closed his earthly life with a song. "Dr. Nicholson significantly stated: 'We planned to install him, but God planned to crown him.'"⁸⁹

MULTIPLE LEADERSHIP

The Thirtieth General Conference, meeting in Houghton, New York, on June 24, 1959, marked the close of general denominational service of Drs. Nicholson, Eddy, and Birch by resignation and of Dr. Wilson by death. It also ushered in multiple leadership of three general superintendents instead of a general conference president. In the process of elections it brought six new individuals into leadership positions and shifted two others. Only Robert W. McIntyre remained in his pre-general conference office — general secretary of Wesleyan Youth.⁹⁰

Bernard H. Phaup

As previously noted, O. G. Wilson was elected the first general superintendent but died before he was installed. Bernard H. Phaup was the first of three general superintendents elected who served in that capacity.

B. H. Phaup entered upon his new assignment with efficiency and thoroughness. His first tough assignment was to deliver the message to the Sunday evening general conference just a few minutes following Wilson's death. He did a masterful job with the theme "Going Forward" based upon Acts 1:11. He stressed: (1) Go down in prayer, (2) Go up in experience, (3) Go forth with a witness.⁹¹

The General Board of Administration elected him as chairman in which capacity he served through the closing general

conference in 1968. He was a member of the General Board of Administration from 1955 to 1959 and served on the committee on international headquarters and its construction committee. He represented The Wesleyan Methodist Church to the American Bible Society during his general superintendency in the Church. He guided The Wesleyan Methodist Church through successful mergers with the Alliance of Reformed Baptists of Canada, now the Atlantic District, and the Pilgrim Holiness Church. As chairman of the commission on missions, he devoted a period of seven weeks, from October 12 to November 27, 1962, in visiting six mission fields: West Africa, West and Central India, Australia, Taiwan and Japan.⁹²

He gave leadership in essential decisions that had to be made during the hectic days following the tornado which demolished the new world headquarters building on Palm Sunday, April 11, 1965. He presided over the final session of the 1968 General Conference of The Wesleyan Methodist Church and was elected on the first ballot as the first general superintendent of The Wesleyan Church. He served in that capacity until he resigned in November 1973 and returned to the pastorate in North Carolina, due to the ill health of Mrs. Phaup.

Dr. Phaup impressed those who knew him as a sincere, caring, gracious person. He was a peerless preacher, an excellent administrator and a man of God. His death occurred July 18, 1986.

Harold K. Sheets

Harold K. Sheets came up through the ranks of the Wesleyan Young People's Society (WYPS). His introduction to the general conference was in 1939,⁹³ just five years after he transferred to The Wesleyan Methodist Church from the Brethren in Christ Church, in which he had pastored three years.⁹⁴ He delivered a "stirring message" entitled "Back to Pentecost" in the Saturday evening service which had been placed in charge of WYPS.⁹⁵ He was named vice president of the Miltonvale Area WYPS at that general conference.

The General Board of Administration elected Harold K. Sheets secretary of home missions on November 9, 1955, to fill

the vacancy created by the death of J. R. Swauger on September 23, 1955.⁹⁶ In 1943 he was elected general superintendent of the Wesleyan Young People's Society, later changed to general secretary, serving in that capacity until he was elected home missionary secretary in 1955.⁹⁷

H. K. Sheets was admirably suited for his work in the Department of Home Missions. He made good use of his experience as a conference evangelist, the time devoted to evangelism in connection with his youth ministries, the special evangelistic teams he organized to pioneer new churches, his trained mind and warm heart, and his organizational abilities. The work of the department began a forward thrust in the direction of church extension rather than traditional home missions. Special emphases were given to the work of evangelists and evangelism. The first Churchwide Conference on Evangelism was conducted in Brooksville, Florida, December 30, 1958—January 1, 1959 with 250 delegates attending.⁹⁸ He recommended, and the general conference approved, an enhanced status for evangelists and provided for closer supervision of their labors.⁹⁹

He was chairman of a committee to study the reorganization and realignment of the mission departments of the Church. The committee recommended that there be a Department of World Missions and a Department of Extension and Evangelism. The mountain and special mission works were turned over to the respective conferences. Jewish evangelism, Australia, and American Indian Missions and Brainerd Indian School were assigned to world missions. Hephzibah Children's Home was assigned to the administration department of the Church. This left the church extension and evangelism thrust to the newly named Department of Extension and Evangelism.¹⁰⁰ He likewise reported that the Church Builders' Revolving Fund, recommended by J. R. Swauger and approved and launched by the last general conference, had been funded and was operating with total assets of \$127,913.56. The capital had grown from zero to \$31,319.54 with approximately \$21,000 in annuities. Borrowed funds (deposits from investors) made up the balance of assets.¹⁰¹ The name was changed to Wesleyan Investment Foundation and authorization was granted to charter it in the state of Indiana. The purpose of this new corporation was

to establish and maintain a revolving loan fund to help finance the acquiring, building, or remodeling of Wesleyan Methodist churches and parsonages with the understanding that priority be given to new field projects, to borrow money, to lend money, to accept and hold title to real estate, to accept gifts, grants, annuities, bequests, and devices for the sole purpose of promoting the Gospel of Jesus Christ through the building of Wesleyan Methodist churches and parsonages and to do all things necessary to carry out the foregoing purposes of the corporation.¹⁰²

The growth of the department and the heavy work load warranted the services of an administrative assistant. Virgil A. Mitchell was elected to this position in 1957 by the General Board of Administration. Mitchell's assignment included development and supervision of Church Builder's Revolving Fund, Promotion of Card Call, and other shared administrative and field ministries.¹⁰³ H. K. Sheets spent seven weeks in Australia at midquadrennium. In the opinion of Robert A. Mattke, Sheets's visit and counsel "helped us to get on a more solid footing in planning for the future."¹⁰⁴ The entire department of home missions was put on a solid basis and given a new direction during his one quadrennium of service. The 1959 General Conference elected him as the second of three general superintendents who served in that capacity. He continued in this office until he withheld the use of his name at the 1968 Merging General Conference to enter the teaching field at Marion College. He was succeeded in the department by Virgil A. Mitchell.

Rufus D. Reisdorph

Rufus D. Reisdorph served The Wesleyan Methodist Church in various capacities beginning in 1927 as an evangelist. He chose to enter military service as a chaplain in 1943 and returned to denominational service as Sunday school secretary and editor from 1947 to 1959. He was elected as one of the three general superintendents in 1959 to fill the position to which O. G. Wilson was elected but who died before he was installed. He declined the use of his name as general superintendent in 1963, having devoted twenty years of fruitful labors in the general service of the Church.

Mr. Reisdorph gave vigorous efforts to the work of Sunday schools which produced gratifying results. The enrollment increased from 61,433 in 1938 to 122,700 in 1958, only 166 shy of doubling, of which 51,440 came under Dr. Reisdorph's leadership and 9,827 under the 1943 to 1947 leadership of Dr. O. G. Wilson.¹⁰⁵ He inaugurated the annual Sunday School Rally Day, began an annual Thanksgiving offering the same year which raised over a half million dollars for sixteen agencies of the Church in twenty-eight offerings between 1940 and 1968.¹⁰⁶ The Sunday school curriculum was upgraded; the first churchwide Sunday school convention was conducted at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Two-color printing was introduced for the curriculum on a limited scale, and quarterlies were being imprinted for one other small denomination.

Reisdorph was greatly used in other key assignments. He was on the committee of the general conference in 1943 which recommended the study of reorganization;¹⁰⁷ was a member of the committee on international headquarters;¹⁰⁸ was chairman of the publicity and public relations committee which promoted the Personal Participation Campaign, an effort to reach each member of the Church with a challenge to contribute toward the cost of constructing the new headquarters in Marion, Indiana. Under his leadership all departments, auxiliaries, and Wesleyans throughout the Church responded to the several appeals by contributing \$435,026 by the end of January 1959.¹⁰⁹ He was requested by the secretary of Church Extension and Evangelism in 1959 to author one of five books sponsored by that department promoting "Operation Outreach," the evangelism thrust of the denomination. He contributed "Enriching the Devotional Life."

The Reisdorphs were involved in missionary evangelism at home and overseas. They spent several weeks in 1952-53 in England, France, Sierra Leone, West Africa, the Belgian Congo, Burundi-Ruanda, Kenya Colony, East Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, India, Ceylon, Australia, the Philippines, Formosa, and Japan. In 1957 they also visited Colombia, Jamaica, Haiti, and Puerto Rico, promoting missionary evangelism. Their rich and fruitful ministry brought blessings to many and enlarged the missionary vision and interest of the people in the homeland.¹¹⁰

He delivered the keynote message to the 1963 General

Conference on the theme, "Revival as It Relates to Evangelism," declaring that "to evangelize is to look toward the needs of others; revival is to look toward the needs within."¹¹¹ He surprised the general conference by announcing in his introductory remarks that he was not considering further work in the administrative branch of the general Church. The general conference unanimously adopted two resolutions expressing to General Superintendent Reisdorph its "fervent gratitude for his long years of service and leadership in our denomination" in which, like his collaborators, he had often gone "beyond the call of duty."¹¹² Following his retirement from the general superintendency the Reisdorphs served several years as missionaries in the Philippines.¹¹³

TRANSITION TO CENTRAL MULTIPLE LEADERSHIP

The three general superintendents—Phaup, Sheets, and Reisdorph—completed the last steps of moving the headquarters from Syracuse to Marion, when the publishing association completed its move by October 1, 1959. All other departments completed the move by June 1, 1960. The total cost of the approximately 42,000 square feet of floor space with walls of panel and glass construction was \$600,000 with an indebtedness at the time of completion of \$150,000.¹¹⁴

For the first time in the denomination's history, all departmental offices and activities, then employing about ninety persons, were housed in one building. Now for the first time the headquarters building was owned, managed and financed by the denominational corporation. Prior to this time the Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association owned the only headquarters building the Church had—the building destroyed in the 1957 fire. Now the publishing association's relation changed to that of tenant instead of landlord.¹¹⁵

As authorized by the 1959 General Conference, commissions were established, each chaired by a general superintendent. To these commissions members of the General Board of Administration were assigned. The Commission on Christian Education, chaired by Rufus Reisdorph, was assigned supervisory responsibilities for the Sunday school department, the colleges and academies, the Wesleyan Youth Department,

Servicemen's Department, and the work with seminary students. The Commission on Evangelism, chaired by Harold K. Sheets, was to supervise the Department of Church Extension and Evangelism, Wesleyan Investment Foundation, Wesleyan Publishing Association, Wesley Press, the Servicemen's League, and Wesleyan Men. The Commission on Missions, chaired by B. H. Phaup, had the supervisory responsibilities for World Missions, the Women's Missionary Society, and the Young Missionary Worker's Band.¹¹⁶ The general superintendents organized themselves as a board of general superintendents with Harold K. Sheets, chairman; B. H. Phaup, vice-chairman; Rufus D. Reisdorph, secretary. The board of general superintendents was designated the Administrative Commission with responsibility to oversee the world headquarters building and management, the general treasurer's office, editorial department, personnel policies, press relations, pension plan, Hephzibah Children's Home, military chaplains, and the Church's relationship to the American Bible Society.¹¹⁷

The conferences in the United States and Canada were divided into three administrative zones with each general superintendent responsible for the administrative oversight of the zone assigned to him. This was done "that there might be a direct line of contact from the annual conference to the Administrative Office, and in order to insure clearer understanding and smoother performance of duties."¹¹⁸

The Eastern Zone, to which B. H. Phaup was assigned, consisted of these conferences: Champlain, Rochester, Middle Atlantic States, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, North Georgia, South Georgia, Florida and Alabama. Rufus D. Reisdorph was assigned to the Lake Central Zone consisting of the following conferences: North Michigan, Michigan, Lockport, Ohio, Allegheny, South Ohio, Wisconsin, Canada and Tennessee. The Western Zone was assigned to Harold K. Sheets with the following conferences: Indiana, Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Oregon, Oklahoma, California, Illinois and Kentucky.¹¹⁹

The general superintendents and the general board of administration took action to implement the last phase of reorganization authorized by the 1959 General Conference by electing a general treasurer. This changed the general Church

from a departmental operation to a central administrative operation. Each department executive ceased serving as treasurer of his department. The unblemished record of each executive handling the funds of his department is highly lauded, yet it is readily seen that a central treasurer provides a distinct advantage.

The executive board employed Mr. T. T. Hines on February 6, 1960, to be assistant general treasurer to begin his services on June 1, 1960.¹²⁰ He served as assistant general treasurer until June 1961 at which time he was named general treasurer. He was stricken ill and died December 31, 1961.¹²¹ His term of service was very short but very significant in the period of change to a central treasurer. Harold K. Sheets served as general treasurer following Mr. Hines's death until September 1962. E. Barton Carter, whom the board elected to this position, began his efficient services on this date. He continued in this capacity until the Merging General Conference, making a considerable contribution to the transition of reorganization. He rendered excellent service beyond merger in assisting the general treasurer of The Wesleyan Church to integrate the two bookkeeping systems into one.

The Church is grateful to these general superintendents who implemented these sweeping changes. Multiple leadership required many adjustments but proved to be invaluable in the transition. The consensus of three men provided a better balance in crucial decision-making. It also brought shared responsibilities, thereby relieving one person of having to bear such heavy pressures alone. The collective vision of multiple leaders added an extra dimension to this essential ingredient of leadership. Then, too, it gave the department leaders and constituents greater confidence in the decisions made, thereby making the gigantic changes more readily acceptable.

With deep satisfaction, the general superintendents reported to the 1963 General Conference that reorganization had been accomplished "in an orderly manner with a spirit of Christian cooperation upon the part of all concerned . . . Much credit is due the able and efficient executives who have patiently and carefully worked along with a dedicated Board."¹²²

Rufus D. Reisdorph announced to the 1963 General Conference that he was not considering further work in the

administrative branch of the general Church. Virgil A. Mitchell was elected to succeed him.

Virgil A. Mitchell

In 1957 the General Board of Administration elected Virgil A. Mitchell to serve as the assistant home missionary secretary in 1957, and he served two years in that capacity before being elected to the top post in the renamed department in 1959. He was elected a general superintendent in 1963, continuing in this position for five years until the close of the 1968 General Conference when he was elected as one of the four general superintendents of The Wesleyan Church.

He served four years as vice president and four years as president of the South Carolina Conference Wesleyan Young People's Society and two years on the General WYPS Council representing the Central College area.

Mr. Mitchell, following the shift from a dual emphasis on home missions and church extension in 1959, plunged immediately into a primary emphasis on church extension and evangelism. "A missionary image" had to be created and expanded for church extension. He stressed, "Dollar for dollar, the Church receives its greatest returns from church extension funds"¹²³ and "Church extension is the key to worldwide evangelism."¹²⁴ The quadrennial theme was Operation Outreach, suggested by the tremendous success of Operation Personal Participation in raising funds for the new Wesleyan world headquarters. Six Operation Outreach booklets were published.

He reported to the 1963 General Conference that all home mission projects which were transferred had continued to operate. Contributions of \$330,465 had made possible the launching of eighty new churches, of which forty-four were organized. In addition, twenty-six churches were organized which were pioneer points last quadrennium. The total membership of these new churches was 1,268. However, during the same period nineteen churches and seven pioneer points were discontinued. The Virginia Conference, formerly a part of North Carolina Conference, was organized, the two Georgia Conferences were merged, and the church in Anchorage, Alaska, which was begun in 1957 as an outreach of the

Wisconsin Conference, was recognized as part of that conference. Seminars on church extension and evangelism were conducted in each of the four colleges and at Wesleyan Seminary Foundation by the three general superintendents, Mr. Nate Krupp, and the secretary of the department. The second Churchwide Conference on Evangelism was held at Indianapolis. A substantial increase in funds was granted and greater effort made for Negro evangelism. The secretary also sought to aid the Church's evangelists and local church revival efforts by refining requirements for appointment of general evangelists, attempting to secure better financial support for evangelists, preparing promotional materials for use by local churches in their special meetings, and offering service to the evangelists in filling and organizing their schedules. He called for better quality work by the evangelists and warned the Church not to take an unwholesome attitude toward all evangelists because of an unbalanced message and unwise actions of some evangelists. To do so would jeopardize the Church's evangelistic program.¹²⁵ The increased church planting consciousness generated and the larger missionary vision produced, indicate the wisdom of the decision to reorganize the missions departments.

As secretary of Wesleyan Investment Foundation, he reported that the foundation was growing in strength, improving in operation, and increasing in effectiveness. At the time of compiling the report for the quadrennium, the operational level of the foundation stood at \$435,071, not far from the half-million dollar goal set for the period. No funds were withdrawn because of dissatisfaction or lack of confidence in the operation. He concluded his report by stating: "The satisfaction of its accomplishments, the service of its program, the stability of its structure, and the soundness of its operation assure Wesleyan Investment Foundation of a vital role in the outreach of the Church."¹²⁶

C. Wesley Lovin was elected to succeed Mr. Mitchell in 1963 and Virgil A. Mitchell was elected to succeed Rufus Reisdorph as general superintendent in 1963. Mitchell became secretary of the board of general superintendents, was assigned supervisory responsibilities over the Department of Church Extension and Evangelism, and was named superintendent over

the Lake Central Zone. Phaup and Sheets exchanged Eastern and Western Zones respectively; Phaup remained over the Commission on Missions and Sheets was placed over the Commission on Christian Education.¹²⁷

A TURBULENT PERIOD: 1963-1966

The anticipated quadrennium turned out to be a triennium. It was generally and specifically a turbulent period. Insofar as is known, no denomination had ever had its headquarters building destroyed by a terrible fire and then in eight years and three months had its headquarters building demolished by a vicious tornado as did The Wesleyan Methodist Church. Only those who have gone through similar experiences can fully know the emotional trauma, the physical strain, and the spiritual drain such imposes. Through it all, God preserved lives, gave strength and wisdom to carry on with virtually no interruption of the flow of literature and other vital headquarters services. The general superintendents, general officials, and devoted employees were shocked and saddened at what happened but soon found cause to be thankful. It was Palm Sunday evening, April 11, 1965, when the tornado struck, and no one was in the building. Had it struck during the working hours physical injury and loss of life would have compounded the tragedy. No vital records were lost. The leaders did not dwell long on the question, Why? They asked, What now? People responded with encouraging words and love offerings, including several from overseas churches. A pastor from India wrote, "The Lord knew the Wesleyans could stand the test."¹²⁸ Stand the test, they did. One leader asked, "What do we have left?" A loyal employee responded, "We still have God!"¹²⁹

Once again the leaders in time of crisis and great loss rose to the occasion and supported by the prayers and help of the people within and outside the denomination, and sustained by divine strength and grace, continued their work under unbelievably severe handicaps. The offices were relocated throughout the city of Marion, wherever space was available. The printing was divided for a time among the various publishing houses of other holiness denominations and commercial firms. Beacon Hill Press of the Church of the Nazarene, Light and Life Press of

the Free Methodist Church, the Church of God (Anderson) Publishing House, and the Pilgrim Holiness Publishing House were especially helpful with their consideration and efficient assistance.¹³⁰ Once again the Lord proved the all-sufficiency of His grace in a crisis. The leaders and their employees went far beyond the normal call of duty to keep the work going forward.¹³¹

The leaders in 1965 had the example, inspiration, motivation, and understanding of the heroic efforts of those leaders in 1957 who experienced the horrors of the fire at Syracuse. They taught that the headquarters is the servant of the Church, not the Church itself. Its leaders must lead and they do this best by serving. Wesleyan Methodists believed the Church was better able to serve and minister after facing such bitter experiences. Doubtless, a greater dependency on God and a deepening of the Christian character of the leaders and others resulted. This seems to be the answer to the What now? question. It was a hard lesson that should never be forgotten.

The destruction caused by the storm posed some weighty questions to the Church's leaders. Should the building be rebuilt before the issue of merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church was settled by the next general conference scheduled for June 1967? Even if the building was to be reconstructed, should the publishing enterprise invest large sums to replace the damaged equipment and stock which had been destroyed? Or should it seek to contract all future printing or seek a pooling of publishing work by the various holiness bodies?

A special meeting of the Board of Administration was called to answer those questions. It was decided that the merger issue should be determined as soon as possible. The Board of Administration authorized the convening of a special session of the general conference to meet in Houghton, New York, in June 1966 the same week as the regular schedule of the general conference of the Pilgrim Holiness Church to be held at Winona Lake, Indiana. It was decided further that to wait longer to rebuild the headquarters would result in intolerable losses. The board voted to rebuild and elected a building committee consisting of General Superintendent Mitchell as chairman, Alton E. Liddick, Donald C. Fisher, David A. Rees and George Walquist.¹³² The committee gave valuable service to the

reconstruction program. The chairman of the committee canceled many of his field schedules which were assumed by the other superintendents or general officers in order that he could be at the building site almost every working day to assist in the day-by-day decisions necessitated by the method of reconstruction. Donald C. Fisher and Alton E. Liddick, members of the committee living in Marion, worked closely with him in these decisions. He carried on his office duties in the evenings in his temporary office established in his home.

Reconstruction was begun on October 4, 1965, and was sufficiently completed for the west wing of the building to be occupied by publishing personnel and the editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* during the week of January 17-21, 1966, nine months after the storm and only three months after reconstruction was begun. The east wing was occupied by the general superintendents and departmental executives during the latter part of April and the early part of May, one year after the storm and seven months after reconstruction was begun. The construction was done by an experienced Wesleyan contractor, Lawrence Olsen of South Dayton, New York.

The full story of the devastation of the Wesleyan world headquarters building and its subsequent reconstruction can never be fully told on life's side of eternity. The miraculous is interwoven through it all. The building was enlarged by an addition of twenty feet by seventy feet to the north end of the west wing, the parking lot was enlarged and black-topped, insulation of the roof of the building was doubled, and the type of construction changed from a steel panel-and-glass outer wall to a brick-and-block construction. Yet the excess of cost over insurance claims received and income from salvaged materials sold was only \$78,909.88. The net contribution received from a Wesleyan Men's offering of \$25,718.88 along with \$15,722.76 from various other sources left only \$37,468 more than the indebtedness at the time of the storm.¹³³

The Board of Administration also decided to employ Edward Casey of the New York Fire Adjusting Corporation to represent the Church in the insurance claims negotiations, thereby saving the Church many thousands of dollars at a cost of only \$12,625.94. His efficient professional services relieved the officials of the Church from being further loaded down with

additional duties beyond their normal scope of responsibilities.¹³⁴

The Board of Administration instructed the general manager of the publishing association to keep purchases to a minimum with a view to possible merger. In view of the prohibitive cost of contracting printing and the problem of restlessness of employees who felt their future was uncertain, it became imperative that in-house production should begin as soon as possible.

The new building and its equipment served The Wesleyan Methodist Church well, subsequently becoming the headquarters building for The Wesleyan Church.

The responsibilities of the triennium were increased by merger negotiations with the Alliance of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada and the Pilgrim Holiness Church, planning for the general conference one year earlier than expected, and time and effort devoted to seeking a proper solution to the sharp differences between certain conferences and the denomination. However, there was a gain of 2,164 in total membership.¹³⁵

Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights movement under Martin Luther King, Jr., was at its height during the 1963 quadrennium. The Wesleyan Church had taken a strong pro-civil rights position throughout its history. Worship and membership had always been open to all races, yet by general practice only a few churches achieved racial integration. Culture difference, style of worship preferences, social compatibility, and in some cases, racial prejudice on the part of various ethnic groups resulted in each forming and maintaining its own church. The South Ohio Conference, composed predominantly of black members, voted on different occasions its preference of continuing its own conference structure and boundary lines rather than integrating with other conferences.

For the most part the Church took a "wait and see" stance toward the civil rights revolution. Total support for all that was occurring in the civil rights movement could not be fully endorsed yet, but no aggressive concerted effort was made to speed up racial integration in the local churches.

The racial controversy of the 1950s and 1960s did not cause widespread disturbance in The Wesleyan Church as faced

by many denominations, especially in the South. Segregation of races by law in schools and public facilities denied blacks and other minorities their civil rights. Peaceful demonstrations and deliberate confrontations were used to call attention to their plight. Churches were not segregated by law but some civil rights activists entered churches seeking confrontation and hoping to be arrested for "disturbing religious services." An unfortunate incident of this nature occurred at the Wesleyan Methodist church in Talladega, Alabama, in 1962. The matter was handled carefully by the pastor and membership. After the initial negative publicity subsided, there were no further incidents or continued agitation.¹³⁶

Central Wesleyan College maintained its policy of admitting all bona fide applicants regardless of race. No black students enrolled prior to the mid-1960s. At this time a more aggressive effort was made to recruit qualified black students. In 1967 John Wesley Taylor from Sierra Leone, West Africa, was the first to register. In 1970 Sylvester Jenkins and David Reeder from nearby Pendleton, South Carolina, were the first dormitory residents to enroll. The integration of the college was both satisfactory and successful. The ratio of black to white students exceeds that of nearby state universities and many other church-related schools.

1959 LEADERSHIP CHANGES IN GENERAL DEPARTMENTS

The 1959 General Conference adopted a new plan in the election procedures for certain denominational officials. The general superintendents and the editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* were to be elected by the general conference. All other officials were to be elected by the board of administration.¹³⁷ Four years later the plan was altered to have the General Board nominate and the general conference elect the latter mentioned officials.¹³⁸

The publishing, editing, Sunday school and two missions departments underwent leadership changes in 1959. George E. Failing was elected editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* to succeed O. G. Wilson. E. L. Kierstead succeeded F. R. Eddy as publishing agent. Paul L. Kindschi succeeded Rufus D.

Reisdorph as Sunday school secretary and editor. Alton E. Liddick became secretary of the Department of World Missions succeeding F. R. Birch. Virgil A. Mitchell followed Harold K. Sheets in the office of secretary of Church Extension and Evangelism.

George E. Failing

George E. Failing was elected assistant to the editor of Sunday school literature on November 9, 1955, assuming the position early in 1956. From this post he was elected editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist* in 1959 to succeed O. G. Wilson¹³⁹ and continued to serve until 1968.

He correctly interpreted his task stating: "An editor's work, as I understand it, is to interpret and promote the work of his Church. He must seek to conscientiously proclaim the doctrines and follow the disciplines of the Church. . . . He must seek to please God in all things."¹⁴⁰ This concept became his "polar point of reference." He sought to do "responsible reporting" endeavoring "to promote the interests of the Church and at the same time to elevate its spiritual life and its contemporary usefulness."¹⁴¹ He believed "a denominational publication stands where three ways meet: where the church meets the world; where the world meets the church; where the church meets the church." Through the publication he sought to have the Church meet the world with an aggressive evangelistic and missionary message. At the point where the world met the Church he spoke out on moral, social, and ethical evils and called for "high ground" in Christian conduct rather than "low worldliness." Where the Church met the Church, he "thought it not fair to ignore the various tensions within the Church."¹⁴²

It is next to impossible to totally satisfy the reading public. The new style adopted led to fewer pictures and less church news. Some Wesleyan readers believed there was need for an improved balance between featured articles and reporting church news, feeling such would make a good paper even better. The editor held rather steadfastly to his course and saw the subscriptions reach an all-time high under his editorship and then "remain fairly constant around the 18,000 mark"¹⁴³ "the equivalent of one subscription for every two members."¹⁴⁴ An

increased number of subscriptions from non-Wesleyans indicated acceptance of *The Wesleyan Methodist* in the evangelical community.¹⁴⁵ Mr. Failing served a two-year term as president of the Evangelical Press Association. One of his editorials planted the seed which gave rise to the establishing of the Wesleyan Gospel Corps which provided both youth and adults an opportunity for short- and long-term opportunities for missionary services at home and abroad.¹⁴⁶ He was active in the youth movement, having served on the General WYPS Council as a representative of the Marion area from 1943 to 1945 and as the Board of Administration representative from 1959 to 1963.¹⁴⁷

George Failing had let it be known that he would not be available for denominational leadership in the merged Church. He had chosen once again to be involved in Christian higher education, accepting the position as chancellor of the experimental new Satellite Christian Institute in San Diego, California.

The acceptance of Mr. Failing's editorship was such that he was called upon to fill this position again from 1973-1984.

E. L. Kierstead

It is doubtful that any of our publishers was ever given as difficult a task as was Eugene L. Kierstead when he was elected to succeed F. R. Eddy as business manager of the Wesleyan Publishing Association in 1959. The business had barely recovered from the fire in Syracuse and its relocating in temporary quarters in Marion two years previously. Stocks were virtually depleted and only a minimum of equipment had been purchased. It fell the lot of Mr. Kierstead to move into the new headquarters building, set up a new operation, and purchase stock and machinery costing thousands of dollars. He was able to report in 1963 that the total assets had been increased from \$294,847 to \$459,738 or \$164,891 over the comparable figures eight years previously—two years before the fire—yet the unrestricted equity had been reduced by only \$7,335 from \$268,630 to \$261,295. The quadrennium ended with an indebtedness of \$70,000. There was also a business loss of \$16,478. This was accounted for by increased cost of operation, the paying of rent as a tenant instead of receiving rent income as a landlord, the employment of two additional management personnel due to

the increased operation—a business office manager and a marketing manager—and encountering a new method of treating the unearned periodical subscription income as a liability to the subscribers. This latter item alone amounted to \$55,000.¹⁴⁸

The quantity and quality of the literature showed a decided improvement. Beginnings had been made both in offset and color printing. There was an increase of over 11,000 quarterlies and leaflets provided to the Wesleyan Methodists, and four denominations were buying 74,620 imprinted quarterlies and leaflets in bulk shipments each quarter.¹⁴⁹ The publishing operation was back to normal and improving.

The destructive tornado on April 11, 1965, brought many changes. The general manager of Wesleyan Publishing Association reported to the 1966 General Conference: "This (tornado) could have been disastrous but God gave special help and out of the ruins of the tornado has emerged a publishing business that is stronger and better than before the storm."¹⁵⁰ The \$70,000 indebtedness had been reduced to \$43,500 and the net operating gain had been changed from a loss of \$16,472 to a gain of \$8,117 for the triennium. The unrestricted equity had gone from \$261,295 from the previous quadrennium to \$347,913, an all-time high.¹⁵¹

This good report was due in part to the excellent insurance settlement of \$233,324, or 82 percent of the face value of the policy on the machinery and contents of Wesleyan Publishing Association.¹⁵² Furthermore, there had been encouraging gains in the sale of books, merchandise, and Sunday school literature. The cooperative publishing venture of supplying imprint literature in whole or part to eight other denominations was mutually beneficial to all.¹⁵³

The 1966-1968 period saw continued growth in every phase of the business and especially in Sunday school literature. The gross income in the final full year reached an all-time high of \$701,394. All indebtedness was paid off and monthly sums were being set aside for purchasing new machinery following merger.

Mr. Kierstead was a member of the General Board of Administration from 1951 to 1959. Elected a member of the international headquarters committee he served as chairman of

the construction committee where he rendered valuable service in the construction of the first headquarters building in Marion. He served the publishing enterprise faithfully for nine difficult years from 1959 to merger in 1968. He continued to serve the Lord and the Church by entering the pastorate in the Indiana Central District.

Paul L. Kindschi

Paul L. Kindschi was elected executive Secretary of the Department of Sunday Schools in 1959 to succeed Rufus D. Reisdorph and served through 1968 and on into the merged Church. From 1954 to 1960 he served as executive director of the National Holiness Association, from which position the Church called him to head the Department of Sunday Schools. While serving in the Department of Sunday Schools, he also served as vice president of NHA with chief responsibilities in the annual convention management and then as its president.

Under Mr. Kindschi's leadership more innovations were introduced, more pieces of literature produced, and a greater sales volume reached than in the Church's history. He transformed the Department of Sunday Schools into a Department of Christian Education as closely as the organizational structure would allow—in almost every way except for aspects assigned to the Wesleyan Youth Department. Although the proposal was made the Church was not willing to fold the youth department into a Christian Education Department, feeling that the Christian ministry of the strong youth organization would be lost. He worked hard to persuade the polity committee to recommend a Christian Education Department for the merged Church and was disappointed that it was not accomplished.¹⁵⁴ During his nine years of leadership he stressed increase in Sunday school enrollment; increase in promotional methods and materials; expansion and increase in curriculum materials; emphasis on junior youth; and leadership training.¹⁵⁵

He and his staff attempted to reach the people on the local Sunday school level as nearly as possible. SHARE Sunday School conventions were developed and taken to the annual conferences. These were also taken to the overseas mission fields.¹⁵⁶ He stressed the pyramid theory of building and

maintaining Sunday school growth which was to increase the base of enrollment to achieve greater height in attendance. This enabled The Wesleyan Methodist Church to achieve modest gains in attendance at a time when most churches were registering losses.

The curriculum was expanded from eight one-color quarterlies plus lesson leaflets to eleven, all with two-color covers, two of which were two colors throughout. *The High School Signal*, a take-home paper, was added. He provided leadership in the cooperative Aldersgate literature venture. The annual sales of quarterlies tripled and the take-home papers increased fivefold. The improved quality and the development of new curriculum, geared to junior and senior youth, generated increased use by the regular users and attracted "back to the fold" some of the people who had turned to other sources for curriculum materials.¹⁵⁷

The Free Methodist Church from 1939 had developed a program called Christian Youth Crusaders (CYC), which ministered to the whole child—religiously, socially, educationally, and physically. This program was officially adopted by The Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1961 and adapted to the ministry of local Wesleyan churches.¹⁵⁸ Prior to this program, the Church was effectively challenging its children in a missionary emphasis through the Young Missionary Worker's Band. The WYPS was ministering to the young adult group. The CYC filled a vital gap in ministering to the junior youth. Leadership training was also greatly strengthened. Materials provided by the Evangelical Teacher Training Association were adopted. The Wesleyan Methodist Church was the first denomination to adopt ETTA materials and the only one allowed editorial privileges. Kindschi was able to report, "The use of it throughout the Church has been most heartening."¹⁵⁹

Alton E. Liddick

Alton E. Liddick served two years on the staff at Houghton College and from 1954 to 1959 was assistant foreign missionary secretary.¹⁶⁰ From 1959 to 1968 he was the executive secretary of World Missions, rendering outstanding services both to the Church at home and overseas. He was often referred to as a

"missionary statesman." His churchmanship helped to avoid undue unrest among loyal missions supporters at home and worthy missionaries overseas during the turbulent period of 1963 to 1968. He stated: "The overall picture (financial) is good and 1967 proved to be the best year on record, despite loss of some supporting churches. When the support of some of our most worthy missionaries was cut off, other churches doubled their giving and no loss was felt. No missionary suffered loss of support."¹⁶¹

The accomplishments of his administration were outstanding¹⁶² and deserve to be remembered with gratitude. In 1968 Mr. Liddick expressed a desire not to continue in denominational leadership, and retired to his home in Florida. He died May 1, 1984.

All those departmental officers elected to leadership positions in 1959 continued in that capacity through 1968 except Virgil A. Mitchell who was executive secretary of Church Extension and Evangelism. He was elected a general superintendent in 1963, whereupon C. Wesley Lovin was named executive secretary of Church Extension and Evangelism.

C. Wesley Lovin

C. Wesley Lovin served from 1963 to 1968 and on into the merged Church as secretary of the Department of Church Extension and Evangelism, giving aggressive leadership. His evangelistic and camp meeting ministries became widely known throughout the Church. Following the purpose of the reorganization of the missions departments, he stated: "This two-pronged emphasis [evangelism and establishing new churches] . . . basically has been the thrust of this department."¹⁶³ He reported that the first three years of his leadership, \$273,125 was contributed from various sources for the ministry of the department.¹⁶⁴ He noted that the WMS had contributed funds to assist in establishing works in Hartford, Connecticut, and Buffalo, New York, funds were on hand for beginning a church in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the YMWB had assisted several projects.¹⁶⁵ There was a gain of twenty-five in organized churches during his administration exclusive of the loss of 154 churches by withdrawal in 1966 to 1968 and the

addition of 60 by the merger of the Alliance of Reformed Baptists of Canada.¹⁶⁶ Every mission conference except one was cooperative with and responded to his leadership.

The tensions which finally led to the withdrawal of part of the Tennessee Mission Conference were already evident in its unwillingness to cooperate with and respond to the leadership of the Department of Church Extension and Evangelism, of which it was a part. Thus Mr. Lovin wrote, "We did our best to assist in the mission conference of Tennessee, but we were denied permission to carry out the instructions given by the Board of Administration. This we regret."¹⁶⁷ He sought to "inspire and promote every phase of evangelism: personal contacts and personal witnessing, revival services and weekend services, Bible study and most of all prayer."¹⁶⁸

It fell Mr. Lovin's lot, along with the area general superintendent, to be deeply involved in dealing with the dissident Tennessee Mission Conference. Secretary Lovin was named the president of this reorganized conference from 1966 to 1968. Also, from 1965 to 1967 he was president of the Oregon Conference due to some dissatisfaction with local leadership.

Wesleyan Investment Foundation grew under his leadership from approximately \$500,000 to over \$1,500,000 of which \$150,000 consisted of a loan from a bank in the form of a line of credit.¹⁶⁹ The people responded to "investment stewardship" as well as "contributing stewardship."

Mr. Lovin had a strong sense of humor and often "livened up" a business meeting or conversation with an interesting story, pun or joke. In his final report to The Wesleyan Methodist Church, he prayed the following prayer and then helped to answer that prayer as he continued to serve as general secretary of Extension and Evangelism in the merged Church.

it is my prayer, my earnest prayer, that in the merged church we shall see a greater interest in extension, a deeper concern for evangelism, and a realistic approach to the matter of growth and the establishing of new churches; that together we may see the extension of the kingdom of God, and the salvation of souls.¹⁷⁰

DISSENSION WITHIN THE RANKS

Centralized Leadership

Some chapters in the life of the Church or denomination are noble, some are ignoble; some contribute to success, some contribute to defeat. The Church, at times, becomes its own worst enemy. From its very beginning there were sharp differences over Church government as represented in the viewpoints of Luther Lee, Orange Scott and Edward Smith.¹⁷¹

The Church, after one hundred years, had only partially corrected the weaknesses of Church government passed on by the organizing convention and early general conferences. Attempts were made and promptly rejected in 1931 and 1935 to give the general conference president more supervisory responsibilities and greater authority in coordinating the total work of the Church. But the Centennial General Conference in 1943 reflected a changed attitude. It enacted two items of legislation that proved to be far-reaching, one of which was adding to the present duties of the general conference president as has been noted.¹⁷² However, general conference leadership was given to one who was already devoting full-time as publishing agent. The other far-reaching item authorized the Book Committee to appoint a committee to study a central supervisory authority and report to the next general conference.¹⁷³ The adoption of the recommendations of that study by the ensuing 1947 General Conference brought about the greatest changes ever effected at one time in the history of the Church.¹⁷⁴ It further elected its first full-time general conference president, Roy S. Nicholson, to lead the Church in the implementation of the plan adopted, which has been discussed in connection with his abundant and successful service to the denomination.

There were also strong differences from the beginning over how to apply the Scriptures to worldly practices, such as membership in oath-bound organizations as represented by opposing views of Scott, Lee, Sunderland, and Horton to those of Smith, Sullivan, and others.¹⁷⁵ The Church from its beginning and throughout its history strongly condemned worldly conduct and practices. Yet there was always tension over the best method of applying the Church's witness against worldliness and

differences over what should be requirements for membership and what should be admonitory advices. The period from 1935 to 1968 was characterized by the same issues prevalent at the beginning of the Church, though in modified forms.

Many felt keenly that worldliness was increasing in the Church respecting matters of dress such as the wearing of jewelry, including the wedding ring and forms of entertainment and recreation. These were personal convictions but were so strong that some sought to give them churchwide application. Every general conference from 1935 through 1966, except 1939, dealt with memorials and/or rulings in which it was sought to make the nonwearing of rings, including the wedding ring, a condition of church membership. Also efforts were made to amend the *Discipline* by prohibiting owning or viewing television and by requiring a stricter dress code for women.¹⁷⁶ Failing to achieve these objectives on the general conference level, some conferences enacted standing rules relating to them in which these provisions were included as admonitory advices. Two conferences, Ohio and Tennessee, enacted standing rules which made these provisions requirements and in effect amended the *Discipline* in those conferences, circumventing due process in changing the constitutional law of the Church. These standing rules were appealed to the general conference president who ruled that they contravened the constitutional rights of the members of the annual conferences and the local churches. The 1955 General Conference upheld his rulings.¹⁷⁷ The Ohio Conference accepted the ruling, adjusted its standing rule, and the leadership and a strong majority continued to be loyal to the denomination.¹⁷⁸ A small minority in the Tennessee Conference were in harmony with the ruling and continued to be loyal to the Church, but the leaders and a majority of the churches and members eventually withdrew.¹⁷⁹

The Church chose to continue its conservative position on these issues while remaining more flexible, more tolerant, and more open to private interpretation. It rejected the efforts toward a more rigid approach to these issues which was prone to dictate and demand uniformity. It was evident that a conflict of philosophy had developed between the Church and a small minority led by the leaders in a few conferences. This conflict of philosophy led to dissension; dissension led to strong

controversy; strong controversy led to open rebellion; and open rebellion led to schisms in four conferences. For a detailed and accurate account of the process, progression, and painful results refer to *Conscience and Commitment* by McLeister/Nicholson, fourth revised edition and to *Outline History of The Wesleyan Church* by Haines/Thomas.

Mergers

In 1948 Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association of Tabor, Iowa (a small holiness group with churches in Nebraska, Indian mission work in South Dakota, and a mission field in Haiti), merged or united with The Wesleyan Methodist Church.¹⁸⁰ Likewise merger occurred in 1958 with The Missionary Bands of the World, a small group with churches in Indiana and mission fields in India and Jamaica.¹⁸¹ Also, in 1966 merger took place with the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada, consisting of 60 churches and 2,400 members situated in the maritime provinces of Canada and the state of Maine.¹⁸² After failing to do so in 1959 on a vote of 108 to 55,¹⁸³ the general conference approved merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1966 by a vote of 130 to 33, which was effected in the Merging General Conference in 1968.¹⁸⁴ These mergers were accomplished and have been highly successful because the need for each other was mutually felt and there would be compatibility in the group formed as well as satisfaction with the structure proposed for merger. Failure on the part of The Wesleyan Methodist Church to merge with The Free Methodist Church seems to have been based upon fears that the merged church would have a weaker stand on the inspiration of the Scriptures, that further centralization would occur and that compatibility would not be achieved. (For the saga of merger and merger attempts refer to *Conscience and Commitment* by McLeister/Nicholson and *Outline History of The Wesleyan Church* by Haines/Thomas and Chapter 13 of this volume.)

National Association Of Evangelicals and Christian Holiness Association

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) was founded in 1942 as a theologically conservative alternative to the liberal Federal Council of Churches later called National Council of Churches. Stephen W. Paine, president of Houghton College, was one of the founding members. He served on the NAE Executive Board for 25 years. He was first vice president 1946-1948 and president 1948-1950.¹⁸⁵ Through his influence, The Wesleyan Methodist Church joined this growing organization in 1948.¹⁸⁶

The 1951 General Conference approved membership in the National Holiness Association, later to become the Christian Holiness Association (CHA).¹⁸⁷ The Church joined forces with this interdenominational movement whose purpose was to "Give a United Voice to Scriptural Holiness." Roy S. Nicholson was one of its officers and was granted the Holiness Exponent of the Year Award for his contribution to Christian holiness.

Many of the general officers, conference presidents and pastors became active in this organization. They were brought in touch with "many of like precious faith." It sharpened the focus of our chief mission of "Spreading Scriptural Holiness over these lands."

The periodic meeting of leaders of various holiness denominations, an outgrowth of close association in the CHA, revealed methods, successes, and interdependence of each group. This was a great benefit to each and created a climate for closer relationship. It doubtless accelerated merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church and kindled a greater interest in efforts to merge with other groups.

However, not all Wesleyan Methodists were pleased with our affiliation with NAE and CHA. They believed compromise would result from association with those who were less rigid in their application of the Scriptures to the issues set forth in the General and Special Rules. For a more conformable relationship and to promote "Sweet Radical Holiness," the Inter-Church Holiness Convention (IHC) was organized. It attracted some Wesleyan Methodists and others from various denominations. This heightened tension within the Church. Several of those

from The Wesleyan Methodist and Pilgrim Holiness Churches who were active in IHC later withdrew from those churches. Today, IHC is rendering a useful ministry especially as an instrument in publishing out-of-print holiness classics and other literature.

Federation

The idea of a federation of holiness churches appealed to some CHA member groups, especially those who were less interested in merger. Studies were made which explored its feasibility. These studies produced helpful understanding of the background, church structure and program of each denomination. The exploration affirmed the value of the cooperative publishing ministry. There was consensus for further cultivation of fellowship and idea-sharing through denominational leaders' meetings; observation of comity practices; encouragement of cooperation in revival efforts and other local church projects; consultation in receiving or transferring ministers from one denomination to another. However, the studies indicated that a structured framework for federation was not feasible.

Billy Graham Crusades

The Billy Graham Crusades which began in the late 1940s were received with mixed approval among Wesleyans. There were those who felt the evangelical message would be compromised in the effort made to enlist the cooperation of all the churches in the crusade area. Others believed deficient decisions would result from the mass response to the invitation which hindered thorough instructions to those coming forward. Some felt proper follow-up with new converts could not be achieved and the transition from being born-again to membership in a Bible-believing church would be less than it should be. However, the success of the crusades largely negated those feelings among most Wesleyans.

The "large crusade syndrome," in some cases, affected the attitude toward the revival crusade in local churches. "Large" versus "small" became the criteria for measuring the results of the meetings. The crusades, however, gave new hope and

expectations to evangelism. The Wesleyan Church through George Beverly Shea and others, contributed to the Graham ministry. The Church received from its ministry a reinforcement of the value of evangelism campaigns, a better understanding of new approaches to evangelism, and new converts into church membership, some of whom are now ministers.

The whole evangelical community has been impacted by the Graham ministry. The influential voice the evangelicals have achieved had much of its foundation in this ministry.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church placed strong emphasis on evangelism, especially during the 1959-1968 period. Fresh approaches to evangelism were made and a program of personal evangelism was introduced.¹⁸⁸ Some felt these were superficial approaches and that this would undermine the place of the traditional revival meeting for evangelism, for indoctrination, and for instruction in outward standards of conduct.

. . . those inclined to be rigid became increasingly insistent that there was no way to assure thoroughness of conversion, depth of spiritual life, and rapidity of spiritual growth unless every detail of life was closely scrutinized and brought into conformity with a uniform code of regulations. In one sense, it became a conflict between evangelism and legalism. But in another sense, the difference was only one of emphasis, for the most flexible Wesleyan Methodist still demanded a transformed life as evidence of conversion, and the most rigid Wesleyan Methodist still had a passion for evangelism and often put his brother to shame by the zeal with which he gave himself to it.¹⁸⁹

Outward Standards

The denomination made a considerable transition from rural toward urban programs especially during and after World War II. To attract and hold these people required more adequate church buildings in keeping with the homes and public school facilities which were being built during that period. Fellowship centers and auxiliary buildings were erected to enable a ministry to the social and Christian fellowship needs of the people. This was not acceptable to some and considerable tension resulted in several areas.

The growth and program of the youth movement was also a

tension point. Any tendency toward "entertainment" of youth and any indication of lowering the standards as held by some conferences were strongly resisted. Policies and practices of the Department of Foreign Missions and the dress code of some missionaries brought threats of withholding "financial contributions to Foreign Missions" and led to specifying what fields and missionaries would be supported by that group and which missionaries would be allowed to tour the conference.¹⁹⁰

The tensions over outward standards were the basic foundation that caused four groups to withdraw from the denomination. A stronger centralization of authority became a secondary factor because the rulings of the general conference president, subsequently upheld by the general conference, prevented those items ruled upon from becoming conditions of church membership. A careful and fair study of the amount of centralization of authority in The Wesleyan Methodist Church reveals that the authority of the general conference president was safely limited and was not sufficient cause per se for withdrawal. The three conference presidents who withdrew wielded as much or more authority on the conference level than did the general conference president on the general level.

The proposed mergers, with provision of stronger authority, likewise became a contributing factor in the controversy. It is often placed at the top of the list of causes but it should be placed lower in the catalog of reasons. It should be noted that all of the groups except Alabama withdrew, or in effect (like the Allegheny and Tennessee Conferences), severed their relationship with The Wesleyan Methodist Church, prior to settlement of the merger issue. Merger proposals provided a ready handle for those who opposed merger to influence the people on the local level to follow the leaders in the exodus from the Church. It was also feared by some that it would provide an even stronger legal claim to local and district property. The Allegheny and Tennessee leaders attempted to usurp Church property, forcing the general superintendents to take legal action for its protection.¹⁹¹ Each withdrawing conference finally relented and recognized the rights of the denomination by paying a negotiated price for its property. The Alabama group from the very first disavowed any legal property claim, were not in open violation of *The Discipline*, and conducted negotiation

on a high level for a property settlement.¹⁹² The Ohio Conference leaders also settled with the dissident group there without court action and without their becoming involved in open violation of *The Discipline*.

The converging of these issues and events spawned rumors of secession as early as 1951¹⁹³ and culminated in the withdrawal of 154 congregations with their church buildings, 112 parsonages and 4,252 members between 1966 and 1968 as follows: Alabama, 24 church buildings, 19 parsonages and 568 members; Allegheny, 98 church buildings, 69 parsonages and 3,095 members; Ohio, 11 church buildings, 8 parsonages and 286 members; Tennessee, 21 church buildings, 16 parsonages and 303 members.¹⁹⁴ The conference parsonage and conference camp meeting property remained with each of the withdrawing conferences except Ohio by agreement in the property settlement.

It is always a sad day in the history of the Church when members choose to depart. Some of the best people of the Church were among those who left at this time. The philosophies they held on external standards and the course taken to give them churchwide application caused their proponents to be uncomfortable in continuing with the same body of believers. Others who held the same personal convictions on externals as they did felt their best opportunity for effective ministry and Christian witness was to remain with the Church. This schism separated friends of long association and even resulted in members of the same family going separate ways in church affiliations.

Time has given an opportunity to view the controversy and assess action taken. Perhaps F. R. Eddy best summarized the matter. He quoted Bishop Pierce after the Free Methodist Church had settled the issue of allowing musical instruments in the church which the bishop opposed. When asked his opinion, the bishop replied: "Many of the bad things we looked for have not happened. Many of the extra advantages that had been promised did not materialize and in a way it was neither as bad nor as good as had been supposed." Dr. Eddy then commented:

Many things that are highly controversial are usually concluded about on that plane. Both Allegheny and Tennessee have, and

are, contending for things not nearly so essential as they think. It is my opinion that they are each in their own way contending for what they think is good but they are emphasizing the wrong element. If their opponents were a little more tolerant of them and they were a little more tolerant of things they argue for perhaps the Bible base could be better reached by all concerned. "Less pepper and more honey in the stew" would have saved much time and energy and I believe have reached more people for Bible Righteousness in all parts of the controversy.¹⁹⁵

Since the present generation on both sides of the controversy was unable to put enough "honey in the stew" to avoid separation and since separation was not over doctrinal differences, perhaps their children or grandchildren will be able to put sufficient "honey in the stew" to bring the groups together again. Each has something to contribute to the other.

GROWTH IN THE MIDST OF CONTROVERSY

It is with relief that the story can turn from the tragedy of division and schism to the triumph of progress and expansion. This period, which was one of the most turbulent in Wesleyan Methodist history, also witnessed the greatest growth in the history of the Church. The tone was set in the very first quadrennium when the Church's giving increased by thirty-seven percent as a result of the adoption and systematization of the storehouse tithing plan. . . . During the 1935-1968 period, in spite of the significant departures from the Church at the end, the following gains had been achieved: (1) The number of churches had grown from 745 to 1,022 in North America plus 223 organized and 209 congregations overseas for a total of 1,454—virtually doubled. (2) The total membership had grown from 27,811 to 48,046 in North America plus 17,513 overseas for a total of 65,559—almost two and one-half times the earlier number. (3) The Sunday school enrollment had gone from 61,348 to 109,294 in North America plus 23,989 overseas for a total of 133,283, more than doubling. (4) The value of church property had gone from \$2,016,949 to \$50,619,566—a twenty-five fold increase with only North America figures available. (5) The total contributed for all purposes had gone from \$2,322,831 for a *four-year period* to \$25,880,434 for a *two-year period*—again close to a 25 fold increase with only North America figures available. During this period of time the Wesleyan Methodists had achieved consistent

ranking as first, second, or third among American denominations in per capita giving."¹⁹⁶

The Wesleyan Methodist Church, having dealt forthrightly with its internal problems, brought a vigorous Church to the union with the Pilgrim Holiness Church.

WESLEYAN WOMEN

Women have played an important role in the life of The Wesleyan Methodist Church. They comprised a majority of its membership; were elected to the leading offices in the local church; have served as missionaries, evangelists and pastors; have served as secretaries and treasurers of annual conferences; and Mrs. Iva E. Crofford served as president of the Oklahoma Conference twice, in 1912 and from 1915 to 1919, the only woman in North America to serve in this capacity.¹⁹⁷ They also have been delegates to the general conference.

However, the most significant contribution the women as a group have made to the Church has been through the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS). This organization began on the local level, spread to the annual conference level and was organized on the general conference level on October 26, 1903. By the beginning of the 1935-1968 period the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, as it was known until 1947, was a vigorous organization with a missionary magazine that was self-supporting. This magazine, *The Wesleyan Missionary*, became an effective missionary voice of the Church from 1919 to 1968. The WMS became the means for inspiring the Church relative to missions and provided a major channel through which money for the various ministries of the Church was directed. The genius of its usefulness was the well-rounded emphasis and support of every phase of missions—foreign, home missions and church extension, educational institutions, Hephzibah Children's Home, and conference and local church missions. The secret of its success was the missionary vision of its leaders, the strength of its organization, and the tremendous support given on the local church level by the women and men.

Mrs. Clara McLeister was president of the organization from 1923 to 1943, the longest tenure of service of anyone in this position.¹⁹⁸

The 1939 General Conference was an epoch-making one for the society—the fiftieth anniversary of Wesleyan Methodism's foreign missionary program. The society took the lead in calling for the opening of a work in South America. New life and adventure were infused into the society members and spread throughout the Church.¹⁹⁹

Mrs. Ruby Reisdorph became president in 1943 and continued in this office until 1959, a sixteen-year tenure. Under her leadership world evangelism ministries by the president were begun and many other forward steps were taken. Mrs. Helen Stark and Mrs. Mildred Scott served efficiently from 1959 to 1966 and 1966 to 1968 respectively. This period embraced the shock of the 1965 tornado and preparation for merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. This quartet of ladies, along with the talented editors of *The Wesleyan Missionary*—Stella Wood, Gracia Banker, and Marie Lind—gave effective missionary leadership for the women which contributed much to the life of the Church during the thirty-three years prior to merger. The accomplishments are impressive. Each conference had an organized conference society, a gain of 502 local societies, or 117 percent; a growth of 9,393 in active membership, or 156 percent; a gain of 3,727 in honorary membership (men), or 368 percent; and an increase of \$1,329,203 in contributed and channeled funds, or 1,558 percent!²⁰⁰ The vision, burden, inspiration, faith and persistence they gave the Church is cause for thanksgiving. They contributed immensely to missionary education, provided missionary prayer support, and raised and channeled millions of dollars for various phases of missions in the total ministries of the Church.

WESLEYAN MEN

It is regrettable that a glowing story of Wesleyan Men organizationally cannot be cited. They are significant members of the Church and are generous supporters of missions in all of its phases. This has contributed to the value of the local church missionary convention for missionary education and fund-raising which a number of churches have adopted. The men have not become a highly organized group. Rather, a loose organization based on fellowship, stewardship, service, and

soul-winning was adopted. It was begun under the leadership of Dr. Hollis C. Stevenson, a dentist of Northern New York State. Despite its loose organizational structure, Wesleyan Men grew in its ministry throughout the Church. Beginning in 1963, groups of both laymen and ministers visited a number of mission fields aiding in building projects and evangelistic programs. It also spearheaded a drive to raise funds to assist in rebuilding Wesleyan world headquarters, raising more than \$25,000. Professional men rendered other specialized services at their own expense both at home and overseas.

The laity in general and men in particular have played a vital role in The Wesleyan Methodist Church. Some of those denominations which looked askance at equal representation between ministerial and lay representation in delegated assemblies, a policy which was adopted at its beginning by The Wesleyan Methodist Church, came to see its value. Space will not allow proper mention of so many men who have been greatly used to shape and mold the Church into its present viable ministry. Their number is legion and their contributions are innumerable.

WESLEYAN YOUTH

Wesleyan Youth literally had to work hard and wait a long time for recognition and acceptance as an auxiliary organization of the Church. The holiness bodies, including The Wesleyan Methodist Church, did not move quickly to join the trend of organizing youth groups such as Epworth League, Christian Endeavor, YMCA and YWCA at the close of the nineteenth century. It was thought by some Wesleyans that this would lead to the "independence of youth" and create artificial barriers in the Church.²⁰¹ In fact, the 1895 General Conference enacted a rule which was understood to prohibit forming youth groups. It stated: "It is expected that our members will abstain from connection with the Epworth League, and Society of Christian Endeavor."²⁰² However, four years later it clarified itself and voted: "We encourage as of great importance the holding of young people's meetings under the direction of our churches and pastors. . . ." ²⁰³ Whatever youth activity there was for the next twenty-four years was carried on by and for

youth without specific authorization for the formation of any organization operated by the youth themselves. This came when the 1923 General Conference referred to the Book Committee the responsibility for perfecting and introducing a denominational organization of youth.²⁰⁴ The Book Committee adopted a plan in 1924 for the local level only.²⁰⁵ The 1927 General Conference authorized and referred to the Book Committee adoption of an organizational plan for the annual conference.²⁰⁶ Then the 1931 General Conference approved a plan calling for the development of a youth organization on the local, conference, and denominational levels, and published the plan in the *Discipline*.²⁰⁷

William A. Smith

The early leaders of the Wesleyan Young People's Society were Professor W. L. Fancher and Roy S. Nicholson. William A. Smith was elected general president of Wesleyan Youth (WY) in 1935 and served until 1939. The vital role he filled in the formative years of the general organization of Wesleyan Youth is not widely recognized. The position was not "full-time" but he made it full-time. There was no salary or support but through freewill offerings and gifts he financed himself and his office, practicing strict economy and careful frugality. He infused hope and optimism among youth and gave visibility to the organization. The 1939 General Conference expressed appreciation for "the abundant and successful labors of Rev. William A. Smith, who has traveled extensively to unify the different groups into a solid organization."²⁰⁸

Harold K. Sheets

The 1943-1955 era of youth work under the leadership of Harold K. Sheets was a strong factor that helped to generate revival fires and produce evangelistic passion. He involved youth in evangelistic campaigns and church planting efforts at home and overseas.²⁰⁹ "His sensitivity to the gifts in others, especially in youth, and his ability to shepherd them into the work of God and the Church has resulted in recruiting many for the ministry and places of leadership."²¹⁰ He was considered

by some to be the "Barnabas of The Wesleyan Methodist Church."²¹¹

The crusading spirit, the emphasis on evangelism and outreach around the world permeated everything which was done by the WYPS during these years. The contribution made to the youth and through the youth to the Church in turning attention outward from an isolated and defensive type of Christian experience to one which was boldly and dynamically aggressive in sharing the Christian faith with others cannot be measured. It seems highly significant that this period and the one which followed were marked by the most rapid growth ever experienced by The Wesleyan Methodist Church.²¹²

Providing for full-time leadership for our youth brought great benefits to the Church. The inauguration of new and innovative programs, improvement of the WY structure and gathering in of almost 12,000 WY members are notable achievements. However, Dr. Sheets's greatest contribution with the highest dividends to the Church was his challenging Wesleyan youth to "spiritual adventure at its best" and calling upon them to pay the price and to contribute to all possible advance in gathering the harvest.²¹³ He became home missionary secretary on November 9, 1955, following the death of Dr. J. R. Swauger. Dr. Sheets died October 8, 1978.

Robert W. McIntyre

Following the 1955 General Conference, Robert W. McIntyre was employed by Harold K. Sheets as assistant to the general secretary of Wesleyan Youth. He filled that position for only a few months when the Board of Administration elected him to succeed Harold K. Sheets who had been elected to succeed J. R. Swauger.

The work of Wesleyan Youth was flourishing when Mr. McIntyre assumed leadership; yet he saw the cause of youth reach many high-water marks during his thirteen-year tenure. The introduction of the WY Bible Quiz stimulated great interest in Bible study; youth locals were reactivated, new families reached, and whole churches were revived.²¹⁴ This and the several overseas team ministries gave youth a sense of "involvement." Sponsoring two midquadrennium churchwide youth

conventions (1,400 registered in the second convention and several hundred more attended) and launching midquadrennium area conventions brought a sense of “belonging.” The promotion of youth camps, providing literature suited to youth, ministering to Wesleyan youth in non-Wesleyan colleges and universities gave youth a feeling that the Church was “caring and sharing.” The secretary’s overseas ministry, especially in conducting youth conventions there and bringing overseas delegates to the conventions in the States, gave youth a sense of “internationalizing the Church.” Giving youth an opportunity to financially support various causes through the youth week offering made youth feel they were “contributing their share” to worthy causes.

All of this came at a strategic time. There was much unrest and rebellion of youth nationwide as well as worldwide during the 1950s and 1960s. Dr. McIntyre could point with justifiable pride to “70,000 nondelinquent Wesleyan youth.”²¹⁵ He stressed “insulation,” not “isolation” in preparing youth to face the future. He stated: “Youth live with these things, and if they do not learn how to be victorious in the midst of them, they probably will not survive to face them in a later decade. Christians (of any age) are leaven, and leaven is of value in the loaf, not on the shelf.”²¹⁶ He was motivated in his work with the strong conviction that young people were the greatest human asset of the Church. He knew that his assignment was to promote Christian experience and holy character among the young people of the churches and congregations and to train them for Christian service through the systematic study of the Word of God and other properly directed activities. He gave himself to this assignment with zeal and effectiveness.

The social ferment of the 1960s ushered in the “hippie movement” with its “anti-establishment” attitude. The movement rejected the validity of the Church. “Jesus, ‘yes’; the church ‘no’” was espoused by the more radical of the group. They adopted a slovenly dress code, an unkempt hair fashion, a nonstructured form for worship and a contemporary music format. The music format has been seen by some as a prelude to the “rock music” craze that swept over the nation. Reality continues to bring many of yesterday’s “hippies” back into the mainstream of life. However, the movement’s lingering

negative impact can be seen even yet. The sexual revolution unleashed promiscuity on an unprecedented scale. A playboy mentality gripped our society.

The secular humanism philosophy and practices produced a moral breakdown and ushered in an illicit drug culture that penetrated the basic institutions of society: the home, church, state and nation. These events have left wounds and scars which continue to this day.

Growth was registered in most every WY category under Dr. McIntyre's leadership. There were 1,011 local societies, 9,544 members, 6,882 *Wesleyan Youth* subscriptions and 1,700 youth registered at Wesleyan Youth Camps in 1967.²¹⁷ He saw the fruition of his vision when the 1966 General Conference granted full departmental status to WY. This concept was carried forward into the merged Church.²¹⁸ There was vital involvement of the department in ministry and financial support in church planting in the Wheaton, Illinois, Church and the evangelistic crusade and land purchase in Washington, D.C., to help relocate the church there. The volume and quality of youth-related literature became the source of a flood of materials, ideas and projects that reached the people of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Dr. McIntyre was well qualified for this phase of the work, having been brought into the department as an assistant with primary duties as an editorial assistant to Dr. Sheets. He was made editor of *Wesleyan Youth* and developed it into one of the leading denominational youth magazines. A strong team of area and conference youth leaders has been a vital part of the success of Wesleyan youth.²¹⁹ He did not employ a full-time assistant as envisioned in 1955. Because of financial pressures the department operated with one full-time office secretary and occasional part-time help for such items as special mailings. Only loyalty and service far above and beyond mere duty made this possible.²²⁰ Furthermore, the department had to generate its own income and that from the segment of the Church least able to finance itself.²²¹ Doubtless a better method of financing this important work would have produced even greater results.

At the Merging General Conference Mr. McIntyre declined to be considered for further service in youth leadership and was subsequently elected general editor. He then was elected a

general superintendent, succeeding B. H. Phaup on December 1, 1973.

LITERATURE

The increase in quantity and quality of literature during the 1935-1968 period is one of the success stories of Wesleyan Church history. This was accomplished in spite of two interruptions—a fire and then a tornado. Most of the printing was sponsored by the departments as curriculum and study materials. The Aldersgate publishing venture in which several holiness denominations cooperated was mutually beneficial to all groups involved. *Aldersgate Teen Topics*, for example, was the only generally circulated youth program material with a holiness emphasis.

It was thought by some that more books should be published apart from departmental sponsorship. However, the publishers and editors were able to put Wesleyan Methodist authors in touch with larger publishing houses, thereby providing a greater market for them. Also, through cooperative agreements the publishers often purchased quantities of the books, sometimes with the Wesley Press imprint, to make them available to the people. In this way the books would have a larger circulation and also avoid the risks of large inventories. Wesleyan Methodist authors were writing, the people were reading, and the publishing house was selling.

JOINT HYMNAL

Music is vital to church life. In 1910 The Wesleyan Methodist and Free Methodist Churches shared a common hymnal. Again in 1951, a second hymnal *Hymns of The Living Faith* was produced which served both communions well. A third effort was underway by December of 1967, enlarged to include the Pilgrim Holiness Church. *Hymns of Faith and Life* is a result of that project which was completed eight years after the formation of The Wesleyan Church.²²²

DOCTRINAL INTEGRITY

The rise of liberalism, the spread of neo-orthodoxy, the growth of Calvinism, and the appearance of Pentecostalism with its tongues speaking did not sway The Wesleyan Methodist Church from its original Wesleyan-Arminian theological position. The Church did, however, in 1939 shift its early position as postmillennialists to a mild premillennial view but with a footnote indicating a different view shall not "break or hinder either church fellowship or membership."²²³ Another amendment to the "Articles of Religion" was voted by the 1951 General Conference and subsequently ratified by the conferences and local churches, strengthening the Church's position on "The Sufficiency and Full Authority of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," declaring the Canonical Books of the two Testaments "to be the inspired and infallibly written Word of God, fully inerrant in their original manuscript and superior to all human authority."²²⁴

Stephen W. Paine was a moving force in crafting this stronger statement deemed necessary to enhance our witness to the world and to safeguard the Church from within. The unequivocal article has been a sturdy bulwark within and a strong attraction to conservative ministers and members to become a part of a staunchly Bible-believing church. The doctrinal integrity of Wesleyan Arminianism was maintained for 125 years, a record not achieved by all denominations.

GROWTH PATTERNS SHIFT

During the decades of the 1950s and 1960s the geographical growth pattern shifted from the northeast and midwest to the west and south. The Miltonvale area gained 80 percent in total membership between 1948 and 1963, with California, Iowa, and Dakota Conferences taking the lead. The Central area grew by 48.5 percent with North Carolina, South Carolina and the newly formed Virginia Conference in the vanguard. The Houghton area expanded by 35 percent with Michigan, Rochester, and Lockport leading in this expansion. The Marion area increased by 28.8 percent with Indiana and Illinois out in front.²²⁵ A number of factors seem to have contributed to the

growth of the Church, and those conferences which utilized the following elements, for the most part, grew more rapidly: church planting; evangelism reflected in local church revivals, camp meetings, and especially youth camps; improved church buildings and facilities; better trained pastors; longer tenure of pastoral service; stewardship; missionary vision; a viable youth program which assisted in holding youth to the Church; breaking out of the isolation of legalism; and progressive leadership on the general and conference levels.

COOPERATIVE LITERATURE PROJECTS

The CHA provided the inspiration and background for the holiness denominations to launch a cooperative ministry of editing and publishing curriculum and related materials. An editorial board was formed and a Holiness Denominational Publishers Association (HDP), later known as Aldersgate Publishers Association (APA), was formed in 1958.

Major leadership for HDP was provided by The Wesleyan Methodist, Pilgrim Holiness, The Free Methodist Churches, and the Church of the Nazarene. The following additional churches participated in some capacity in the project: Churches of Christ in Christian Union, Evangelical Friends Alliance, Evangelical Methodist, The United Missionary Church, The Missionary Church Association, Christ Faith Church, and the Reformed Baptist Church. This enabled each denomination to upgrade its curriculum materials both in quality and quantity.

Four other important projects were completed. First, *Aldersgate Biblical Series*, an inductive book-by-book study of the Scriptures designed for adult Sunday school classes or weeknight study groups. Second, *Aldersgate Doctrinal Series* consisting of four volumes on themes of importance to the holiness churches: *Entire Sanctification*; *Christian Conversion*; *The Second Coming of Christ*; *The Fruit and Gifts of The Holy Spirit*. Third, *Aldersgate Graded Series*. Fourth, Aldersgate Vacation Bible School materials.

In addition, *Aldersgate Teen Topics* was sponsored jointly by the youth departments. This was the only generally circulated youth program material with a holiness emphasis.

Through the cooperative literature venture the denominations

were able to do together what they could not do alone. It made a significant contribution toward "giving holiness a united voice."

RECORDING HISTORY

Carl Beaver served as secretary at each general conference from 1943 to 1968. He provided accurate records which greatly aid historians to chronicle the history of this period. "If no use is made of the labors of past ages," said Cicero, "the world must remain always in the infancy of knowledge."²²⁶ To inherit excellence and squander it is a tragic error. History will judge us!

Wesleyan Methodists have not always shown like beacon lights in a darkened sky, records have not always been kept with precision and clarity, but a strong vein of life's blood has flowed through their history to bring the gospel in all its purity to future generations. The end of the history of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America did not occur on June 26, 1968. A new chapter with a new name, with nearly an equal number of other believers of like precious faith, and with a parallel history of over 70 years, is now being recorded for the glory of God. It is the record of the people of The Wesleyan Church.

NOTES

¹Ira Ford McLeister and Roy Stephen Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment: History of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 1; Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter, eds. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1976), p. 178. See also "The General Conference," *The Wesleyan Methodist*, July 10, 1935, p. 1.

²*Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Quadrennial Session of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, or Church, of America, Held at Fairmount, Indiana, June 26-July 1, 1935* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, n.d.), pp. 8-9. (See McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, for the contribution made by each of these leaders.)

³*Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Quadrennial Session . . . 1935*, p. 7.

⁴McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 178-79.

⁵Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 563.

⁶Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas, *An Outline History of The Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1990), p. 105.

⁷McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 177.

⁸*The New Dictionary of Thoughts*, revised and enlarged by C. N. Catrevas and Jonathan Edwards (New York: Standard Book Company, 1955), p. 257.

⁹*The New Dictionary of Thoughts*, p. 255.

¹⁰McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 376.

¹¹McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 181.

- ¹²Personal conversation with Virgil A. Mitchell.
- ¹³*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 56-58.
- ¹⁴Personal Correspondence with Virgil A. Mitchell, October 12, 1972.
- ¹⁵Personal Correspondence with Virgil A. Mitchell, February 14, 1964.
- ¹⁶Melvin H. Snyder, "In Memoriam: Francis R. Eddy," *The Wesleyan Advocate* June 2, 1980, p. 13.
- ¹⁷Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 105.
- ¹⁸McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 195.
- ¹⁹Personal correspondence between Roy S. Nicholson and Virgil A. Mitchell, January 23, 1975.
- ²⁰Data Sheet on Roy S. Nicholson, provided by Claude R. Rickman.
- ²¹*Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, p. 99.
- ²²*Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, p. 99.
- ²³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 193.
- ²⁴McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 205.
- ²⁵*Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, p. 86.
- ²⁶*Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, p. 11.
- ²⁷*Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, pp. 134-35.
- ²⁸McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 206.
- ²⁹McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 210 and footnote 40, p. 221.
- ³⁰McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 210 and footnote 39, p. 221.
- ³¹*Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Quadrennial Session . . . 1947*, pp. 44-67.
- ³²*Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Quadrennial Session . . . 1947*, pp. 10-11.
- ³³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 210.
- ³⁴McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 211.
- ³⁵*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, p. 32.
- ³⁶*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, p. 32.
- ³⁷*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, pp. 32-35.
- ³⁸*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, p. 40.
- ³⁹*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁰*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, p. 43.
- ⁴¹*Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Quadrennial Session . . . 1951*, p. 43.
- ⁴²*Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Quadrennial Session . . . 1955*, p. 52.
- ⁴³Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 107.
- ⁴⁴This opinion is that of Virgil A. Mitchell after visiting each of these fields, engaging in conversation with missionaries on the field, and researching the "Minutes of the Board of Administration and the Executive Board" from 1951-1959.
- ⁴⁵*Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Quadrennial Session . . . 1955*, p. 49.
- ⁴⁶*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 56.
- ⁴⁷*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 26, 52-53.
- ⁴⁸*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 29, 63-66.
- ⁴⁹*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 42, 221-30; and *Minutes of the Thirty-First Quadrennial Session . . . 1963*, p. 24.
- ⁵⁰*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 31.
- ⁵¹*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 39-40, 213-14.
- ⁵²*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 256.
- ⁵³*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 266 and *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Quadrennial Session . . . 1955*, p. 213.
- ⁵⁴*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 50, 52.
- ⁵⁵Supplied by Claude R. Rickman from information attached to a vita sheet requested of Roy S. Nicholson by Claude R. Rickman.

⁵⁶Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, pp. 107-08.

⁵⁷McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, please refer to pp. 33-34 on McLeister's appraisal of Luther Lee's "stumbling" on the issue of church government and refer to p. 88 on the lack of both "dignity and efficiency" of early practices in failure to have a permanent president of the general conference; also, refer to p. 77 on the question of Lee's sincerity in his ideals of church policy reflected in his return to the Church, whose ideals of government he argued were "arbitrary and unscriptural."

⁵⁸McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 156, 163.

⁵⁹*Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, p. 26.

⁶⁰McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 202.

⁶¹*Minutes of the Thirty-First Quadrennial Session . . . 1963*, dedication page to Ira F. McLeister, copy supplied by Roy S. Nicholson.

⁶²McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 158, 163, 202-03.

⁶³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 203.

⁶⁴Several missionaries have mentioned the "Penny Postcard" received from him with writing crowded around the edges in order to save postage-cost over that of a three-cent letter, and of a letter written on the back of used paper. Mr. McCarty conducted a missionary service at the Walhalla Wesleyan Methodist Church where Rev. and Mrs. Virgil A. Mitchell were serving their first pastorate. Traveling back to the parsonage at Westminster the automobile ran over a rabbit. McCarty insisted that the rabbit be taken to the parsonage for a future meal!

⁶⁵*Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Quadrennial Session . . . 1939*, p. 38.

⁶⁶*Minutes of the Thirty-Third General Conference . . . 1968*, p. 2.

⁶⁷*Minutes of the Thirty-Second General Conference . . . 1966*, dedication page, copy supplied by Alton E. Liddick.

⁶⁸*Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Quadrennial Session . . . 1935*, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁹*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 67.

⁷⁰*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 105-07 deducted from charts comparing the *Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, and the *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Quadrennial Session . . . 1947*, the years O. G. Wilson served.

⁷¹*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 255; *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Quadrennial Session . . . 1947*, p. 98.

⁷²*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 256; *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Quadrennial Session . . . 1947*, p. 99.

⁷³Oliver G. Wilson, *Boundless Horizons: Meditations on the Christian Life* (Marion, Ind.: Wesley Press, 1960), p. 105. Produced by former students from his teaching days, this book was a posthumous publication of many editorials which had been published in *The Wesleyan Methodist* while Dr. Wilson was editor, 1947-1959.

⁷⁴*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 61.

⁷⁵Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁶Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, p. 25.

⁷⁷Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, p. 44.

⁷⁸Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, p. 44.

⁷⁹Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, "Foreword" page.

⁸⁰*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 63.

⁸¹Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, "Tribute" page.

⁸²Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, "Tribute" page.

⁸³*Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 34.

⁸⁴McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 338.

⁸⁵Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, "Tribute" page.

⁸⁶Wilson, *Boundless Horizons*, "Our Last Climb Together," opening page.

⁸⁷Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 110.

- 88 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 63.
- 89 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 40.
- 90 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, see list of general officials, opening pages.
- 91 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 18.
- 92 *Minutes of the Thirty-First Quadrennial Session . . . 1963*, p. 62.
- 93 *Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Quadrennial Session . . . 1939*, p. 8.
- 94 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 236.
- 95 *Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Quadrennial Session . . . 1939*, p. 8. The title is vividly remembered by one who heard him.
- 96 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 235-36.
- 97 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 236-37.
- 98 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 67-68.
- 99 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 41, 219-20.
- 100 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 218-20.
- 101 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 68.
- 102 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 214.
- 103 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 71.
- 104 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, pp. 69, 86. Dr. Sheets made this tour shortly after his executive assistant took office. He was overwhelmed to hear Dr. Sheets say: "I delegate full authority to you in my absence. I will fully support you in your decisions taking full responsibility for the same. If you run into something you can't handle, call Dr. Nicholson, the General Conference President." He was great to work for.
- 105 *Minutes of the Thirtieth Quadrennial Session . . . 1959*, p. 105.
- 106 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 463.
- 107 *Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Quadrennial Session . . . 1943*, pp. 134-35.
- 108 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 240.
- 109 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 241.
- 110 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 351.
- 111 *Minutes of the Thirty-First Quadrennial Session . . . 1963*, p. 17.
- 112 *Minutes of the Thirty-First Quadrennial Session . . . 1963*, pp. 26, 32.
- 113 "Fifty Years of Profiles in Faith," a commemorative booklet compiled by the Simpson children in honor of the fiftieth wedding anniversary of J. F. and Mrs. Simpson, 1966.
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CHAPTER 8

THE PILGRIM HOLINESS CHURCH MATURING AND EXPANDING, 1930-1968

Armor D. Peisker

DURING DEPRESSION YEARS

In 1930 the United States was in the throes of the Great Depression. All areas of life, private and corporate, were affected. No one — rich or poor, young or old, man or woman — escaped entirely the tragic effects resulting from the events of “Black Thursday,” October 24, 1929. On that sad day the stock market collapsed and hundreds of thousands of investors went bankrupt. Long-established factories, banks and commercial organizations soon could no longer carry on. They closed their doors, for there was simply no money among the people to buy goods and services. A severe drought added to the problems. Tens of thousands of farmers unable to pay off mortgages lost their farms, and in their old cars, with their families, took to the road in search of jobs.

Writing of the difficult times, Sydney E. Ahlstrom notes that “the national income dropped from \$83 billion in 1929 to \$40 billion in 1932, while the number of unemployed began to approach 15 million in early 1933.” And he went on to quote Davie H. Bennett who said:

Fear, hunger, and finally desperation became the inevitable facts of life in an emergency that had no precedent in United States history. Across America and across class lines spread privation. Men stood on bread lines, selling apples on street corners, sleeping in subways and parks and city incinerators. Armies of homeless youth roamed the land while relief agencies, running out of money and morale, had to stand helplessly by while thousands

suffered. Violence erupted in some communities, as men chose to steal rather than watch their children starve.¹

In the United States where previously numbers of humble men and women had gone from rags to riches, things seemed upside down. Within a short time millions of its people had gone from riches to rags.

Pilgrims suffered like everyone else and, in addition to the difficult economic problems precipitated by the national crisis, the Pilgrim Holiness Church faced a critical organizational dilemma. General Superintendent Seth C. Rees noted this in his opening address at the 1930 General Assembly. He observed that while there was no criticism of Pilgrim standards and ethics, there was a general dissatisfaction with Pilgrim church polity and financial systems. He recommended at the time that:

We organize our church polity by the election of a general or correlated board to which all our general boards shall be amenable, that we adopt a more workable financial system, that we have but one headquarters, and that at our earliest convenience it shall be located at a more suitable location.²

An overemphasis among Pilgrims upon individual freedoms and an undue regard for sectional interests had been deterrents to the unity needed for a strong denominational loyalty. In an editorial in the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* dated April 24, 1930, Editor W. C. Stone sought to put the matter into perspective. He noted that the situation among Pilgrims was not unlike that of the original 13 American colonies. Most of the colonies, he said,

... had suffered much from oppression in the past, and both they and their descendants were naturally suspicious of anything that seemed in any way to curtail their individual independence. The time came however when in order to secure independence from England it became necessary for them to enter into a league of common defence. ... We believe we can see a remarkable analogy to the above in the brief history of our denomination. The fact is that we are, as a church, very young and yet in the formative period of our development. We are made up of a half dozen different bodies which began their existence independently of each other in separate sections of the country. Although animated largely by the same Spirit, holding to practically the same form of doctrine, and aiming at the same objects, nevertheless there was a natural tendency to develop individual characteristics and become

accustomed to somewhat different methods of operation.³

Stone then cited some of the questions needing to be answered if a greater unity of purpose and effort was to be effected, and he concluded:

We are glad to know that so many of our brethren are studying into these questions and discussing them in the district assemblies, preachers' conventions, boards, . . . We feel that the more open and free discussion we can have as to both the advantages and disadvantages of any proposed changes the more light we will all get, and the more intelligently we will be able to vote at the General Assembly should these matters come up for adoption.

As Stone indicated, the problems involved were complex and long-standing. They were not to be solved easily or quickly, but the general assembly meeting in Frankfort, Indiana, September 2-8, 1930, did face up to the situation and effected realistic polity changes which marked the dawning of a bright new day.

That turn of affairs among Pilgrims may have been influenced providentially by a general trend felt throughout the nation. The critical national situation had a tendency to draw the people of the nation together. As in their original struggle for independence, so again during the Depression, their mutual distress seemed generally to bring about an unusual oneness of purpose among the people of the United States. In this regard Ahlstrom noted: "A nation of rugged individualists found reason for group activities . . . This sense of urgency ineluctably took on a religious aspect."⁴

Pilgrim Church historian Paul Westphal Thomas seemed to recognize this spirit at work in the Church. He wrote, that the . . . plunge into economic depression may have helped to create an atmosphere more conducive to interdependence,⁴ influencing the delegates in 1930 to break down the sectionalism and individualism enough to set up a general Church organization.⁵

That organization brought about a complete change, making for difficult, painful adjustments for many persons, but it set the stage for much better administration throughout the Church. This new plan for unification provided for one general superintendent to serve as chief executive over all the Church, for its interests abroad, as well as in the homeland. Heretofore there

had been three general superintendents, two for the United States and one for the foreign work. While each had been responsible to the general assembly, they had tended to operate quite independently from different locations. There was to be one general treasurer to handle all funds for the general Church. Previously there were two treasurers—one for the interests in the homeland and one for foreign missions. There was to be one general board, presided over by the general superintendent. This would replace the previous nine general boards which had operated independently of each other. Instead of four general Church headquarters there was to be one, located in Indianapolis, Indiana. Heretofore the publishing interests were cared for in Cincinnati, Ohio, while the three general superintendents had worked out of three other locations: Kingswood, Kentucky; Pasadena, California; and Greensboro, North Carolina. A unified general budget was to provide for all finances of the general Church, including foreign missions, home missions, general administrative expense and publications.⁶

The 1930 General Assembly elected Church father Seth C. Rees as general superintendent; two assistant general superintendents, G. Arnold Hodgins and Walter L. Surbrook; Paul W. Thomas as general secretary; Harry Hays as general treasurer and W. C. Stone as editor. Rees, age 75, never much interested in administration, spent little time around the new Indianapolis headquarters. Editor Stone was not well. Paul Thomas, president of the Colorado Springs Training School, was called to help get the newly launched organizational ship on course. Thomas stayed on at headquarters for 36 years. Rees's health declined and he passed away on May 22, 1933. First Assistant General Superintendent Surbrook stepped into the vacant place at the helm and led the Church through the remainder of the Depression and the war years.⁷

In the grip of the Depression, churches throughout the nation, like all other institutions, felt the economic squeeze. C. E. Olmstead, in summarizing the situation, noted that

religious institutions throughout the country felt the full impact of the Depression. Many a congregation which had contracted unusually heavy debts for building programs during prosperous times had to face the bitter fact of foreclosure. Collections dropped almost 50 percent from 1930-1934.⁸

Pilgrims were not exempted from the economic pinch. General Superintendent W. L. Surbrook, in his address to the 1934 General Assembly said:

During the past four years our Church has had to stand the most unparalleled and unprecedented financial strain that she has been called to pass through in many decades. In readjusting, it became necessary to reduce all of the salaries to the lowest level that the Church has ever paid since salaries have been given, and some have been taken off salary entirely. Several of our Bible Schools were forced to close while others were able to continue only through the direct providence of the Lord and the cooperation of the saints. This crisis has severely tested the Church and her leaders but through it all God has given victory and our hearts have reposed securely in the faith which was once delivered to the saints.⁹

The faith cited by the general superintendent had indeed been present throughout the Church. It had been well placed, and was duly honored. Operating under the provisions of the new organization, within a short time the Church was doing better in the midst of deep depression than it had done during the previous years of national prosperity.

An editorial in the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* for January 26, 1933, apparently put into words the confidence of many Pilgrims during those days. Editor Stone saw the present difficulties as opportunities. In the editorial he hoped to help his readers "to see that bright side of the clouds which hang so heavy above us these days."¹⁰

The editorial states that in the Depression the Church was "face to face with the greatest opportunity of the age." One of the challenging factors of the bad situation was, that

... men and women are conscious of a need as never before, and are earnestly seeking something to which they can cling. A few years ago they were self-satisfied and loathed the comforts of the gospel. Now their lives in many instances are filled with distressing cares—a perpetual nightmare. It is a new experience, but their need has laid a foundation for the gospel appeal.

The editorial went on to declare that this difficult time was an occasion when Christians should

... radiate faith and hope and joy wherever they go. Trials they may have of their own, but these only bring into clearer light the

great truth that their faith and hope and joy are born of the Spirit of grace, and not the result of comfortable circumstances. What God wants is a class of people who can suffer and still rejoice in the Spirit.

Yes, this is a difficult time for ministers, and a difficult time for every true witness of full salvation. But it is also a glorious time, and every true child of God should fill the days full of radiant ministry.

Accordingly, Pilgrims responded sacrificially to the financial need. At the 1930 General Assembly, there was a cash balance in the general Church treasury of \$56.59. The foreign missions treasurer reported a balance of \$163.59, and the missionary supports were two months in arrears. In 1934 the general treasurer, E. V. Halt, reported receipts during the quadrennium of \$145,000 and a balance of cash in the bank of over \$6,000.

Encouraging growth of the publishing interests of the general Church was also a reason for thanksgiving. In 1930 the cash balance in the publishing account was just under \$575. In reporting to the 1934 General Assembly, Halt, who also had served as manager of the publishing house, reported receipts of more than \$80,000 for the quadrennium with a cash balance on hand of over \$1,700. His report in 1938 showed receipts of above \$148,000 and a bank balance of more than \$21,600.¹¹

There was likewise a noteworthy increase of income reported at the local level. The 1934 quadrennial statistical report of the churches in the United States and Canada shows the amount raised for all purposes to have been almost \$370,600, whereas the same report for 1938 shows the amount reached nearly \$1,880,000.¹²

Just as throughout the land during these depression years there was a general lack of financial support for the churches, so there was a disappointing dearth of interest in other aspects of church life. In this connection Olmstead observed:

It was widely supposed by religious leaders that hard times would cause Americans to make a fresh scrutiny of their religious needs and motivate them to seek out the ordinances of religion. Their hopes did not see fulfillment. The record shows that between 1930 and 1940 the churches gained only one-half of the percentage rate of the previous ten-year period. . . . The spirit of secularism had in no wise diminished and the decline in regular church attendance proved it.¹³

Pilgrims, however, did not follow in that general trend. They saw an encouraging numerical growth during the depression years. The total membership in 1930 numbered 22,444 (17,400 U.S. and 5,044 foreign). By 1938 the number of members had increased to 27,619 (22,023 U.S. and 5,596 foreign).

THE FINCH DISSENSION

While the Church was thus growing and prospering, a problem arose in the West which adversely affected the work of the Rocky Mountain District and the Bible Training School located in the city of Colorado Springs, Colorado. On Sunday, January 26, 1936, it was announced from the pulpit of the Colorado Springs Pilgrim Holiness Church by ministers holding credentials from the Church, among them the pastor of the local congregation, R. G. Finch, that a new movement to be known as the Immanuel Missionary Church was being launched and that the new denomination was opening a Bible school in the city.

This announcement was the culmination of several years of teaching and leadership which had tended to create discord and confusion among Pilgrims in the area. The teaching had become strongly legalistic. In relation to obtaining the experience of entire sanctification a heavy emphasis was placed on the need for involvement of the seeker in humiliating works in a long, anguished struggle of "dying out" to the "old man" of sin.

The problem of leadership was evidenced by the fact that the pastor of the Colorado Springs Church served as president of the Bible Training School board, his son was principal of the school, a daughter was matron, and other members of the immediate family filled teaching positions.

General Church officials had been aware of these circumstances and for some time had been seeking to bring normalcy to the situation. General Superintendent Rees had voiced his fears. As early as 1934 a friend of the leading family, who was also a member of the General Board, remonstrated and urged reform. Later other general officers, including the general superintendent, urged the district superintendent, D. W. Reynolds, and the chairman of the Bible School board to modify the personal emphasis and return to the teachings and

objectives of the Church.

The General Board at its regular meeting, November 5-8, 1935, dealt with the problem at length. Both the superintendent of the Rocky Mountain District and the president of the denomination's Colorado Springs Bible Training School board were present at that meeting and were again prayerfully admonished to correct their teaching and return to the preaching of the full gospel as set out in the *Pilgrim Holiness Church Manual*.

The situation did not improve, and it was discovered that legal steps were being planned whereby the Bible school property could be seized for the new organization. The General Board of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, meeting in Indianapolis January 8, 1936, asked for the resignation of D. W. Reynolds as district superintendent of the Rocky Mountain District and of R. G. Finch as a member of the board of trustees of the Bible Training School.

Following this action of the General Board, the organization of the Immanuel Mission Church was rapidly effected and a new school was opened in the city of Colorado Springs. The leaders of the new movement took many of the local people with them, including most of the students and faculty members of the school. Several of the district churches were also tragically affected by the subsequent upheaval.

In spite of all this, the work, both in Colorado Springs and throughout the district, went forward. New faculty members were secured, and the Bible College went right on with its ministry. Armor D. Peisker assumed the presidency in 1936 and at the close of his final year in that position (1939) the graduating class of the Bible Training School was the largest in its history. After a time there was little evidence of the disruption.¹⁴

The legalistic overtones heard during the dissension in Colorado were not entirely new. Such notes had been sounded before among Pilgrims. A memorial brought before the 1938 General Assembly proposed that the Covenant be amended so as to forbid the wearing of wedding rings by members of the Church. Following considerable discussion the memorial was tabled. But this was not the last time the subject came to the attention of a general conference. During the 1950 Conference a memorial opposing the wearing of all rings was proposed for the section of Special Rules. It was carried by a vote of 285 for and 17 against.

During the debate, it was asked whether this would be a test of membership, and the chairman ruled that it would not be. The Special Rules were considered as advices rather than as being mandatory. Subsequently questions concerning this matter were addressed to the General Superintendents who also made several decisions in keeping with the ruling of the chairman. In 1954 the General Conference adopted a resolution denying to any district or local church the right to impose rules which were contrary to the *Manual*, and followed with a request that any district which had such in its minutes would delete them.¹⁵

THE NEW YORK SCHISM

Nevertheless, there was a growing polarization between those inclined to be legalistic about various aspects of Christian living and those inclined to allow for individual differences. The situation became acute in the New York District, where controversy involved the wearing of the wedding ring, the remarriage of divorced persons and television. The 1962 New York District conference resolutions committee proposed that the district affirm its rights to make its own membership rules and draw up the same. The general superintendent chairing the session ruled it out of order, but his ruling was appealed and overthrown.

Consultations between denominational and district leaders followed. When the district superintendent appeared before the General Board and was asked if he could serve as pastor or superintendent under the *Manual* he replied in the negative. He was removed from office by the executive council on February 13, 1963.

The dissidents immediately reconvened what they called a "district conference" and formed a new organization under the name, The Pilgrim Holiness Church of New York, Inc. Some thirty churches were involved. They claimed the church properties, seized the three district camp meetings and began publishing a periodical. The matter was taken to the civil courts. Final settlement was achieved with an out-of-court agreement being reached in the fall of 1976. The dissident group dropped its claim to autonomy, asked permission to withdraw and paid a token amount for the properties it occupied.¹⁶

PILGRIM TRAINING SCHOOLS

The zeal and dedication of the earliest Pilgrims to evangelism at home and overseas was matched by their commitment to Christian education. From the beginning they sought to establish Bible training schools to prepare workers to fill places of leadership in the expanding movement.

In 1900 God's Bible School in Cincinnati began under the direction of Martin Wells Knapp. For more than two decades this institution was an important center for training Pilgrim ministers and missionaries.

Within a decade of the beginning of the Cincinnati school, four other training centers were serving Pilgrims in different parts of the country. In 1903 the Greensboro Bible and Literary School opened in Greensboro, North Carolina, under the leadership of Winfred R. Cox, a minister who later was to become a general superintendent of the Church. The Rocky Mountain Missionary and Evangelistic Training School, Colorado Springs, Colorado, began its ministry in 1905 under the leadership of William H. Lee. The Beulah Holiness Academy, Shackelfords, Virginia, was started in 1908. The Bible Holiness Seminary was begun in Owosso, Michigan, in the fall of 1909. W. O. Nease was the first president.

At the time of the 1930 General Assembly there were eight officially recognized Bible schools in the denomination. Four of these were designated as "General Church" schools. They were the Greensboro Bible and Literary School; the Colorado Springs Bible Training School (originally known as the Rocky Mountain Missionary and Evangelistic Training School); Pilgrim Bible College, Pasadena, California (founded in 1917); the Kingswood Holiness College, Kingswood, Kentucky (founded in 1919).

The other four were known as "district schools" because they were affiliated with various districts of the Church. They were Beulah Holiness Academy, Shackelfords, Virginia; Bible Holiness Seminary, Owosso, Michigan; Beulah Park Bible School, Allentown, Pennsylvania (founded in 1921); Frankfort Pilgrim College and Theological Seminary, Frankfort, Indiana (founded in 1927).

Even under normal conditions, adequate support for eight training schools was too much to expect from 17,400 members.

The coming of the Depression made the burden impossible. As a result, the Kingswood school had to close in 1931. Frankfort was compelled to suspend operations in 1931, and did not reopen until the fall of 1939. In 1933 the schools at Shacklefords and Greensboro were no longer able to continue and were incorporated with the school at Allentown under H. D. Dieter who became president in 1932.

The two schools in the West did continue to serve their respective areas, but only with difficulty. In the best of times, there were not enough Pilgrims west of the Mississippi to provide a constituency, and the Depression added considerably to the schools' problems. The Pasadena school did finally have to close and reopened only after its assets were merged with another school in El Monte, California, which had been brought to the Pilgrims through a merger of the Holiness Church in 1946.

So it was that by the fall of 1933 only four Pilgrim Holiness schools were in operation—those in Pasadena, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; Owosso, Michigan; and Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Writing of the educational situation at this interval, historian Paul Westphal Thomas observed:

The Church was still threatened with the loss of some more of the schools, in the face of which an appeal was voiced for everyone to rally.⁵⁷ The response of the Church in behalf of the schools was good, particularly in the Michigan District. It seemed that Owosso Bible Holiness Seminary had turned the corner financially. . . .

It took longer for Allentown to build a constituency. There the enrollment remained practically the same until 1940. . . .

The end of the decade, 1939, marked the beginning of a brighter day for Pilgrim Holiness Church education. The schools began to get back on their feet. In 1939, Frankfort Pilgrim College reopened. In May 1940, Bible Holiness Seminary reported 139 students enrolling; fourteen states and eighteen denominations were represented. The school at Allentown felt the influx of new life. When the directors met in May of 1941, "the feeling prevailed that Allentown Bible Institute had turned the proverbial corner to better days."⁶⁰ The student body increased and new buildings began to appear on the campus.¹⁷

This upbeat attitude toward the schools was apparent in the

report of General Superintendent Surbrook to the General Board in October 1945. He said:

Praise God for our Bible schools and the growing consciousness of their being a genuine necessity in preparing our young people for the Lord's vineyard. Reports received from three of our schools show the greatest enrollment in their history. This splendid growing student body is necessitating the launching of a great building program that is already planned by some of the schools. Further, our North Carolina brethren have a splendid property all paid for with thousands in the bank, and are to open the new school in the fall of 1946. This should adequately care for the Bible school needs in our Southern Zone.¹⁸

The North Carolina school, Southern Pilgrim College, did indeed open in 1946 with W. L. Surbrook as president. It continued to serve the Church well until merger in 1968.

Up to this time Pilgrim educational institutions were primarily academies, junior colleges and Bible schools. However, for years the need for a liberal arts college had been expressed repeatedly in official circles. In 1950 positive action was taken to meet that need. At that time the general conference voted to establish a liberal arts college, making provision for it in the general budget, and assigning the General Board the task of implementing their action.

Complying with the mandate of the general conference, the board voted in 1951 to establish the liberal arts college in connection with the existing Owosso, Michigan, school. It was not until 1957, however, that the negotiations were completed whereby the general Church could establish the senior liberal arts college on the Owosso campus. Paul Elliott became president of the school in 1960, serving until 1966 when D. R. Bursch, missionary to Zambia, succeeded him. "Considerable growth in student body and expansion of campus and facilities were experienced, but complete success still eluded the school at the time of the 1968 merger."¹⁹

Another noteworthy step toward strengthening Pilgrim educational institutions was taken at the November 1958 meeting of the General Board. At that time the board voted to relocate the Colorado Springs Bible College in Bartlesville, Oklahoma. One year later the same body voted to merge the El Monte, California, school, then known as Western Pilgrim College, with

the institution moved from Colorado Springs to Bartlesville. By 1960 the transfer and merger had been completed, and the resulting school, Central Pilgrim College, began serving the western area of the Church. That service was fruitful from its beginning. Instrumental in the establishment of Central Pilgrim College was C. E. Wert, a member of the faculty at Eastern Pilgrim College.

At the 1968 International Conference, Pilgrim schools in the United States reported an enrollment of 945 persons.

DENOMINATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL CURRICULUM PROVIDED

Sunday schools had long been a familiar part of the Protestant church life in America. Pilgrims, following in this tradition, had always made Sunday schools an important part of their program. Of the 488 Pilgrim churches in the United States in 1930, 462 reported having Sunday schools with a total enrollment of 28,561.²⁰ There was, however, no official Pilgrim curriculum or literature of any kind. Each school needed to seek out and use whatever materials it found on the general market.

This was inadequate, and a persistent desire had been expressed by delegates to the general assemblies and conferences for the Church to publish its own Sunday school literature. Such a recommendation was referred to the general board by the 1934 General Assembly. The board unanimously adopted the resolution and authorized the publication of Sunday school literature to begin. Two student quarterlies (adult and intermediate), a teacher's quarterly and lesson leaves were published initially.²¹

The first of the curriculum pieces came out under the *Full Salvation* label and were distributed to the churches for use beginning January 1936. The masthead lists W. C. Stone as editor and Florence Carlson as assistant editor. Contributing editors were W. L. Surbrook, B. O. Shattuck, H. J. Olsen and P. W. Thomas.²² H. J. Olsen wrote for the quarterlies continually for the next three decades.

The printing of the new curriculum was done by the Economy Printing Concern of Berne, Indiana. The relationship

with that press was most fortunate, and continued until Pilgrims installed their own presses soon after moving into new headquarters in July 1945.

The *Full Salvation* quarterlies were welcomed and used with gratitude throughout the Church. The outlines used by the writers of the new Sunday school curriculum were those prepared by the Lesson Committee of the International Council of Religious Education which were at the time widely used by independent denominational publishers throughout the country. W. C. Stone, designated as editor of the *Full Salvation* Sunday school literature, was already editor of the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, and until 1955 the editor of the *Advocate* continued to have responsibility for editing the literature.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION

According to national statistics, from 1916 to 1940 there had been a decline in Sunday school attendance throughout the country. Government figures indicated that in spite of the increase in population, Sunday school enrollment decreased 12.6 percent between 1926-1936.²³

Again, Pilgrim statistics did not follow the national pattern. Sunday school enrollment in Pilgrim Holiness churches in the United States and Canada in 1930 was over 28,500 and the average weekly attendance during the preceding quadrennium was over 18,700. The figures in 1942 were enrollment 57,053, attendance 42,853.

This growing interest in the Sunday school was evident also in the fact that Pilgrims began to urge general Church participation in promoting this important arm of the denomination. In response to that appeal, the General Board recommended to the 1942 General Conference that a Sunday school committee of three be appointed to research teacher training, the need for and expense of graded lessons, and to work with district superintendents to promote Sunday schools.²⁴

This recommendation was adopted. The committee consisted of Paul F. Elliott, Jr., chairman, H. J. Olsen and Helen Francis. The committee set about publicizing Sunday school work and making plans for a Churchwide Sunday school rally to be held in the fall.

These efforts proved fruitful, as did further efforts throughout the quadrennium. In reporting to the 1946 General Conference, the Sunday school committee indicated that the number of Sunday schools in the United States and Canada had increased during the quadrennium from 733 to 817, enrollment in the homeland had reached 60,112 and average weekly attendance, 43,973.

Chairman Elliott pointed out in his report to the general conference that these gains were made in spite of the fact that most of the Sunday schools faced the loss of most of their young men and some of their young women to the armed forces. Other problems cited were the shifting population and strict wartime rationing of gasoline and tires.²⁵

The 1946 General Conference authorized the election of a general Sunday school secretary who was to become a member of the General Board. He was charged with promoting Sunday school and young people's work across the denomination. Mr. Elliott was elected to this newly established office.

The general conference also voted that each conference "appoint annually a conference Sunday school board composed of not less than three members" and a conference Sunday school secretary, who was to be a member of the conference Sunday school board and was to serve as promotional secretary.²⁶

Summarizing the later development of the Sunday school department, Paul William Thomas wrote:

Progressively it broadened the spectrum of its interests to cover practically the total range of Christian education other than institutional education, and this was reflected at the 1958 General Conference by the renaming of the department and its officer by adding the words "and Youth." . . . In addition to moving beyond Sunday schools to the organizing and promoting of the Pilgrim Youth Society, the department was authorized in 1962 to launch the Christian Youth Crusaders (CYC) program which was already in operation among the Free and Wesleyan Methodists. In 1965-66 the groundwork was laid for launching YES Corps (Youth—Enlisted, Serving), enlisting youth sixteen years of age and older for short-term Christian service, including evangelistic crusades on foreign and home mission fields. By the time of merger, other programs had been added in the fields of vacation Bible school, and the Pilgrim Evangelical Leadership Training (PELT).²⁷

DEPRESSION RECOVERY

The Depression had begun during the first years of the Hoover administration, and continued on in varying degrees of intensity until the outbreak of the Second World War. The President bent every effort to restore normal times. Previous presidents, when faced with a downward turn in the business cycle, had considered it to be a matter for business itself to handle, rather than one in which the federal government should become involved.

At first Hoover was of the same opinion and, like most Americans, assumed that the crash was only a temporary dip in the business cycle. As the situation worsened, however, the President concluded that unless there was intervention by the government the whole economic structure of the nation would collapse.

Numerous federal programs therefore, were instituted. For a time it seemed that the tide was turning and that prosperity might be on its way. But as the 1932 presidential election approached, the downward trend began anew and the people demanded a change. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in a landslide vote.

While the state of the economy had dominated the 1932 campaign, another issue took a prominent place, namely prohibition. Since 1919 the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution had outlawed the liquor traffic, and there had always been much opposition to prohibition, but during the Hoover administration that opposition became especially bitter and vocal. In an effort to solve the unbearable problem, Hoover appointed a Law Enforcement Commission to conduct an investigation. Following the recommendations of this Commission, Hoover in his 1932 campaign advocated the continuation of the Amendment, acknowledging that changes needed to be made in the system of enforcement. Roosevelt, on the other hand, demanded repeal of the Amendment.

Pilgrims were strong prohibitionists; their *Manual* insisted upon abstinence from the "sale and use of intoxicating liquors."²⁸ Soon after the report of the President's Commission, Editor Stone in the *Advocate* dated January 29, 1931, doubtless expressed the feelings of Pilgrims generally. He wrote as follows:

As usual the "Wets" are trying to create the impression that Prohibition is a failure and the repeal of the 18th Amendment is soon to be accomplished. Their present efforts are concentrated upon misrepresenting the report of the Commission appointed by President Hoover to investigate impartially and thoroughly the whole situation regarding Prohibition and its enforcement. A careful reading of the report of the Commission, however, reveals the fact that these able and representative men after careful investigation agree in their opposition to the return of the open saloon, and that while the present enforcement of the Prohibition law is very imperfect, it has brought untold benefit to the nation and should be given a fair chance by stricter and more efficient enforcement.²⁹

Hoover's numerous federal programs, providing public works to offset the depressing unemployment, over his four-year term cost the government more than two and a quarter billion dollars. As a presidential candidate, Roosevelt criticized those expenditures, but he later declared such expenditures to be essential to recovery, and as President proceeded to initiate even more extensive relief programs, such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the Resettlement Administration (RA).

The most ambitious of the New Deal efforts was the National Recovery Act (NRA) inaugurated in June 1933, to facilitate the cooperation of all American employers in an effort to shorten working hours, raise wages and increase employment. To support the NRA became a patriotic duty, and its attractive Blue Eagle symbol was displayed by all businesses agreeing to follow NRA regulations and by all householders pledging to buy only from Blue Eagle firms. The NRA was especially unpopular among Christian groups with strong dispensational convictions. They were particularly disturbed for they thought they saw in the Blue Eagle the "mark of the beast." Some Pilgrim voices were among those who lamented and warned against the restrictions to individual freedoms brought on by the NRA which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional in 1935.

During these years of Depression the hard-pressed Pilgrims were busy in the Lord's work. General Secretary Paul Westphal Thomas assisted General Superintendent Surbrook with the missions supervision and in 1934 was elected as foreign missions

departmental secretary. These depression years saw "the beginning of work in Northern Rhodesia in 1934, the penetration of the interior and coastal regions of British Guiana and the spread of the work to the Philippines where missionaries were sent in 1937."³⁰

On the home front the General Board appointed L. D. Sharp as home missionary representative soon after the 1930 General Assembly. Sharp and his successor, L. L. Waddell, held tent campaigns and organized many new churches. In 1934 R. W. Wolfe took over and for 12 years was associated with the department of home missions. Home missionaries such as R. W. Miner, W. C. Bowman and George Beirnes were appointed. Home missions districts blossomed under the energetic evangelistic efforts of superintendents like D. R. Close, W. O. Bottenberg, W. E. Honeycutt, R. D. Brown, E. R. Himmelright, W. H. Hobbs, Neal Horton and W. H. Pratt. The Edward Boone family opened an outstanding work in Des Moines, Iowa. E. O. Howell and J. C. Williams were prominent among the church extension workers of this period.³¹

Rescue work in the form of a home for erring girls continued through the Depression years. Melvin Pratt and his son, William, operated such a home first in St. Louis, Missouri, then in Terre Haute, Indiana, and finally at Springfield, Illinois. This effort came to an end with the 1946 General Conference.³²

DURING WAR TIMES

Just how successful the Roosevelt administration might have been in solving the nation's economic woes will never be known, for by the mid-1930s ominous clouds of war over Europe again threatened the peace of the world. The President was thereby forced to halt his dramatic attempts to reconstruct American life and give his attention to the even more grave and far-reaching task of preparing to meet the inevitable approaching international storm.

Since World War I there had been a strong feeling throughout the United States that never again should the nation become involved in European affairs. Men and women, both inside and outside of Congress, who firmly believed in this isolationist policy were a powerful influence.

This worked to the advantage of Adolf Hitler, Germany's chancellor, when in 1936 he openly disregarded the provisions of the Versailles Treaty by sending his troops into the Rhineland. This move was recognized as a danger signal and became a matter of worldwide concern, but the United States refused to join its former allies in a collective security pact against the blatant aggressor.

With Japan's expressed purpose to expand, and with Mussolini aligning himself with Hitler, the fear of widespread conflict increased. Matters grew worse as the Nazis in 1938 proceeded to swallow up their neighbors one by one. Roosevelt, convinced that 90 percent of the world's people were being endangered by the other 10 percent, likened the situation to the spreading of a deadly disease. In 1939 he sought to obtain changes in the nation's neutrality laws but Congress would not go along.

Hitler proceeded to invade Poland and friends of that country, Britain and France, declared war on Germany. The United States Congress repealed the law forbidding the sale of arms and munitions. The President was then free to feed aid to the victims of aggression.

In the spring of 1940 Hitler's war machine went into high gear. In the fall Congress, in an effort to strengthen the United States for any eventuality, enacted America's first peace-time draft law. Then on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Germany and Italy thereupon declared war on the United States. In spite of themselves, the American people had become full-fledged partners in the frightful struggle.

The events of this single day brought about drastic changes in the attitudes of the American people. As Ahlstrom notes, "The great debates were at an end. An 'army' of pacifists dwindled to about twelve thousand (or about 1 percent of those who registered for the draft). About \$4 million was raised during the war to support various forms of alternative service."

The churches evidenced the same change in attitude as the general public. They

. . . showed no reluctance supporting the war effort. All became engaged in the characteristic tasks of war, providing about eight thousand chaplains, raising money and volunteers for war service

agencies, distributing Bibles, prayer books, and devotional literature, maintaining contact with servicemen, consoling and aiding those left behind.³³

Pilgrim Church officials were quick to declare the loyalty of the denomination to the government. At a special called meeting February 5, 1942, the General Board adopted a Resolution of Loyalty and placed it in the official records of the Church. The resolution read:

INASMUCH as we have enjoyed the benefits of the United States of America, and our beloved homeland, all the days of our lives, and

WHEREAS our nation is now imperiled by war.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That we, the district superintendents and General officers of the Pilgrim Holiness Church assembled in Indiana, pledge ourselves to cooperate with our government as fully as possible and to pray faithfully for all our leaders and those in authority as God's Word directs us to do; and we call upon our Church to follow the same example.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States and that it also be printed in our official publication, the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*.³⁴

Individual Pilgrims, like other good Americans, wanted in practical ways to support their government, but many of them were troubled. Conscientiously against war in general, they did not know just what they should do. A Special Rule in the *Manual* of the Church expressed their point of view. It declared: "Military warfare and the spirit of it are contrary to the teachings of the New Testament and the Spirit of Jesus Christ, therefore we are opposed to military training and strongly urge our members to refrain from bearing arms in war."³⁵

Then there was also the matter of being involved in defense work on Sunday. In becoming members of the Church, Pilgrims had pledged themselves:

. . . to remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy by doing no worldly business therein, such as buying and selling; and by avoiding all other occupations, pleasures, or traveling which cannot be consistently engaged in with an eye single to God's glory.³⁶

To guide these troubled members, the General Board at the special called meeting in February 1942 took the following action regarding men in the Armed Forces:

In consideration of the fact that we are a non-combatant organization, Be it resolved, That our members be so informed. However, should the conscience of any members be directed otherwise they shall not be denied Christian fellowship in our Church.³⁷

At the same meeting the board also declared that since the national emergency had resulted in members being required to work on Sunday in defense work, this would not be considered a violation of the Church covenant prohibition of Sunday work.

This whole matter came to the floor of the general assembly of the Church which met in its regular session later in 1942. As a result, the Special Rule regarding warfare was revised to allow both conscientious objectors and supporters of the war effort to be members in good standing.³⁸

Before long many Pilgrims and members of the Pilgrim families were in the Armed Forces. To provide support and show appreciation for these people the Church began a program at headquarters in May 1942 called the Servicemen's Christian Fellowship. Promoted and handled through the foreign missions office, the Fellowship published an eight-page monthly paper for service people. The mailing list soon reached 10,000 and included many who were not Pilgrims. Birthday greetings, New Testaments and daily devotional books were sent. Letters of appreciation came from almost every branch of the service and from around the world.

This project was a witness to the willingness of Pilgrims everywhere to meet special needs of military personnel, for it was supported financially by freewill offerings that readily came in response to announcements. All expenses were met from those funds by the time the project was finished.³⁹

It is noteworthy that the 1942 *Manual* contained a new provision: "The General Superintendent, First Assistant General Superintendent and the General Secretary shall act as a committee to represent applicants for chaplaincy in the service of the United States Government."⁴⁰

The General Board outlined the duties of this committee as follows:

1. To recommend and sign all papers for any of our ministers that may wish to become army chaplains.
2. To carry on any correspondence and answer any inquiries of government officials, or correspondence from any other sources

that may be incidental to this particular phase of the work.⁴¹

Several years passed, however, before a working agreement for chaplains was effected with the government. This was finally arranged through the facilities of the National Association of Evangelicals and in cooperation with some larger denominations. In 1955 two Pilgrim chaplains were introduced: Eugene Frieson of the United States Army and O. R. Fitzgerald of the United States Navy. By the 1966 International Conference four Pilgrim Holiness ministers were serving as chaplains in the Armed Forces. During that conference General Superintendent Melvin H. Snyder gave the fact special attention. He stated: "Normally, I understand, a denomination is allowed one chaplain for each 50,000 members in the United States. If we succeed in supplying another chaplain, as requested, we will have one for each 7,000 members."⁴²

Throughout the trying war years, leaders of the Church sought in every way possible to encourage, strengthen and support Pilgrims everywhere. An example of this is seen in an article, *Attitudes for Days Like This*, by William H. Neff, then superintendent of the California District. He wrote:

These days call for the exercise of faith in the reign of a holy and righteous God. Faith is to rest neither in ourselves nor in others. . . . But it is to rest in God and His reign. . . . God has not absented Himself from the affairs of men. His judgment is in the world because of the sins of nations for one thing, and the Church, His true witness, is yet here, for another. God is still on His throne. Let your faith rest there, no matter what may be the course of the nations.⁴³

For the next four years the United States was compelled to wage a fierce and costly war on two fronts—in Europe and in the Pacific. Victory in Europe finally came in May 1945, and in the Pacific in August of the same year.

WAR AND PILGRIM MISSION WORK

Those war years brought dramatic changes affecting every area of American life. Conspicuous among those changes was the fact that the economic depression was swallowed up as all industries went into high gear to supply materials and services

for the war effort. Pilgrims individually and the Church generally benefited from the improved economic situation. While that was true in the homeland, those war years brought great difficulties for some of the overseas workers. This was particularly true in the Philippines where Japan's early attacks were so devastating. General Superintendent Surbrook, addressing the General Board on May 9, 1944, noted the curtailment of gospel activities in some places due to the restrictions caused by war and indicated that the shortage of ministers would become "more and more a dreadful reality."⁴⁴

Paul Westphal Thomas, then secretary of foreign missions, later referred to the situation as "the greatest of tragedies for the missionary enterprise throughout the Far East." In the Philippines the R. K. Storey family fled before the Japanese army, suffering the loss of their 12-year-old daughter, Lola Mae, to fever, only to be captured and interned early in 1942 in a prison camp until General Douglas MacArthur liberated the 3700 internees in 1945.⁴⁵

Other Pilgrim missionaries in various parts of the world also experienced hardship, and those in the homeland directly responsible for their welfare labored constantly under a great deal of pressure and apprehension. There was always the problem of the missionaries' safety and the likelihood of other fields being cut off as the Philippines had been.

A special concern of the time was to build up a fund which would enable the Church to deposit some surplus finances in the several fields so that missionaries could have access to money in case of the need to evacuate quickly, or in case mail or bank facilities in the United States might be cut off. This need was made known to the Church, and an appeal was made in the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* dated December 28, 1941, for \$10,000. By the following May 1, \$12,997.45 had been sent in to make up the War Emergency Fund. This gave credence to the fact that Pilgrims "were still rich in spiritual resources of faith, prayers, and self-denial."⁴⁶

Heretofore the foreign missions department did well just to keep the work going month by month, so this surplus was looked upon as a special answer to prayer brought about through the goodwill of Pilgrim donors. Secretary Thomas remarked at the time,

When we remember that, as a people, our resources for carrying on such a work were simply the faith and courage and love of the men and women attracted by the Spirit of God to this work, we can only conclude that our existence today is nothing less than a triumph of divine grace.⁴⁷

Travel restrictions, the rationing of staple foodstuffs, gasoline and tires, along with the necessity of waiving missionary furloughs for the duration, were difficulties which had to be met and contended with.

In spite of the hindrances encountered in the foreign missions effort of the Church, God was at work all the while and it was found when the clouds, smoke and dust of the war had cleared that work abroad had amazing growth.

Even the Filipinos had added two new churches. The income for world missions had increased by over 300 percent in four years. New fields had been entered, including the Isle of Pines (a Cuban dependency), Puerto Rico, Surinam, the province of Puebla in southern Mexico, and another station in Northern Rhodesia. Largely in 1945 and 1946 thirty-seven missionaries were sent out, of which twenty-five were going for the first time.⁴⁸

During and after World War II there was a great burst of nationalism throughout the world. Nations everywhere were clamoring for recognition and for self-government. This spirit was strong among churchmen as well as men of State. Among Pilgrims in mission lands this proved to be one of the principal factors leading to the accelerated growth of the overseas Church during and after the War.

This was made possible largely because of the adoption in 1931 of the *Policy of the General Board of the Pilgrim Holiness Church with Reference to Foreign Missions*. This document became the basic guideline by which the Department of Foreign Missions carried out its mission. It defined the objectives, outlined the organization, fixed responsibilities and introduced the concept of the indigenous church.

The development of the indigenous church became a primary objective for all who were involved in the Department. The Church at home, as well as the missionaries on the field, began to realize that their relationship with the Church overseas was fraternal rather than paternal. They came to see their task as training nationals for leadership roles among their own

people, to stand side by side with the overseas brethren, encouraging and aiding them to do for themselves rather than to expect the Church in the U.S. to sustain them and dictate their policies. An important feature of this effort was to place local churches, as well as districts and fields, on a basis of self-support and to provide for self-government in proportion to their measure of self-support.

When the war was over, nationals in Pilgrim mission fields had been working by these principles for more than a decade. Already present was a body of trained national ministers with strong leaders among them—products of the national training schools which for years had been functioning in strategic centers in the various fields. So it was that the national leaders and their people were in a position to move their own work forward, and they did so with remarkable success.

An outstanding example of this was seen in the Philippines under the leadership of Paul William Thomas and Wayne Wright. "Indigenization was probably as thorough here as anywhere throughout the work, and the nationals responded wholeheartedly to their responsibilities, developing a full orbbed program which was dynamic indeed."⁴⁹

Following the close of World War II, the missionary department extended its ministry into new areas. Work was opened in South Africa among the people of European background. Brazil, South America, was also entered by Pilgrim workers, the first missionaries being appointed in 1958. It was hoped that this could be made an extension of the already-established work in Guyana, but this plan proved impractical because of political boundaries and restrictions. Real development, however, began with the arrival of the Paul Downeys and the Paul Phillippes.

During those years there was remarkable growth in the Caribbean Area, and Pilgrims from that region established a gospel beachhead in the British Isles. Pilgrims from the British West Indies and British Guiana, South America, migrated to England seeking better economic conditions. In considerable numbers they settled in London and the industrial cities. In 1957 Dennis Sampson, a licensed Pilgrim minister from the island of Antigua, went to England to minister to his people, beginning services in Birmingham in March 1958. His efforts resulted in an organized church, and soon there were other

such congregations.

In 1962, under the appointment of the General Board, William H. Pratt of Indiana went to visit the work in England and set up an interim organization with Sampson as superintendent. The work prospered and from time to time was visited by other leaders from the States, including general superintendents. The churches in the British Isles maintained a unique relationship with the general Church, being directly under the supervision of the general superintendents rather than that of the foreign missionary department.

The same year that Rev. Pratt went to England 2,000 new members were added to the family of Pilgrims in Africa. This occurred through the merger of the Africa Evangelistic Mission with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The Mission was founded early in this century by the Isaac Lehmans, independent missionaries from the States, among African nationals working the gold fields around Johannesburg. It was brought into the Pilgrim Holiness Church by Orai I. Lehman, son of the founders, who had been appointed leader of the group at the death of his father. Converts of the Lehmans had carried the gospel to Portuguese East Africa where, at the time of the 1962 merger there were 84 organized mission stations besides 50 such stations in the mining compounds of Johannesburg.

PILGRIM PENSION PLAN

In his report at the May 1944 meeting of the General Board, General Superintendent Surbrook addressed the need for adequate provision for financial assistance to aging ministers, pointing out that some of the districts were trying to provide such aid. He recommended that a committee be set up to formulate a plan to be reported at the May 1945 board meeting.⁵⁰

The board acted favorably upon this recommendation, and the general superintendent appointed such a committee. The following February (1945) that committee reported its activities to the board. The report included an age and service census of the Church's ministers, articles and rules for the incorporation of the fund, a recommendation that the committee be continued through the next general conference, and a suggestion that further effort be made to contact the district ministers in the

interest of the plan.

This was not the first general Church effort to assist some of the retiring workers of the Church. Since 1935 there had been the Foreign Missions Retirement Fund. In this plan both the participating worker and the Church contributed five percent of the worker's support. This money was invested in U.S. government bonds, held in the name of the worker. The accumulated funds were made available when the worker retired from service in the foreign missions department. In case of death, the money went to the dependents or heirs. This plan remained in operation through the years, but it was open only to foreign missionaries.

Also there had been a Ministers' Benevolent Fund sustained by miscellaneous contributions, and distributed from time to time to those who were deemed most needy. Two burial associations had been sponsored by the general Church—one for laymen and one for ministers--the Burial Association for Laymen and the Ministerial Benefit Association.

The 1946 General Conference adopted a plan based on a percentage of participating ministers' salaries and a regular remittance by the employing church or agency. This was incorporated in 1947 as the Pilgrim Pension Plan. By order of the general conference, it supplanted the Ministers' Benevolent Fund. By action of the General Board, the Pension Plan, the Burial Association, and the Ministerial Benefit Association were placed together for administration in the Pension Plan office.

The Pension Plan proved to be a sound financial operation which considerably benefited Pilgrim ministers up to the time of merger in 1968. At that time there were 682 participating members, and the total assets of the Plan were \$1,343,545.42.

SUNDAY SCHOOL CURRICULUM UPGRADED

General Editor P. W. Thomas, in his report to the 1954 General Conference, pointed up the need for upgrading and updating Pilgrim Sunday school materials. He recommended that the teacher's quarterly be enlarged to serve teachers of both adults and youth, that a primary-junior quarterly be initiated, that the primary quarterly be made more attractive to children and that a beginner teacher's quarterly be developed.⁵¹

The Editor pointed out that the current materials did provide some guidance at several age levels but, he said "the age emphasis needs to be greater, the range broader."

At the November 1954 board meeting Editor P. W. Thomas was authorized to carry out the plan as outlined in his report. At the same meeting the board also voted "that the editor be given permission to set up the office of Associate Editor in charge of Sunday school literature."⁵²

One year later Editor Thomas reported to the general board that the editorial staff had prepared a new line of Sunday school literature called the "Full Salvation Graded Series of Sunday School Literature." The increased editorial staff was headed by Rev. Armor D. Peisker, a curriculum writer for 16 years.⁵³

In late 1955 Editor Peisker announced the availability of the new Sunday school literature for use in the local churches for the first quarter of 1956, marking the twentieth anniversary of the denomination's publishing of its own line of Sunday school helps. Adaptable to either small or large Sunday schools, the series included four teacher's quarterlies for varying age levels, two student quarterlies and four take-home papers.

The development of the new curriculum called for an expanded use of the Uniform Outlines, especially their adaptations for children and youth. It was thought advisable, therefore, for the editor of the Sunday school literature to become a working member of the Committee on the Uniform Series, the producers of those outlines. That body, made up of an interdenominational group of editors and Christian educators from some 30 denominations, met annually to develop new outlines for the ongoing use of lesson writers at the various publishing houses.

Through such involvement the editor of Sunday school literature would attain background knowledge and experience which would help toward a more effective use of the outlines in building Pilgrim curricula. Hopefully, he might also have influence in shaping the outlines' scriptural content and project adaptations. A group of 40 to 50 members of the committee met annually for a full week of lesson planning. The literature editor's involvement with the committee continued until the time of merger in 1968.

Meanwhile, the idea of cooperative printing of curricula

and related materials by several holiness denominations was discussed by two or three people at the April 1957 meeting of the National Holiness Association in Chicago. In August of the same year, at the invitation of Free Methodist Publisher Lloyd Knox, a number of holiness denominational leaders met at the Free Methodist Headquarters in Winona Lake, Indiana, to consider the feasibility of such projects. This resulted in the organization of the Holiness Church Owned Publishers' Association with the following denominations being represented: Churches of Christ in Christian Union, Church of the Nazarene, Evangelical Friends Alliance, Evangelical Methodist Church, Free Methodist Church, Pilgrim Holiness Church, The Missionary Church and The Wesleyan Methodist Church. The first constitution of the cooperative group was adopted in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1959 and the name was changed to Holiness Denominational Publishers' Association (HDPA).

In 1958 the term *Aldersgate* had been chosen to designate cooperative holiness publishing projects. This name seemed fitting for publications produced by denominations committed to Arminian-Wesleyan theology since it was associated with John Wesley's "heart-warming" experience on Aldersgate Road in London, England. Later the Association chose to incorporate this term into its name, and from that time it was known as the Aldersgate Publications Association (APA).

The first cooperative venture was launched in 1958 as the *Aldersgate Biblical Series*. To be produced by the Free Methodist Light and Life Press, the series was to provide quarterly teacher and student study guides for an inductive book-by-book consideration of the entire Bible suited for use in adult Sunday school classes and week-night Bible study groups.

With Donald Joy of Light and Life Press as editor, writers were to be chosen from various ones of the cooperating denominations. The first set of the guides was available for use in 1960. By 1962 sixteen of the projected forty sets of quarterlies had been published. The entire series was completed in 1966.

In 1959 the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Church of the Nazarene joined in the development of a nursery curriculum. In 1960 Pilgrims, Wesleyan Methodists and Nazarenes joined to produce a cooperative nursery curriculum for three-year-olds.

Two years later the *Aldersgate Doctrinal Studies* was

proposed and assigned to the Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House. It was to provide student and teacher guides for adult use in studying Christian doctrines of particular concern to holiness denominations. The first set of quarterlies, *Entire Sanctification*, presenting a study of Christian holiness, became available for use in 1964, adding another Bible-oriented elective for Pilgrim Sunday schools and/or other Bible study groups.

During the 1960s the Pilgrims joined various other holiness denominations in producing kindergarten materials, a devotional, vacation Bible school materials and take-home papers.

NEW EMPHASES IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

There was an increasing demand for teaching and learning guides in which Scripture content, suggested methodology and stimulating audiovisuals were more precisely adapted to age-level abilities and needs of children and youth. This demand was being voiced not only in Pilgrim circles, but the call was being heard among the other churches cooperating in APA. So it was that in 1963 the most significant cooperative project thus far attempted by APA was initiated. It proved to be an arduous task engaging more than a score of editors and writers and a like number of publishers and printers. The new curriculum had to be developed and published in addition to the production of the current Uniform materials. But when, in September 1969, the curriculum materials appeared with their modern formats in striking colors, including exciting audiovisuals, the five difficult years of work seemed worthwhile. A Christ-centered, Bible-based curriculum for life-changing learning was available to our churches. This new curriculum followed the "academic year," not "quarters" as previously.

BETWEEN THE END OF THE WAR AND MERGER

The administration of the Church continued with one general superintendent and two assistants until 1958. During the early 1940s criticisms by some of the general officers of certain methods and actions by General Superintendent Surbrook caused some ripples in administrative waters which splashed out into the Church. Although an attempt was made to change

leadership, and rumors circulated that the Church was about to be split if there was not a change, the leaders held steady. At the 1946 General Assembly the situation resolved with different men in top positions.⁵⁴

The 1946 General Conference (renamed from General Assembly in 1942) elected L. W. Sturk to succeed Surbrook as general superintendent (Surbrook became president of the new Southern Pilgrim College at Kernersville, North Carolina). At this conference another merger was effected when The Holiness Church of California united with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, adding 19 churches, a school and a mission work in Peru. The year following this general conference the Church observed its fiftieth anniversary. At that time the denomination had 811 churches in 24 districts and in 34 states of the Union.⁵⁵

Also beginning terms of service in 1946 were R. G. Flexon, secretary of foreign missions; Roy A. Beltz, secretary of home missions, and Paul W. Thomas, editor of the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*. E. V. Halt continued as general treasurer but also became publishing agent, a newly created position. Another new office, secretary of Sunday schools, was filled by Paul F. Elliott, Jr. Following the war came a time of church building, expansion and relocation. A loan fund was authorized and instituted for church building in home mission fields.⁵⁶

Few leadership changes occurred in 1950, the last general conference to convene at the historic Frankfort, Indiana, site. In 1954 R. C. Hawkins was elected secretary of church extension and home missions (the department was renamed in 1950), and H. T. Mills was chosen to fill the newly created position of general secretary of education. Upon the sudden death of General Superintendent Sturk in 1955, William H. Neff, first assistant general superintendent, stepped into the top leadership position.⁵⁷

At the 1958 General Conference the body voted to elect three general superintendents (it had been 32 years since this had been done). The three men elected were William H. Neff, Richard G. Flexon and Melvin H. Snyder. R. A. Beltz became secretary-treasurer and Ermal Wilson, secretary of foreign missions.⁵⁸

In 1962 the worldwide scope of the Pilgrim Holiness Church was reflected in the vote to change the Church's

quadrennial gathering from General Conference to International Conference. Neff and Snyder were reelected as general superintendents and Paul W. Thomas was elected to succeed R. G. Flexon, who became president of Central Pilgrim College. J. D. Abbott became secretary-treasurer, Armor D. Peisker, editor, and O. D. Emery, secretary of Sunday schools and youth. In 1962 another merger occurred, with the Africa Evangelistic Mission bringing about 2000 members into the Church. Another prospective merger received attention in 1962, and a merger commission was elected to study and report on possible merger with the Wesleyan Methodist Church.⁵⁹

APPROACHING MERGER

The 1966 International Conference, a highly significant event, included delegates from eight of nine foreign fields, including the relatively new work in the British Isles. Retiring from general office were William H. Neff and Paul W. Thomas, E. V. Halt and R. C. Hawkins. Elected to serve with Melvin H. Snyder as general superintendents were Paul F. Elliott and John D. Abbott. Other general officers elected were D. Wayne Brown, secretary-treasurer; E. L. Wilson, secretary of world missions; W. N. Miller, secretary of church extension, and R. J. Halt, general publisher (brother of E. V. Halt who had served 36 years as treasurer and publishing agent). Reelected were O. D. Emery to Sunday schools and Peisker as editor.⁶⁰

On June 16, 1966, the international conference, after receiving word by phone in the morning that the Wesleyan Methodist General Conference had approved merger 130 to 33, voted in the afternoon 229 to 73 for the same proposal.⁶¹

As the merging conference approached, the final issue of the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, dated June 29, 1968, devoted its pages to summarizing Pilgrim history and expressing the Pilgrims' faith and hope for the future in the new Wesleyan Church. The editorial in that issue cited Samuel's Ebenezer—"stone of help"—memorial to God's faithfulness at a critical period of Israel's history. Samuel declared at the time, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us" (I Samuel 7:12). The editor wrote:

"Hitherto" is a midway word. It looks both backward and for-

ward. Ebenezer was, then, a reminder of good days in the past; but it was also a stirring call in the name of the mighty Deliverer to further victorious action in the days ahead. It was a token of God's hand in Israel's past, but it was also an assurance that He would go with them into the future. Whatever their future might hold, the God whose work for them was commemorated at Ebenezer would continue to be their sure Help. . . .

It is in such faith that we in this last issue of the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* raise our Ebenezer. As a Pilgrim Holiness Church, God has led us graciously thus far. He, we believe, leads us forward in our merger with the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

From the radiance of the sky behind us, we see brightness on the path that is bringing our churches together. We anticipate that the united group—The Wesleyan Church—will prove to be an even more effectual channel through which the God of our past will through all the future be able to make Himself known in a world sorely needing His love, peace, and healing grace.⁶²

In concluding his summary of Pilgrim history in the same issue of the *Advocate*, former General Superintendent P. W. Thomas observed:

. . . the church has set a good example and been somewhat of a pioneer in true New Testament ecumenicity in that it has within its fold no less than seven different bodies which have united with it. And as this history comes to its finish, the church is entering into its largest such effort in a merger with The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

There has been a steady growth in membership. Statistics for the earliest years are nonexistent, but the first meetings were with a mere handful of people. Today in the United States and foreign countries there are 56,763 members. For the past thirty years there has been a steady average quadrennial gain of 3,431 members.

The most important statistic of all is hardest to come by; this is the number of souls seeking salvation for any given period. . . . But it is not too much to say that thousands have been brought to God, many of whom are already in the glory!

Every large river is the sum total of many smaller streams. It is in the nature of rivers that flow in close proximity to unite. And so it is that the stream which has carried the name of The Pilgrim Holiness Church now merges with her sister stream, The Wesleyan Methodist Church, to flow together as The Wesleyan Church, "One in faith and doctrine; one in charity."⁶³

The final international conference of the Pilgrim Holiness Church met on June 25, 1968, at the Park Place Church of God in Anderson, Indiana, with General Superintendent Melvin Snyder presiding. Seven decades of the Church had brought the denomination from its small beginning to a membership of over 56,700.

From June 26-July 1 the merging conference convened at Anderson, Indiana, with a general superintendent emeritus from each Church as co-convenors (W. L. Surbrook and Roy S. Nicholson). This was the largest in a long series of mergers for the Pilgrims.⁶⁴

NOTES

¹Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 919-920.

²*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, 1930* (Indianapolis, Ind.: The Pilgrim Holiness Advocate, n.d.), p. 43.

³W. C. Stone, *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, April 24, 1930, p. 5.

⁴Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, p. 920.

⁵Paul Westphal Thomas and Paul William Thomas, *The Days of Our Pilgrimage: The History of the Pilgrim Holiness Church*; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 2; Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, Jr., eds. (Marion, Ind.: Wesley Press, 1976), p. 128.

⁶Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 125-130.

⁷Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 131-135, 140.

⁸Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 563.

⁹*Pilgrim Holiness Proceedings of The General Assembly, 1934* (Indianapolis, Ind.: The Pilgrim Book Room, n.d.), p. 54.

¹⁰Stone, *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, January 26, 1933, p. 5.

¹¹*Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1934* p. 71.

¹²*Minutes of the Eighteenth General Assembly . . . 1938*, p. 88.

¹³Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, p. 563.

¹⁴"Minutes of the Executive Council of the Pilgrim Holiness Church," January 8, 1936.

¹⁵Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas, *An Outline History of The Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Wesley Press, 1990), p. 175.

¹⁶Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 182.

¹⁷Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 163-64.

¹⁸"Minutes of the 26th Session of the General Board," October 31, 1945, p. 2.

¹⁹Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 176.

²⁰*Minutes of the General Assembly . . . 1930*, p. 76.

²¹Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 155-156.

²²*Full Salvation Adult Quarterly*, January-March 1936, p. 1.

²³Clarence H. Benson, *A Popular History of Christian Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1943), p. 338.

²⁴*Minutes of the Nineteenth General Conference . . . 1943*, p. 17.

²⁵*Minutes of the Twentieth General Conference . . . 1946*, p. 71.

²⁶*Minutes of the Twentieth General Conference . . . 1946*, p. 19.

²⁷Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 181.

²⁸*Manual of the Pilgrim Holiness Church*, revised by the General Assembly of 1930 (Indianapolis, Indiana: *The Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, n.d.), p. 28, hereafter the *Manuals* are referred to only as *Manual*, followed by the year.

²⁹Stone, *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, January 29, 1931, p. 5.

³⁰Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 181.

³¹Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 172, 174-179.

³²Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 236-237.

³³Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, p. 949.

³⁴*Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, February 19, 1942, p. 2.

³⁵*Manual*, 1938, Section 74, p. 50.

³⁶*Manual*, 1938, Section 29, par. 14.

³⁷"Minutes of the General Board, February 5, 1942," pp. 4-6.

³⁸*Manual*, 1942, Section 76, pp. 51-52.

³⁹Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 216.

⁴⁰*Manual*, 1942, Section 117, par. 4, p. 82.

⁴¹"Minutes of the General Board, February 5, 1942," p. 8.

⁴²*Minutes of the Twenty-fifth International Conference . . . 1966*, p. 88.

⁴³*Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, February 26, 1942, p. 2.

⁴⁴"Minutes of the General Board, May 9, 1944."

⁴⁵Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 213, 214, 217-218.

⁴⁶Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 214-215.

⁴⁷*Minutes of the Nineteenth General Conference . . . 1942*, p. 54.

⁴⁸Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, pp. 170-171.

⁴⁹Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 179.

⁵⁰"Minutes of the General Board, May 9, 1944," p. 5.

⁵¹*Minutes of the Twenty-second General Conference . . . 1954*, p. 80.

⁵²"Minutes of the General Board, November 9-11, 1954," p. 21.

⁵³"Minutes of the General Board, November 9-10, 1955."

⁵⁴Correspondence by W. L. Surbrook, Paul Westphal Thomas, R. W. Wolfe, S. M. Stikeleather, 1940-45, on file at the archives of the International Center of The Wesleyan Church, 8050 Castleway Drive, Indianapolis, Ind. 46250.

⁵⁵Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 233-239.

⁵⁶Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 223, 228.

⁵⁷Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 245, 253, 257-258.

⁵⁸Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 260-261.

⁵⁹Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 277-285.

⁶⁰Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 300, 302, 308.

⁶¹Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 305, 308.

⁶²Armor D. Peisker, *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, June 29, 1968, p. 3.

⁶³Paul Westphal Thomas, *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, June 29, 1968, p. 13.

⁶⁴Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 186.

CHAPTER 9

MINISTERIAL TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

John P. Ragsdale, Wayne E. Caldwell

Many founders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection and the International Holiness Union, although separated by decades of history, were highly motivated and self-taught individuals. They had an intense interest in providing educational opportunities for their infant constituencies. This led to the founding of institutions beyond the means of the Churches to support and before an adequate policy of governance to protect and develop them as Church-related colleges was developed. Although the founding of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection preceded the International Holiness Union by fifty-four years, their attempts to provide ministerial training and to develop institutions of higher education were very similar.

EFFORTS BY THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNECTION, 1841-1899

An examination of the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church toward higher education reveals strong opposition to higher education for ministers. Methodist members, including ministers, were largely underprivileged and unlettered, forgotten people of their time. In the United States between 1800 and 1830 twenty-four institutions of higher education were established and became permanent. Seventeen were denominational schools and seven were state or community institutions. Not one of them was Methodist. However, this began to change when the 1820 Methodist Episcopal General Conference passed a resolution calling for every annual conference to establish a literary institution. Methodists were encouraged by the bishops

to patronize these schools. This action resulted in a great crusade during the 1840s and 1850s in founding Methodist colleges. The high point of this movement came in the 1850s. By the time of the Civil War over 200 colleges had been started by the Methodists with at least one in thirty-three of the thirty-four states, and by 1939 Methodists had connections in one way or another with at least a thousand schools.¹ Through the efforts of LaRoy Sunderland, who left the Methodist Episcopal Church before his dream became reality, theological education was finally begun in 1841 at a conference academy in Newbury, Vermont.² It is noteworthy that the leaders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection were in the vanguard among Methodists in favor of providing higher education from the beginning. Their opinions and reactions to some prevailing sentiments were reflected in resolutions which were adopted by the First General Conference in 1844.

4. Resolved, That the supposition that the Scriptures do not require Christians, and especially Christian ministers, to study and become truly learned, when circumstances will permit, is a great and dangerous error.

5. Resolved, That the duties of the minister are such as demand of him to be well qualified in the great truths of the Bible, and the general principles of science, as he consistently can.

6. Resolved, That the proper improvement of the minds of young men who are called of God to the ministry, in scientific and biblical knowledge, is a subject of high importance, and as full of promise, as any which may be brought before our people; and the money which may be necessarily expended in its promotion, will ultimately do much toward the universal triumph of every benevolent enterprise. O. Scott, E. Smith, W. M. Sullivan, R. McMurdy, L. C. Matlack.³

The First General Conference also approved the opening of a seminary (high school) for both sexes in each annual conference area and a "Wesleyan Collegiate Institute" for literary and theological training, to be located at a suitable center.⁴ As a result, the first educational efforts were based on the strength of the Church at a regional level, and the annual conferences lacked the finances to provide adequate support. The resolutions adopted by the conference declared noble and ambitious goals and a committee was established to review all

propositions for the location of a Wesleyan Collegiate Institute. The report cited educational efforts in Dracut, Massachusetts, Royalton Centre, New York, and in Michigan. Most were merely in the planning stage and only the Wesleyan Institute at Dracut was actually opened and operated from 1844-46. The Allegheny Conference's plans for a school at Leesville, Ohio, and the New York Conference's plans for buildings it purchased in Royalton Center did not materialize.

Two major efforts in the midwest serve as the best examples of the early system of higher education. The Illinois conference chartered the Illinois Institute in 1848, located in Wheaton. It did not begin operating until 1853. When the institute faced serious financial concerns, the trustees approached the Congregationalists with a plan to cosponsor the college. In 1860 the original charter was surrendered and the Congregationalists obtained control of Wheaton College through majority membership on the board of trustees. Good relations continued to exist between the two denominations as President Blanchard, a Congregationalist, also pastored the Wheaton Wesleyan Methodist Church and was voted honorary membership in the Illinois Conference in 1860.⁵ A division within the Wheaton Wesleyan Methodist Church eventually led to a separation, and although Wesleyan board membership and faculty involvement continued for some time, Wheaton College became a Congregationalist college. It continues today as an independent Christian school.

Beginning in about 1849 the Michigan Conference opened a college at Leoni near Jackson, Michigan, which was known much of the time as Leoni Institute. In 1853 a charter was secured with the name Michigan Union College. By 1858, when they had a graduating class of seven, their indebtedness threatened to close their doors. The efforts of the 1859 conference to raise the needed funds were unsuccessful and the institution was sold to the United Brethren who operated it for only a brief time before it was closed. At the same time the school at Leoni was sold, the citizens of Adrian, Michigan, offered to the leaders of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, a site and \$30,000 for erecting buildings for a cooperative educational effort. The Wesleyans accepted the offer and Rev. Asa Mahan, former president of Oberlin College in Ohio, became the

president. A colorful incident occurred when Rev. Mahan "booknapped" the library at Leoni and transferred it to Adrian by horse-drawn wagons at night to avoid the wrath of Leoni's citizens. Over one hundred years later some rare and precious volumes of *The True Wesleyan* periodical which were in the Leoni library and which had been in the custody of Adrian College were obtained for the archives of The Wesleyan Church.

A charter was obtained from the state for Adrian College, including a clause concerning financial endowment, which became the foundation for conflict regarding responsibility and control. Article 9 read:

It is understood that the capital stock of said corporation is to be increased within the period of five years to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, . . . in case of failure to increase the capital stock within the time aforesaid, that a majority of the board of trustees shall be selected from any religious body that shall agree to increase said capital stock beyond the amount specified. . . .⁶

The controversy over whether the Wesleyan Methodist Connection had fulfilled this obligation, and the failure of the union movement with the Methodist Protestant Church combined to enable the Methodist Protestant Church in 1868 to secure full control of the college. Efforts by the Wesleyans to obtain adequate compensation for their investment were rebuffed. Rev. A. T. Jennings in his denominational history observes,

Perhaps the lesson the Wesleyans had to learn was that if they wanted a school they must create it and support it without depending upon men of the world and men of other denominations to help them, particularly if by tendering such help it became possible for them to turn the school away from the Wesleyans.⁷

Adrian College continues today as a United Methodist college.

The Church was concerned about providing and controlling higher education, especially for the training of ministers. The experiences noted here demonstrate that annual conference support and controls were inadequate to ensure fiscal viability and to protect denominational ties with the colleges. Wesleyan Methodist leadership recognized that Connectional control of

the infant institutions was essential to building an adequate system of higher education. It is not surprising that problems of transportation and communication between the annual conferences made the concept of a central, nationally supported college unrealistic.

The Connection recognized the value of a structured program for preparing ministers, whether or not an institution of higher education existed. The 1860 General Conference adopted the first educational standards for ministers. Before receiving an annual conference license, candidates had to pass examinations in English grammar, arithmetic, geography and natural philosophy. For ordination additional examinations were given in theology, natural and systematic; philosophy, mental and moral; history, of the Bible, of Christianity, of the world; national law and political economy.⁸ Through the years that followed, until the 1940s, many Wesleyan ministers completed their educational requirements through the course of study program.

The 1879 General Conference addressed educational concerns by developing sound Connectional educational policies. The conference developed plans for the Wesleyan Methodist Educational Association to be incorporated in the state of New York, and defined its purposes as follows:

The object of this society shall be to receive donations and bequests for educational purposes in the Wesleyan Methodist denomination . . . and that such corporation be organized upon a constitutional plan which will make it an utter impossibility for said fund to ever be diverted from the object for which said Association shall be incorporated.⁹

The Educational Society was organized in 1881 and began with an attempt to secure Connectional control of Wasioja Institute in Minnesota. In 1873 a building located at Wasioja had come into possession of trustees who wanted the Wesleyan Methodists to begin a school under their control. Although there was strong Wesleyan Methodist participation and support it was too far removed from any concentration of Wesleyans to serve the Connection.¹⁰

When these efforts failed, so did Wesleyan support, and the Institute eventually closed in 1892. The society also attempted to establish a Wesleyan Methodist Seminary at Wheaton

College. The Wheaton Theological Seminary opened in 1881 with Rev. L. N. Stratton as president. He served alone until 1887, when an assistant was hired. Rev. Stratton resigned in 1889 and the seminary closed one year later. Two schools in the south were operated for a time. Wesleyan Methodists, along with the Methodist Episcopal Church with its Freedman's Society, tried also to provide for negroes of the South. At Purdy, Tennessee, an abandoned and war-damaged college was obtained soon after the Civil War and served for the benefit of freedmen for a short time. By 1883 another school for ministerial students was also maintained for a brief time in North Carolina.¹¹

With the support of the Houghton, New York, Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Lockport Conference, the Houghton Seminary was founded by Rev. Willard J. Houghton in 1883. Following the securing of financial support and the construction of buildings, the school opened in September 1884. By 1888 a Bible training class was started, thus beginning theological education at our oldest existing college.

In addition to these attempts to provide higher education, the 1883 General Conference revised the course of study for ministers. The program was designed to be covered in three years. The introduction to the list of texts indicates the philosophy of ministerial preparation.

Of course it is expected that the Bible is the great textbook for all our ministers, and these other books here specified, are helps to a better understanding of the Bible, and to qualify us for our work.¹²

The list of texts was dominated by theology, Bible and professional books. Attention to areas of general knowledge was represented by standard texts on philosophy, ethics and history.

In 1895 the Book Committee was made the Educational Society, which controlled all funds for the support of education. To be eligible for any assistance, an institution had to come under the control of this society. In June 1896 the trustees of Houghton Seminary voted to bring the institution under the control of the society and in 1899 set up a college department; however the college was not authorized to grant degrees until the standards of the State of New York were met. Finally, in 1923 Houghton College was chartered to grant the usual

college degrees.¹³

The Wesleyan Methodist Church experienced great difficulty during the nineteenth century in trying to establish adequate educational institutions. The first and foremost problem that plagued the denomination was the lack of a cohesive denominational policy to fund and control the institutions which were founded. Many factors beyond the control of the denomination contributed to the loss of Wheaton and Adrian colleges. A lack of finances was critical in both situations. In general, the new administrators' inexperience in higher education led to the adoption of unwise fiscal policies.

In both instances cordial interdenominational ties with other Churches opened the door for the cooperating denomination to gain control of the boards of trustees. It is noteworthy that the relations between the denominations deteriorated and the Wesleyan Methodist Connection responded by developing educational policies which prevented this from occurring again.

EFFORTS BY THE PILGRIM HOLINESS CHURCH, 1900-1930

During the post-Civil War era a period of secularization began on the campuses of Protestant denominational colleges. The intellectual revolution from Europe spread through America's colleges and seminaries. The elements of naturalistic evolution, so-called higher criticism of the Scriptures, and liberal theology had a significant impact in higher education. In response, Christian leaders established new institutions primarily devoted to training Christian workers. The Bible college movement began with Nyack Missionary College and Moody Bible Institute.

The second stage of the nineteenth century revival probably involved more Methodists than all other denominations combined. A renewed emphasis on Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection caused some controversy within Methodism. Eventually, over 100,000 Methodists decided they could not continue with the Church and many new holiness Churches were established. The members of these Churches shared the aforementioned concerns about higher education, which led to the establishment of Bible colleges and institutes of both

interdenominational and denominational control.

The first organization, which ultimately became the Pilgrim Holiness Church, was the International Holiness Union and Prayer League founded in 1897 by Martin Wells Knapp and Seth Cook Rees. At first its goal was to promote holiness revival throughout the world among all denominations. It was not until 1913 that it became the International Apostolic Holiness Church. In keeping with its stated goal, Rev. Martin W. Knapp saw the need for a training institution to expedite the spread of holiness teaching and preaching. In 1900 he had founded God's Bible School and Missionary Training Home in Cincinnati. This institution became the center for missionary work in the denomination. The organization of God's Bible School served as a model for the founding of numerous Bible schools within the denomination. The same kind of optimism and aggressive expansion which characterized the Wesleyan Methodist Connection in its educational work was repeated by the International Apostolic Holiness Church. The first decade of the twentieth century saw five other institutions established. The Holiness Christian Church at New London, Indiana, established a Bible school in 1901 which later moved to Carlinville, Illinois. This school was sold in 1918.¹⁴ A group belonging to the International Apostolic Holiness Union in Greensboro, North Carolina, founded the Greensboro Bible and Literary School in 1903.¹⁵

The People's Mission Church established the Rocky Mountain Missionary and Evangelistic Training School in Colorado Springs in 1905. This school is one of the predecessors of Bartlesville Wesleyan College.¹⁶ Another school lasted only three years. It was founded by the Pentecostal Rescue Mission in Binghamton, New York, in 1908.¹⁷ A group of Union members established the Bible Holiness Seminary in Owosso, Michigan, in 1909. It was chartered as an independent, nondenominational effort.¹⁸

In 1914 the Pennsylvania-New Jersey District opened a school at Milton, Pennsylvania, which operated as Bethel Institute for a brief time. It offered Bible courses on a day school basis but because it had no boarding facilities it was considered inadequate.¹⁹ In 1918 the Pennsylvania District obtained an eight-acre tract of land near Allentown and voted to

establish a Bible school. The Beulah Park Bible School conducted classes in 1921 and opened for the first full year in 1922, with S. S. Nelson as president.²⁰

In 1917 the Pilgrim Church of California established the Pilgrim Bible College at Pasadena, California.²¹ The Pilgrim Church merged with the International Holiness Church in 1922 and the denomination became the Pilgrim Holiness Church. In 1919 the International Holiness Church took over a non-denominational holiness school at Kingswood, Kentucky, which the denomination attempted to promote as a general school as compared with the sectional schools. This attempt failed and Kingswood functioned as another sectional school, which continued in operation until 1931 when it closed as a result of the Great Depression.²² A major factor in the difficulties faced by the denomination's sectional schools was the strength and loyalty of the God's Bible School alumni. The Pilgrim Holiness Church did not develop denominational consciousness until the late 1920s. As a result there was an unintentional but de facto competition between God's Bible School and the schools of the denomination.

Two issues had a serious impact on these institutions. First, there was controversy concerning the degree of attention given to intellectual pursuits as compared with practical training and the expression of revival spirit. One of the teachers at Colorado Springs wrote,

When the church is backslidden there is little need to urge the emphasis of the intellectual. . . . While worldly churches suffer . . . because intellect . . . is given too prominent a place, the really spiritual work suffers because we do not realize the importance of sound, sanctified thinking.²³

The second, a more critical issue at this time, was the lack of coordinated denominational support and inadequate fiscal management and control. The cost of attending the schools was unrealistically low. Inadequate financial support of small constituencies, and programs of education provided by overburdened faculties who lacked adequate remuneration, contributed to the weakness of the schools. The 1924 General Conference recognized the need for denominational control and designated the schools at Pasadena, California, and Greensboro, North

Carolina, as general denominational schools in addition to the status already accorded the Kingswood Holiness College.²⁴ In actual practice very little was changed. The deeds were unaltered as the denomination could not assume the mortgages for the schools, and the primary support for the schools continued to come from the sectional and limited constituencies. The very next year the Indiana District undertook a project to open another Bible college.

The Frankfort Pilgrim Bible College opened in 1927 with 120 students and was chartered by the state of Indiana for the granting of degrees.²⁵ Rev. A. M. Ewing was the main leader in establishing the Bible college at Frankfort. He stated to Paul William Thomas that the prevailing view at the time was that such education was not necessary. The words "open your mouth and I will fill it" were often spoken (Luke 21:14-15). Most of the ministers at that time and even later on were ordained workingmen. This concept that ministerial education was unnecessary was widespread among the members and ministers of the Holiness Christian Church of Indiana as well as among other conservative groups in other places.²⁶

By 1930 there were eight Bible schools in the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Four were classified as "General Church" schools: Greensboro Bible and Literary School in Greensboro, Colorado Springs Bible Training School in Colorado Springs, Pilgrim Bible College in Pasadena and Kingswood Holiness College in Kingswood. Four were designated "district schools": Beulah Holiness Academy in Shackelfords, Virginia, Bible Holiness Seminary in Owosso, Michigan, Beulah Park Bible School in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and Frankfort Pilgrim College in Frankfort, Indiana.²⁷ There were clearly too many schools with totally inadequate financial resources to survive the crisis of the nationwide financial depression.

The Pilgrim Holiness Church followed the same pattern and approach to ministerial education which characterized its sister denomination, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a generation earlier. In 1913 the denomination adopted a four-year course of study for ministers and a three-year course for deaconesses which could be completed through self-study and correspondence.²⁸ The provision of this form of ministerial preparation diminished the pool of students for the Bible schools by

providing other recognized options for ministerial preparation, but encouraged those who could not prepare in a more formal setting.

WESLEYAN METHODISTS ESTABLISH DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES 1899-1930

Houghton College, the oldest of Wesleyan Methodism's continuing educational institutions, authorized a college department in 1899, in response to the interest of many of its graduates. College classes began with the fall semester; however, the state of New York refused to permit the granting of degrees until the financial resources were increased to the equivalent of a \$500,000 endowment.²⁹ The original eleven-acre campus proved to be unsuitable for adequate development due to quicksand and clay. In 1904 plans were completed for the purchase of a twelve-acre campus near the village of Houghton. The original seminary building was dismantled and its bricks used in the construction of a gymnasium on the new site in 1915.³⁰ This move was made during the presidency of Silas W. Bond. The dominant figure in Houghton's early history was James S. Luckey, who served as president from 1894-1896 and again from 1908 to 1937. When he became president there were 202 students with 12 in the collegiate department but by 1937 the enrollment had increased to 460, of whom 394 were college students.³¹

The second Wesleyan Methodist college established during this era was in Central, South Carolina. Eber Teter, the general missionary secretary, assumed the leadership of this project when the conference voted to place it in the hands of the denominational missionary society. The Educational Society authorized a loan of \$2,000 for land acquisition and building construction. The school opened in 1906 with 19 students in elementary and high school classes.³² A three-year noncollegiate ministerial training program was provided but college programs were not inaugurated until the 1920s.

Typical of the interest to begin schools west of the Mississippi River but without success in every case were the proposals for sites in Billings, Missouri (1877), Marengo, Iowa

(even with a plan adopted by the Thirteenth General Conference held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1891), North Branch, Kansas (1895), Lawrence, Kansas (1897), Eskridge, Kansas (1899) and Diagonal, Iowa (1904). A Bible school actually was opened in 1902 at Eskridge, Kansas, and continued in operation until 1904 when it was moved to Wakefield, Kansas, but it soon ceased to exist.³³

When Silas W. Bond was elected as the education secretary of the denomination in 1908, he visited the western conferences encouraging them to establish a school. The citizens of Miltonvale, Kansas, donated twenty acres of land and \$12,000 toward the construction of a building. Mr. Bond resigned as education secretary and became the first president in October 1908. The school opened in the fall of 1909 as Miltonvale Wesleyan College with sixty students.³⁴ The pattern of education offered paralleled that at Houghton and Central. The schools were essentially academies with a theological training department for training ministers for the denomination.

In 1906 the Indiana Conference opened the Fairmount Bible School on their conference campground with its major emphasis being ministerial preparation, although high school classes were also offered. The program was continued until 1920³⁵ when it merged with the newly founded Marion College as its theology department. In 1919 the trustees of the Indiana Conference had accepted a contract with the directors of the Marion Normal Institute, by which the Wesleyan Educational Society became the owners of the property, and Marion College became a denominational college, the first to have state authorization to grant degrees.³⁶ During the time when Miltonvale and Central did not have degree-granting authority, many students transferred to Marion College to complete their undergraduate education at a Wesleyan college.

An important difference in the establishing of these schools as compared with efforts in the nineteenth century was the role of the denomination in leadership, control and support for the institutions. Although the schools experienced financial crises throughout their existence, the backing of the denomination was a critical factor in their survival, especially during the Great Depression. The dominant role of theological education in the life of all the schools created strong loyalties across the districts

for the work of the schools. Finally, the quality of educational leadership committed to the schools led to sound and balanced development with prudent financial management, thus helping to ensure their continuation.

The philosophy of education in the Wesleyan Methodist Church was expressed in a report from the committee on education which was adopted by the 1923 General Conference. A portion of the statement, which was incorporated in the *Discipline*, reads,

. . . We are aware that most great moves away from the simplicity of the gospel and away from the fundamentals of the faith in the various churches have had their beginnings in the school systems, and we believe that it must be insisted upon that all our schools should function to produce trained Christian workers for her ranks. General education should be a secondary matter not the primary object of the church . . . The province of the Church is to declare doctrine and of the school to teach what the Church declares.³⁷

This concern served to maintain the emphasis upon ministerial education and the maintenance of strong Wesleyan control in the administration of the schools. The 1911 General Conference had adopted a policy that

The Board of Managers of the Educational Society shall take charge of all the schools under Connectional control and it shall not be lawful for anyone to organize or establish a school anywhere to be supported by the Wesleyan Methodist Church which does not first have the endorsement of the Wesleyan Educational Society.³⁸

The denomination had assumed its responsibility to control and also ensure denominational support for its educational efforts. This commitment was expressed in tangible terms as the 1919 General Conference adopted a plan for fund-raising entitled, "The Marion College No-Retreat Fund," to assist in erasing the liability of the college. Although the efforts fell short of the goal, the action reflected the desire of the general conference to support the schools. The denomination also recognized the inadequacy of the proposed system of supporting the schools. The committee on education developed by 1927 a districting plan for the schools that tied the membership of the boards of trustees and responsibility for funding to distinct geographic areas of the church.³⁹

PILGRIM HOLINESS COLLEGES 1930 UNTIL MERGER WITH THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH

During the early thirties, the education work of the Pilgrim Holiness Church faced serious financial problems, which were increased by the nationwide economic depression. The general church school at Kingswood, Kentucky, closed in 1931. The remaining schools were classified as zone schools which tied them to a specific geographic region for board membership, student recruitment and fund-raising, just as the Wesleyan Methodist Connection had done with their schools in 1927.⁴⁰

As with the experience of the Wesleyan Methodists, the Pilgrim Holiness schools which survived the crisis were led by strong presidents who served for an extended period of time during very difficult circumstances. In 1932 Dr. Harold D. Dieter was named the president of Beulah Park Bible School, Allentown, Pennsylvania. He had previously been the treasurer of the school. For the 1931-32 school year the largest enrollment in the school's history was registered with a corresponding improvement in the school's financial condition. He was just twenty-eight years of age when he became president and he served in that capacity until his untimely death in 1948.⁴¹ He succeeded in obtaining a new charter as the Allentown Bible Institute and developed a strong zone relationship with the New York, Eastern Virginia and Pennsylvania-New Jersey Districts. His work provided the example which was followed in the other areas of the Church.⁴²

At the Owosso campus, Mr. H. T. Mills, a member of the board and an experienced public school administrator, was named the president in 1933,⁴³ a position he held until 1947. He gave special attention to financial management and also developed the zone relationship with the Michigan district. The school at Frankfort was closed in 1932 and did not reopen until 1939; thus the Owosso and Allentown campuses were the primary training centers for the central and eastern areas of the Church. The dedicated service of Dr. Dieter and Rev. Mills was a vital factor in the continuation of these schools.

In the west the scattered constituency presented a particular problem for the schools at Colorado Springs and Pasadena. In

1905 Rev. William Lee of the People's Mission Church at Colorado Springs, Colorado, started a small school known as Rocky Mountain Missionary and Evangelistic Training School. By 1910 larger quarters were constructed and the school was then known as Western Holiness College and Bible Training School. The school was closed for a brief time but was reopened when Paul Westphal Thomas was elected superintendent of the People's Mission Church in 1920. At that time the school became Colorado Springs Bible Training School. In 1925, after mutual agreement and unusual harmony of interests were expressed, the People's Mission Church and the school were merged with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Both Paul Westphal Thomas and Armor D. Peisker were converted under the ministry of the People's Mission Church and each served as president of the school at different times. The Colorado Springs Bible College was relocated in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, by action of the General Board in 1958 and became Central Pilgrim College.

In 1917 Pilgrim Bible College opened at Pasadena, California, carried on for several years during the 1930s, passed through a difficult time in 1939, then in 1946 merged with the Holiness Evangelistic Institute of El Monte, California, and became part of Western Pilgrim College. The El Monte school was founded and operated by the Holiness Church in California. In 1946 the Holiness Church merged with the Pilgrim Holiness Church and Western Pilgrim College then merged with Central Pilgrim College in 1960 at Bartlesville, Oklahoma, after action by the General Board in 1959.⁴⁴

The other schools noted at the close of 1929 in the Pilgrim Holiness Church were all closed by 1933. The Greensboro and Shacklefords schools had joined Kingswood and Frankfort.⁴⁵ The great turning point in the Pilgrim Holiness Church as an organization took place at the 1930 General Assembly. A unified General Board was created, after which new policies for nearly every area of Church life were written and implemented. The unified General Board took the place of about nine boards, most of which had been quite ineffective. The "Policy with Reference to Educational Institutions" which was approved by the General Board in November 1931 was a guiding force in the work of the schools which succeeded in continuing their

operation. This policy presented the philosophy of the Church in respect to the control and support of the schools. The moral and spiritual standards to be maintained were in harmony with the principles of the denomination. The Bible courses were to be equivalent to the requirements of the Church for ordained ministers. Faculty were required to meet spiritual and doctrinal standards first, then professional standards and educational preparation were considered. Concerning accreditation, the General Board noted, "We shall seek to have our schools accredited and recognized by state or other educational authority, except when we have a right to believe such a course will lead us to compromise spiritual principles or that it demands expenditures which will thrust us into unwise debt." The policy also stipulated the territory from which the schools were to draw support and recruit students.⁴⁶ The schools continued to be separate incorporations, but membership of the boards of directors was established which protected the ownership of the schools by the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Each school was to submit semiannual reports to the General Board and the boards of directors were not permitted to engage or retain any faculty member or business manager against the wishes of the General Board.

The policy was a landmark in the developing relationship of the Church as a whole with its educational institutions. The origins of the schools had depended on inspired local leaders with a view to serving a well-defined, somewhat local constituency. The realization that a quality, respected, educational institution required a wider support base with much greater financial resources led to the General Board's action.

In 1937 the General Board experimented with the opening of a Bible school in the Idaho-Washington District, as a home missionary project. The Home Missions Department furnished twenty percent of the operating costs subject to review after the first two years.⁴⁷ Two years later the Spokane Pilgrim Bible School moved to Clarkston, the center of the district. The school provided a four-year high school and a two-year theological course.⁴⁸ Due to the small constituency the necessary financial support and student body did not materialize and the school was closed.

The leadership of the Church recognized both the need for

developing a system of higher education and the problems confronting the Bible schools. General Superintendent W. L. Surbrook reported his perspective to the General Board in 1940 as follows:

God is blessing our Bible Schools, and as a whole they are doing very splendidly. They are filling a place in our Church and meeting a demand that can be filled by no other institution or branch of the Church. While Jesus tarries and the cold, paralyzing stupor and sordid indifference of the Laodicean age deepens, our people must be led to see the ever increasing need of our schools and made to feel the imperative necessity of our wholehearted spiritual and financial support of the same.⁴⁹

The record of the Pilgrim Holiness schools recounted here has indicated the problematic nature of the Church's attempt to develop a system of higher education, but there were positive outcomes which cannot be measured in balance sheets and even enrollment statistics. In fact, by the end of the forties most of the Pilgrim Holiness pulpits were filled with alumni of the Bible schools. Most of the general evangelists recognized by the denomination were also products of the Bible school. Their experiences with the struggles of the schools and their own struggles in obtaining an education developed a faith for themselves and for the Church's institutions. Many conversions were recorded in the schools, and holiness revivals occurred frequently in response to the intensity of Bible teaching and spiritual experiences. The foundation of the Church was being forged in the schools and the future was promising.

The last of the Pilgrim Bible colleges to be established prior to the merger was opened at Kernersville, North Carolina, in 1946 with Rev. W. L. Surbrook as president. The property had been purchased in 1940 but the opening was delayed due to the impact of the war upon the nation and the Church. The college offered a junior college curriculum, and a Bible college A.B. degree in religious education. As was customary in the other colleges, there was a high school, with Mr. Carl Hightower as principal.⁵⁰

In the late forties and early fifties, there was a Churchwide interest in establishing a liberal arts college. The 1950 General Conference passed legislation which called for such a college to open in 1951.⁵¹ The General Board investigated the

possibilities of a change in mission at both the Frankfort and Owosso campuses. The initiative of the Owosso trustees led to the location of the senior college program on the Owosso campus in 1957.⁵² In his report to the 1958 General Conference, secretary of education H. T. Mills reported on the results of the work of the study commission on higher education and the subsequent selection of the new board of trustees for Owosso which was broadly representative of the denomination. This action led to a rezoning of the Church for the support of the Bible colleges and also included the permission for each of them to institute a junior college course on their campuses.⁵³

These steps indicated a desire by the Church to provide a more comprehensive program of higher education coupled with a recognition that the constituency could not support the establishing of another institution. In reality these steps were inadequate in addressing the serious deficiencies of the entire system. The education survey committee which the General Board established in November 1959 examined the status of the colleges. In summary, their report noted salaries that were significantly below the average of comparable institutions, heavy dependence upon tuition and fees for their finances, limited library holdings, and a general pattern of declining enrollments. The latter experience was attributed to the lack of any professional or regional accreditation by all but Eastern Pilgrim College which had been accredited by the American Association of Bible Colleges in 1950.⁵⁴ Throughout the sixties, the problems affecting higher education continued to receive denominational attention but the extreme action necessary to provide adequate strength for the colleges was postponed. In 1960 a proposal for the mergers of Eastern Pilgrim and Owosso colleges at Owosso, and the Frankfort and Kernersville campuses at a site to be determined, was presented to the General Board. If the Frankfort and Kernersville campuses would not discuss merger, then the proposal called for them to become district institutions and the merged college at Owosso would have Churchwide support. In the event this proposal was not adopted, Eastern Pilgrim was requesting permission to launch a campaign called "Golden Decade for Christian Education." The General Board opted to approve this campaign.⁵⁵ The ambitious goals were never realized, and the denomination entered

merger with the Wesleyan Methodist Church with a system of higher education plagued by complex problems.

WESLEYAN METHODIST COLLEGES 1930 UNTIL MERGER WITH THE PILGRIM HOLINESS CHURCH

The educational course charted by the colleges of the Wesleyan Methodist Church led to a transition from multipurpose institutions — academy, theological institute, and college — to the adoption of the Christian liberal arts model for its colleges. Houghton College, the first to offer college-level instruction, serves as an excellent example of this transition. Following the securing of state approval to grant degrees in 1923, Houghton College moved quickly to secure regional accreditation as a liberal arts college. In 1935 accreditation by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was achieved and recognition by the American Association of Medical Schools followed immediately.⁵⁶ The transition was complete and Houghton became a fully recognized Christian liberal arts college. James S. Luckey died in 1937 after a continuous presidency beginning in 1908. He was followed as president by Stephen W. Paine, the dean of the college. Paine's presidency spanned the period from 1937 through the merger and until 1972. The excellence of leadership and the stability of the presidency contributed greatly to the development and strength of the college. Continuing expansion and development of the campus has made Houghton College the most valuable in terms of its assets of all the Wesleyan colleges. By the time of the merger in 1968 the enrollment at Houghton was 1,162 with 233 seniors.

At Central Wesleyan College the depression and its aftermath exacted a heavy toll on John F. Childs, who served as president from 1933 until the illness which led to his death in 1945. Prior to his presidency he had served as the college treasurer beginning in 1927. From an enrollment low of 45 and a serious debt of \$17,000, President Childs succeeded in raising the enrollment to 118 and erased the debt. Following a fairly brief tenure as president by James B. Hilson, during which time a number of new buildings were added, Rhett C. Mullinax

became the president and served from 1948 through 1968. The college continued to experience significant growth and development. As with its sister colleges, Central followed the transition to the Christian liberal arts college model. For a brief time the college was accredited by the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges (1955-1959) while offering a junior college program which carried Southern Association accreditation. In the fall of 1959 Central launched a four-year liberal arts degree program with the goal of accreditation by the Southern Association. This goal was not achieved before the merger but the commitment to the liberal arts model was complete.⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that significant development of the college occurred primarily under the leadership of two long-term presidents who followed fiscally sound patterns of education and campus development.

Following the establishment of the liberal arts model of higher education, Central Wesleyan embarked on a development campaign for endowment funds and expansion of their facilities. A tragic fire in the women's dormitory took the lives of two students and cost the remainder all their possessions. The college was absolved of any negligence. The Stuart-Bennett Hall, in memory of the two students, was completed by 1966 and at the time of its dedication the Folger Fine Arts Building also was formally opened.⁵⁸ By 1968 the new physical education building was under construction. It was named in honor of J. Walden Tysinger who had served in the area of development for a number of years. At the close of the 1967 fiscal year the value of the campus was listed at \$2,288,958.⁵⁹ The college was continuing its progress toward regional accreditation with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. A major issue at stake was the procedure by which the Church controlled its colleges which was apparently in conflict with the standards of the Association. This issue was not resolved until after the merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church.

Miltonvale Wesleyan College experienced particularly difficult circumstances during the 1930s. In 1931 Professor C. Floyd Hester was elected president. The depression had just begun and was followed by several years of drought and subsequent crop failures. Due to Miltonvale's location the combination of these economic disasters created particularly difficult times. President Hester's frugal management, self-sacrifice and

hard work enabled the college to emerge free of debt but desperately in need of development in order to pursue accreditation.⁶⁰ Again, the survival of a Wesleyan college depended on the long-term commitment of a president who managed the resources of the college carefully under trying circumstances. When President Hester resigned in 1946, the question of the location of Miltonvale Wesleyan College was raised. Considerable unrest among constituents was created when citizens and civic leaders at Clay Center, Kansas, made overtures to college trustees that financial help, work possibilities for students and land for college development would be provided if the college was relocated there. Once the decision to remain was settled, the new president, Rufus D. Reisdorph, launched a program of renewal and construction. In two years President Reisdorph added \$90,000 to the value of the campus. In 1948 he was elected editor of Sunday school literature for the denomination and resigned the presidency. He was succeeded by Warren S. Freeborn, Sr., who had served as director of public relations and assistant to the president. In 1949 the incorporation of Miltonvale Wesleyan College was authorized under the laws of Kansas. This opened the way for an aggressive financial campaign and a program of campus development under President Freeborn's direction.⁶¹

In 1952 Wesley L. Knapp became Miltonvale's seventh president. Significant academic and campus development followed. In 1954 the college was approved to award the associate of arts degree in addition to the four-year religion degree which was oriented toward pastoral ministry. The celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in 1959 marked the beginning of a long-range development program with the immediate objective of completing the Budensiek Memorial Science Hall. The second phase of campus development after the dedication of the Science Hall was the sixty-four-bed residence hall, named in honor of President C. Floyd Hester, completed during the 1966-68 biennium. The third phase of the development program was the "O. G. Wilson Memorial Library, toward which over \$100,000 in cash and commitments had been subscribed."⁶²

As the close of this era Miltonvale College continued to experience the problems associated with the vastness of the area it served, the sparse population and the widely scattered

church constituency. Although the value of the campus had been enhanced through the development program to nearly \$1,000,000, the costs of the development program had resulted in a nearly equal increase in liabilities. The 1966-67 fiscal year had recorded a loss of \$10,811 and 1967-68 had resulted only in a \$1,783 surplus; thus the cash flow situation indicated serious financial needs,⁶³ a situation which contributed to the merger of Miltonvale with Bartlesville Wesleyan College after the merger of the denominations.

William F. McConn became president of Marion College in 1932 and continued in this capacity until 1960. Prior to his presidency, Marion had been served by six men between 1920 and 1932. During McConn's presidency an additional nine-acre campus was secured to the east of the original triangle campus. Additional facilities were constructed and improvements made to the existing structures. Significant progress was made between 1947 and 1950 by using various surplus materials furnished by government agencies.⁶⁴ In 1950 the college reorganized its curricula in preparation for accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. Five divisions were established; education and social studies, fine arts, modern languages and literature, natural science, and theology and ministerial training. Finally, in 1962 Marion achieved candidacy with the North Central Association, culminating in accreditation in March 1966.⁶⁵

After McConn's retirement in 1960, Woodrow Goodman succeeded to the presidency, from which position he retired in 1976. Thus Marion College had the benefit of long-term commitment and leadership during these vital years of development.

A significant development in the governance of Wesleyan colleges began with its implementation at Marion College in 1965. A separate board of trustees for the college was elected, with the General Board of Administration of the denomination retaining authority in major policy matters.⁶⁶ This arrangement satisfied the concerns of the North Central Association regarding the role and representation of the college board of trustees as distinct from the governance of the denomination as a whole. This was one of the issues confronting Central Wesleyan in its pursuit of accreditation with the Southern Association as well. Accreditation of Marion College by the North Central

Association signaled the beginning of rapid growth in enrollment, much improved faculty salaries, and significant campus development. A new library, women's dormitory, and science building added significantly to the value of the campus. In the two-year period prior to August 1967, the assets of the campus had increased by \$1,009,500 resulting in a total value of \$3,378,871. Indebtedness had also increased significantly but was still less than one-third the total value. The major concern confronting Marion College was the increase needed in gift income to reduce its dependence on income from tuition and fees.⁶⁷ Wesleyan colleges as a group had not succeeded in establishing deferred giving programs involving wills and annuities and had inadequate endowments to support the development of their programs.

Through its merger with the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada in 1966, the Wesleyan Methodist Church again controlled an institution that was a Bible college. Bethany Bible College in Sussex, New Brunswick, had been founded in 1945 as the Holiness Bible Institute in Woodstock, New Brunswick.⁶⁸ In 1947 the school was moved to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, and the name was changed to Bethany Bible College. Again in 1965 the school was moved, this time to its present location at Sussex, New Brunswick. At the time of the merger, Bethany had an enrollment of approximately 50 students. Through the development of a transfer program with Houghton College, a broadened junior college curriculum, and a significantly lower cost of education to the student, Bethany began to show significant enrollment growth.

The Wesleyan Methodist colleges entered the period of the denominational merger in a stronger statistical position than the Pilgrim Holiness colleges in terms of accreditation, enrollments, and finances. Most of their statistical strength was due to the differences in purpose which distinguished the Wesleyan Methodist colleges, with their development of the Christian liberal arts curriculum, from the Pilgrim Holiness colleges which had tended to remain primarily oriented toward Christian ministries. Although many different ideas were generated during merger negotiations regarding the future of higher education in the merged denomination, there was a strong general consensus that there needed to be significant consolidation and restructuring

of the educational system. The denominational leaders recognized that the demands for quality in higher education required increased Church support for higher education and that the resources of the denomination for such support were inadequate for the scope of higher education being offered. Studies also revealed the intensity of competition for students by colleges of other holiness denominations and the lack of prospective student base for all the colleges which were in existence in 1968. The tension between the Christian liberal arts and the Bible college concepts of education, along with their strongly loyal and opinionated constituencies, led to the decision of the merged denomination to maintain representative colleges of both philosophies and programs. College mergers and comity agreements were in the process and in the thinking of many leaders during the denominational merger negotiations, and thus the foundation was laid for the postmerger developments in the colleges.

Throughout the early history of both denominations the founding of educational institutions was a golden dream and a bright vision. Due to the sparsity of Church population, widely scattered as it was, and the comparative financial inability of their members, both Churches met with repeated failures. But when some successful experiences were realized the schools became centers for the preservation of the conservative image and of reform principles which had long been traditional features of many of the supporting congregations. The schools also supplied a long succession of strong Church leaders for denominational ministries and administrative responsibilities. A high percentage of the pastoral leadership and general Church officials have been schooled in the Church's institutions of higher education, much to the credit of the pioneers who persisted until some strong schools for the training of the youth of the Church were extant at the time of merger.

WESLEYAN HIGHER EDUCATION BEYOND MERGER

Wayne E. Caldwell

It has been noted often that any institution, whatever its goals and purposes, is but the lengthened shadow of the person who brought it into existence or who served long and well as its leader. It also may be said with accuracy that the educational institutions of a church determine that denomination's strength of leadership, its theological direction and stability, as well as its lengthened shadow of influence over succeeding generations of people.

Only the grace of God, the dedication, determination and courage of Wesleyan leadership, with totally loyal and equally strong constituents, have enabled The Wesleyan Church to achieve what has been accomplished since the 1968 merger. The most far-reaching decisions, involving more people, encountering more sensitive issues and encompassing every conceivable possibility for unity or division, were made during the first quarter-century of merger history.

The Joint Commission on Merger had labored diligently in producing the basic documents for merger, which included "the problem of the schools and their supporting constituencies."⁶⁹ In addition to adopting the newly composed *Discipline* of The Wesleyan Church the Merging General Conference, meeting in Anderson, Indiana, June 21-July 1, 1968, "also adopted a general Church financial plan, consisting of the United Stewardship Fund [USF] . . . and the United Stewardship Fund-Educational Institutions Fund [USF-EIF] . . ." ⁷⁰ Local churches by this action were assessed 4.5 percent for USF and 2.2 percent USF-EIF of the previous year's income. This provision for higher education indicated that Wesleyan leaders were committed to the continuing task of training the Church's youth for future service to God, Church and society.

Due to the findings of "wide-range studies" by an efficiency study committee and other factors the USF-EIF percentage of local church income was reduced by the 1980 General Conference to two percent over the protest of educators, but the 1988 General Conference, as a part of its action on higher

education, doubled the USF-EIF to 4 percent."⁷¹

The most courageous thing the Merging General Conference could do for Wesleyan higher education, in addition to providing strong financial undergirding, was to establish a new general department — the General Department of Educational Institutions. Melvin E. Dieter was chosen in 1968 as the general secretary of the new department.

It was charged with liaison responsibilities between the general Church and its colleges, academies, and approved seminaries, and with the direction of all types of ministerial education, including the administration of correspondence courses leading to ordination. The 1980 General Conference added additional responsibility concerning the military chaplaincies and continuing education for ordained ministers and changed the name of the department to the General Department of Education and the Ministry.⁷²

Mr. Dieter served as general secretary until 1975. He was succeeded in office by Leo G. Cox (1975-1980), by Lee M. Haines (1980-88) and by Kenneth R. Heer (1988-).

At the time of merger eleven schools existed:

Bethany Bible College, Sussex, New Brunswick
Central Pilgrim College, Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Central Wesleyan College, Central, South Carolina
Eastern Pilgrim College, Allentown, Pennsylvania
Frankfort Pilgrim College, Frankfort, Indiana
Houghton Academy, Houghton, New York
Houghton College, Houghton, New York
Marion College, Marion, Indiana
Miltonvale Wesleyan College, Miltonvale, Kansas
Owosso College, Owosso, Michigan
Southern Pilgrim College, Kernersville, North Carolina

For Wesleyan higher education the most painful process for general Church leaders, as well as for the administrators, faculty, staff, students and constituency of these schools was the amalgamation, consolidation and conservation of the best of all the strengths, programs and personnel of all the schools.

When long years of sacrifice have been experienced, when deep loyalties have been developed, when hundreds or thousands of students have been graduated, when local churches have been provided with pastors and dedicated lay people, and suddenly without too much warning all of these warm ties to an

institution and a location are threatened by extinction or diluted by transfer to a new affection, however attractive and gainful it may be shown to appear, it is devastating. Even sanctified holiness people are human in emotion and expression of feeling.

In every instance of abandoning a given location of a school there were some rash statements made and human passions sometimes were out of control, but it must be observed that Wesleyans weathered the storm that swept across an area for months or years while the process of consolidation continued. Objectively, most if not all Wesleyans agreed that the new Church simply could not adequately support eleven schools. "But why must our school be the one to close or merge and transfer to a new location with different faculty and different programs?" This was the question often posed. On one occasion a guest lecturer for a Wesleyan educator's conference from a Lutheran denomination many times larger than The Wesleyan Church shook his head in disbelief that eleven institutions were involved in the merger. His denomination had only one institution of higher education whose support he thought inadequate.

By the end of the first quadrennium [1968-1972] Southern Pilgrim College had become Kernersville Wesleyan College and then had merged into United Wesleyan College with its former campus becoming Kernersville Wesleyan Academy. Owosso College had been merged with Marion College, and Frankfort Pilgrim College had become Frankfort Wesleyan College and then had merged with United Wesleyan College. In the Western Area Miltonvale Wesleyan College had merged with Central Pilgrim College to become Bartlesville Wesleyan College.⁷³

In the fall of 1980 the General Board approved a plan whereby Kernersville Wesleyan Academy would no longer be operated by the denomination. The property and all responsibility for the academy were transferred to the First Wesleyan Church of High Point, North Carolina. Likewise, in 1984 the operation of Houghton Academy was delegated to Houghton College as a subsidiary. In the summer of 1988, Marion College became Indiana Wesleyan University, and in August one year later (1989) the General Board voted that United Wesleyan College would close in May 1990.

Thus as The Wesleyan Church moves to the close of the

twentieth century and to its silver anniversary year (1993), the consolidation process has merged, closed or transferred responsibilities of six institutions, leaving one liberal arts institution to each of the four administrative areas of the Church and one Bible College to the whole denomination:

Bartlesville Wesleyan College, Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Bethany Bible College, Sussex, New Brunswick
Central Wesleyan College, Central, South Carolina
Houghton College, Houghton, New York
Indiana Wesleyan University, Marion, Indiana

Supporting the solid conviction that a denomination seldom rises higher than the leadership and strength engendered by a well-trained ministry, The Wesleyan Church continued the Wesleyan Seminary Foundation which had been established with Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, in 1961 by The Wesleyan Methodist Church. As early as 1947 the Wesleyan Methodists had expressed concern about the need for seminary training for their ministers when the Board of Administration had established a guidance council to assist college and seminary students with placement for most effective ministry. Ten years later in 1957 Asbury Theological Seminary had been officially approved for Wesleyan students by the Board of Administration. In May 1964 a new multipurpose building for the Foundation at Asbury Seminary was dedicated to serve the needs of a growing number of Wesleyan students.⁷⁴

From the time of merger no less than forty to sixty students from all areas of the Church have been enrolled each year at Asbury Seminary. The foundation ministry has been strengthened and broadened since on-campus directors were provided and the administration of the foundation has been cared for by the general secretary of Education and the Ministry at the International Center.

Secondary relationships have been established and developed with Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri; Western Evangelical Seminary, Portland, Oregon; Wesley Biblical Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi; Evangelical School of Theology, Myerstown, Pennsylvania; and Azusa Pacific University Graduate School of Theology, Azusa, California.⁷⁵

NOTES

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²Edward D. Jervey, "LaRoy Sunderland and Methodist Theological Education," *Christian Advocate*, Aug. 10, 1967, p. 11.

³*The Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America* (Boston: O. Scott, 1845), pp. 116-118; hereafter the *Disciplines* are referred to only as *Discipline*, followed by the year.

⁴*Discipline*, 1845, pp. 115-16.

⁵*The Wesleyan*, October 10, 1860, p. 30.

⁶Quoted in Arthur T. Jennings, *History of American Wesleyan Methodism*, (Syracuse, N.Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1902), p. 178.

⁷Jennings, *History of American Wesleyan Methodism*, p. 179.

⁸Ira Ford McLeister and Roy Stephen Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment: The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*, 4th rev. ed.; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 1; Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter, eds. (Marion, Ind: The Wesley Press, 1976), p. 57.

⁹"Minutes of the Tenth Quadrennial Session of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Held at Pittsford, Michigan, October 15-21, 1879," (handwritten by H. T. Besse, Sec.), p. 57.

¹⁰It is possible that Wasioja Institute was the first coeducational institution among Methodists west of the Mississippi River. The provision for education for both sexes, by action of the First Wesleyan Methodist General Conference cited above, is noteworthy since it was a custom to have separate schools for men and women. "Wasioja Institute has been named as a state historical site by the State of Minnesota and is under the Minnesota Historical Society. It is also remembered for the fact that the student body, led by the president I believe, marched off to fight in the Civil War. As usually happens in a war, some never returned" (Paul William Thomas, letter to Dr. J. D. Abbott, January 16, 1990).

¹¹Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas, *An Outline History of The Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Indianapolis, Ind: Wesley Press, 1990), p. 89.

¹²"Minutes of the Eleventh Quadrennial Session . . . 1883," pp. 409-10.

¹³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 488-489.

¹⁴Harold R. Crosser, "A History of Education in the Pilgrim Holiness Church" (M.A. Thesis, Pennsylvania State College, 1953), pp. 54-55.

¹⁵Paul Westphal Thomas and Paul William Thomas, *The Days of our Pilgrimage: The History of the Pilgrim Holiness Church*; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 2; Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, Jr., eds. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1976), pp. 61, 108, 113, 161.

¹⁶Thomas and Thomas, *Days of our Pilgrimage*, pp. 62-63, 101, 141-142, 161, 279-280.

¹⁷Crosser, "A History of Education in the Pilgrim Holiness Church," pp. 45-47.

¹⁸*Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, May 20, 1940, p. 9.

¹⁹Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, p. 62.

²⁰Allentown Bible Institute, *Annual Bulletin, 1939-1940*, p. 5.

²¹"Pilgrim Bible School," *The Pilgrim*, No. 2, (1917), p. 2.

²²Thomas and Thomas, *Days of our Pilgrimage*, pp. 110, 161.

²³Quoted in Crosser, "A History of Education in the Pilgrim Holiness Church," p. 45.

²⁴*Minutes of the General Assembly . . . 1924*, p. 37.

²⁵*Frankfort Pilgrim College Bulletin, 1945-46*, pp. 13-14.

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- 32 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 499.
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- 36 McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 519.
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CHAPTER 10

WESLEYANS SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Paul L. Swauger, Sr.

INTRODUCTION

I found many islands inhabited by men without number . . .
To the first of these I gave the name of the blessed Saviour on
whose aid I had relying reached this as well as the other islands.
I gave to them . . . that they might be made worshipers of Christ,
and . . .¹

Are these the words of Wesleyan missionaries? No, Christopher Columbus wrote these in his log in March 1493. Like "Columbuses" of grace, missionaries and national leaders have planted Wesleyan preaching points and congregations in at least 850 communities south of the United States and Canada. Across the warm sparkling Caribbean Sea, down through mountainous Mexico, into friendly Central America, and throughout five colorful countries of South America, Wesleyan members number approximately thirty-three thousand. According to 1990 statistics this growing segment represents 17 percent of the worldwide Wesleyan body and comprises 42 percent of those Wesleyans who reside beyond the borders of the North American General Conference.

This multifaceted panorama of southern lands may be divided into four geographic groupings: (1) The West Indies, (2) Mexico, (3) Central America and (4) South America. And to interpret the advance of the Church in these four geographic areas, let a desirable herbaceous plant (the strawberry) be the comparative illustration.

Our Lord, who clarified concepts by likening truths to the mustard seed, fig trees, lilies or other familiar subjects of nature, may endow readers with inspiration as church development is likened to a plant. Like the church, the strawberry plant is

hardy and succeeds on a surprisingly wide range of soils. In spite of risks from drought, disease and infestation, most strawberries put down roots, bear fruit and send out runners which produce daughter plants. Sometimes, unfortunately, a dormant period enshrouds the plant. Even as the church is fruitful in many parts of the world so strawberries flourish in Alaska, the United States, Chile, Eastern Africa, Japan, Australia, Europe and New Zealand.

THE WEST INDIES

On a map the Caribbean Sea appears as a blue boot, with the West Indies islands as the lacing. Beginning near the top by Florida the islands tether themselves southward and curve softly toward the toe which rests upon the South American mainland.

Caribbean Provisional General Conference

Except for Haiti and Puerto Rico, the Wesleyan work of the West Indies is part of the Provisional General Conference of the Caribbean. The eleven districts, which at present constitute this Conference, are treated chronologically in this chapter in order of their beginnings.

St. Kitts District. The St. Kitts District is comprised of three islands: Saba, Nevis and St. Kitts (short for St. Christopher). The Wesleyan work is rooted in the pioneer work of C. O. Moulton, a New England newspaperman who was converted in the Methodist revival and became a missionary to St. Kitts and Saba in 1902 under the influence of Seth Rees.

Saba, a tiny volcanic island colonized by the Dutch, is the garden where Wesleyan roots first took hold in the West Indies. Although Columbus never landed there (possibly because Saba's nearly perpendicular sea-edge has no harbor) according to some historians, he gave it a name after St. Sabar. On that gumdrop-shaped island of five square miles, North American Missionary Dunnell [first name unknown] with his wife and a Miss Nellie Guild arrived in a rowboat from St. Kitts—a risky trip involving at least five hours. The Dunnells had settled in St. Kitts that same year (1900) but visited Saba on a preaching mission.

On Saba, Irene Blyden listened to the missionaries and came to Christ. In preparation to serve her Savior better she studied at God's Bible School in Cincinnati, Ohio. Upon returning to her rocky Saba, a call came from Nevis, some two islands to the south.

Resident missionaries to Saba include such persons as Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Moulton, Mr. and Mrs. William F. Beirnes and Leanna Stuart. Everett and Eunice Phillippe began their 43-year Caribbean missionary career on Saba in 1929. Early missionary evangelists, who ministered briefly, were R. G. Finch, Charles Slater and others.

Irene Blyden went as a missionary to Nevis in 1910 where she gave a lifetime of fruitful and respected ministry. On Nevis she met Richard Alfred Taylor whom she married in 1919. He too studied at her alma mater in Cincinnati. A newspaper on this isle of coconut groves and fertile pastures said of the Taylors at the time of his death, "It is no exaggeration to say that Rev. and Mrs. Taylor were respected and beloved by more people in Nevis than anyone else known to the present generation."² It is not enough to say that their memory lives on from Nevis where they are buried (he in 1945 and she in 1958). They reared offspring, not to mention their spiritual progeny, who proclaim Christian holiness across the islands and around the world. Richard and Irene had four children: Katherine, Ira, Wingrove and Marie. Irene gave birth to Ira on December 31, 1922, and led him to the Lord when he was six. Called to preach at age 17, Ira studied in Jamaica, pastored in Antigua, in Trinidad, in the U.S. Virgin Islands and in Toronto, Canada. He has served as assistant district superintendent (Central Canada) and as district superintendent (U.S. Virgin Islands).

Irene and Richard had a second son, A. Wingrove, who was born November 14, 1923. His conversion was at age 23 when an American evangelist, Mr. Sharpe, held services at Basseterre, St. Kitts. Wingrove studied at God's Bible School, as did his parents, and returned to key positions of leadership in the Caribbean area. Following a successful term as president of the Caribbean Wesleyan College in Barbados, Wingrove Taylor was elected general superintendent of the Provisional General Conference in 1974. He earned a master's degree from Indiana Wesleyan University in 1981.

Nevis was never the permanent residence of a North American Wesleyan Missionary. Irene Blyden Taylor, who was one of the island's first Christian witnesses, was looked to as a missionary in her own right. The stone 400-seat Taylor Memorial Church, dedicated September 1948, is one more monument to gospel commitment on Nevis.

Visible from Nevis, St. Kitts, a fertile and picturesque isle of 68 square miles produces sugar cane and has been called the mother island of the Antilles because the British first colonized there (1623). Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Moulton took up residence in St. Kitts in 1902. Jessie Purdy served 40 years and remained on St. Kitts until her death in 1963. The O. L. Kings, the G. C. Averys, and the Elden Nelsons were among other missionaries who lived on this island of black volcano-sanded beaches.

The St. Kitts District (St. Kitts, Saba, Nevis) from modest and trying conditions has grown to be fifth in membership among the 11 districts of the Caribbean Provisional General Conference. In past days travel by sea was at times hazardous. Saba's population of approximately 1,000, for example, traditionally included a minority of men partly because so many lost their lives at sea. Religious, racial and national preferences have spilled over into extreme competition at times. Missionary Purdy, in her horse-drawn carriage, was ambushed by an angry mob once but allowed to continue her journey because she had a reputation of praying for the nationals. Often food was scarce and missionary salaries were inadequate. Hurricanes, earthquakes, blights and deluges have called for a vigorous, enduring spirit.

However, many positive events and forces contributed to growth. St. Kitts has been a self-supporting district since October 1975. Totals in 1989 showed 17 established churches and a membership of 860. Significant during the 1980s was the election of Job Ward as district superintendent following extensive studies abroad. Mr. Ward succeeded Charles Grant whose retirement had come and whose life on earth ended in 1989.

The St. Kitts District has passed through the stages of putting down roots, bearing fruit, planting daughter churches, as well as being dormant. The present stage appears to reveal dormancy along with consistent efforts toward revival, according to General Superintendent A. Wingrove Taylor.

Trinidad and Tobago District. To the most southern island of the great 1600-mile West Indies string, Columbus, seeing three mountain peaks, gave the Spanish name of the holy Trinity, "La Trinidad." From Trinidad's mountains one can gaze across blue Caribbean waters to Tobago on the northeast, and to Venezuela just a few miles to the south.

Trinidad is among the most racially colorful islands with Spanish, French, English, African and East Indian peoples. Spanish place names are dominant in Trinidad while Tobago reflects British names. These two islands have identified themselves as one unit, perhaps best shown in their 1962 achievement of independence.

There awaited a small group of believers on Trinidad when James M. Taylor signed the 1911 agreement to raise financial support in exchange for all property and buildings to be deeded to the International Apostolic Holiness Church, which later became the Pilgrim Holiness Church. With 23 percent of Trinidad's population Hindu, and 6 percent Muslim, it is not difficult to imagine the challenge to J. M. Coone who arrived there from Alberta, Canada, in the summer of 1912. Two months later R. G. Finch landed. In 1915 William Beirnes arrived. His brother, George Beirnes, soon directed the construction of the denomination's first church building in Trinidad. Irene Blyden Taylor was one of many evangelists who visited there to preach Christ.

The infant work grew steadily. Much of the planting of new churches was the work of James Patrick and his wife Rose, Trinidadians who were among the first converts.³ In 1943 evangelist D. S. Solter wrote, "The Lord gave 349 seekers in the two weeks of special services. We did not see any gain in membership as most seekers were church members."⁴

Following the departure of missionary Dean Phillips in 1962, Trinidad and Tobago District looked to a West Indian as its leader, A. Wingrove Taylor. In the same year the country became independent and the church became indigenous in leadership. Of these events Wingrove Taylor wrote:

The past few days have been moving indeed, as Trinidad and Tobago entered, on August 31, 1962, upon nationhood. At midnight of August 30 the Union Jack of England was slowly lowered, and the national flag of Trinidad and Tobago was raised aloft. The

move of our denomination to establish the indigenous church here in Trinidad and Tobago could not have been more appropriately timed. The two following so closely have made quite an impact on several of our deeper thinking Pilgrims, and I believe it has given a great boost to our work. My own heart has been overwhelmed, sobered, challenged, and encouraged by the momentous events of the past six weeks.⁵

In 1989 the church in Trinidad and Tobago had 16 established churches, 4 pioneer churches and a total of 1,038 members. The Metro-Move seminar in Port of Spain was attended by district representatives of the Central and Southeastern Areas. Two relatively young ministers now head up this district: Hubert Joseph, district superintendent, and Witfield Laurence, assistant.

A. Wingrove Taylor, general superintendent of the Caribbean Provisional General Conference, states, "Some dormancy, a little fruit bearing, and awakening interest in outreach may best describe the present condition."⁶

Antigua District. Antigua, along with the islands of Barbuda, Dominica, and Montserrat, comprise the Antigua District. Just nine and one-half miles by twelve miles, Antigua's very name, meaning lack of water, speaks of its arid tendency. Having been colonized by Spanish, French and English, the approximately seventy thousand inhabitants of the island of Antigua enjoy a British crown-appointed governor. Dominica, to the south, is the largest of the British islands in the West Indies. Barbuda is a 62-square mile island just to the north of Antigua. And Montserrat, having Irish influence, is to Antigua's southwest.

In 1909 the Faith and Love Mission work began on Antigua and later became part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. The Montserrat work became Pilgrim in 1924. The Barbuda work grew, beginning in 1917, with other district advances. One of the missionaries to Antigua, O. L. King, built up a work of significant credit to himself and his Lord, and reportedly broke through the stronghold of the traditional Anglican church.

Armor D. Peisker visited the Caribbean in the 1950s and wrote,

I was taken to the commodious Pilgrim Holiness Church in the

city of St. Johns where some 800 people crowded in. From the platform I gazed upon the beaming faces of those happy, singing people. It was a sight to inspire anyone who loves God and the souls of men.⁷

Large attendances were common. Membership requirements were strict, rallies were frequent and the impact of Christian holiness elevated society across the district.

In the 1960s Clarence J. Knupp helped construct the first Pilgrim church on the Island of Dominica. "This is the most striking example of work springing up from the soil that I have ever seen," reported Knupp. "We baptized 10 fine young people who were saved from Roman Catholicism within the past year. Each had a clear testimony of salvation."⁸

Since 1967 Antigua has been fully self-supporting and under national leadership. With 20 established churches and 4 preaching points, the district had 979 full members by 1989. The church in Antigua has put down roots, borne fruit, planted daughter churches but also has had stages of dormancy.

Barbados-St. Vincent. The fourth Caribbean district is Barbados-St. Vincent. On the map, Barbados is poised 90 miles to the east of an imposing lineup of a north-south island formation. The due-west island of St. Vincent occupies a strategic position.

The Barbados-St. Vincent District is a Caribbean leader in membership, surpassing any of the ten other districts with 2,658 members in all categories. Barbados also houses the headquarters of the Caribbean Provisional General Conference since its inauguration in 1974, and the home of the Caribbean Wesleyan College which was founded in Jamaica in 1942.

From a stuffy 40-foot hall over one of the 550 liquor shops on the very British, ham-shaped, 166-square-mile island of Barbados, the gospel has brought transformation since the early 1900s. In 1912 missionary superintendent Ralph G. Finch officially organized the Barbados work. Missionary C. O. Moulton had strenuously and successfully preached Christ there and on other islands since 1902. The first church building in Barbados was the White Park Tabernacle, constructed in 1917 and dedicated by George Beirnes and Charles Slater.

Reuben Wingrove Ives, arriving in 1919, saw the work

grow from "a handful" of members and no property to 29 mission stations and a membership of 1,288 within 17 years.⁹ Ives also negotiated a merger in 1923 with the Immanuel Mission which added about ten congregations. "We earnestly desire to see the banner of holiness unfurled in the two remaining divisions of this our island and with the support of two more workers, only \$25 a month for each, we could soon enter these open fields,"¹⁰ wrote Brother Ives around 1928.

Growth across the years was steady and determined. In 1962 I. M. Wickham became the first national district superintendent. A youth convention in 1962 saw 696 in attendance. Revivals and conventions continued on an islandwide basis to increase gospel effectiveness with attendance climbing into the thousands. "No gathering, however, could quite compare with the coming together of the Barbadian Pilgrims for quarterly meeting. They filled the White Park Tabernacle with up to 3,500 in attendance."¹¹ In 1967 when a 50th year celebration highlighted the building of the White Park Tabernacle, Brother Wickham announced the district's annual missionary offering to be \$28,380, an increase of some two thousand dollars over the previous year!

True to her missionary spirit, Barbados-St. Vincent, with 34 elders, 17 licensed workers, 3 student ministers and 84 other workers in 46 established and pioneer churches, has reached out to share Christ by sending workers, money and other encouragement across its district as well as to Trinidad, to Jamaica and to other areas. The district's interest in the well-being of its people resulted in the establishment in the 1980s of the Wesleyan Holiness Credit Union.

Paul Westphal Thomas, at its 1965 annual conference, likened the Barbados-St. Vincent district to a "pilot light" for the Caribbean. Barbados-St. Vincent continues its self-supporting maturity with a dominant stage of "some dormancy plus some efforts of revival."¹²

Jamaica. "I baptize you in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost," a little black preacher said to six Indian converts in Jamaica standing in the Cabaretta River.

It was 1912 and "Miss Ella," a Jamaican national whose full name was Ella Ruddock, had recently returned from studies at

Taylor University in Indiana. Ordained by the Missionary Bands of the World organization in Indianapolis, Miss Ruddock had returned to her home village of Strawberry, Jamaica, to evangelize.

Jamaica, slightly smaller than Connecticut, is close to the middle of the Caribbean Sea and near the western end of the West Indies arc of islands. With Cuba as her nearest northern neighbor (90 miles), and Haiti as closest on the east (100 miles), Jamaica has Honduras as its nearest mainland point (300 miles). Christopher Columbus had a disappointing year in Jamaica in 1503 when he failed to find gold and while half his sailors turned against him and his worm-eaten ships. In 1655 the English took charge of the island from the Spanish and soon promoted its potential for sugar.

Through the stormy years of slavery, emancipation in 1834, independence in 1962 and struggle for economic balance, Jamaica has emerged as a sovereign nation with Michael N. Manley as prime minister. Jamaica, named by her earliest inhabitants, the Arawak Indians, means "island of springs." Per capita annual income in 1981 was \$1,340. Protestants represent about 75% of the population. Numerous quasi-Christian sects exist among the island's two million people.

To "Miss Ella" Jamaica was a beloved island of gospel need. Soon missionaries came to assist, and it seems, to assume leadership over the work: Susie Schlatter (1915), Stella Bare (1925), and Albretta Amis (1925).

In ten years four laymen were called into the ministry. In the mid-1930s the Missionary Bands of the World united with the Church of God (Holiness), then effected a separation in 1940. The first annual conference was held in 1931. The Missionary Bands reported 10 stations and 20 pastors, including 12 women. In 1950 Malcolm E. Beirnes, born in 1924 on the island of Barbados to Pilgrim Holiness missionaries, arrived to superintend the work.

The growth spurt of the 1950s saw crowds surpassing one thousand on the Torrington convention grounds. In 1956 the new Stella Bare Memorial Tabernacle was first used in honor of Miss Bare's years of leadership and unusual sacrifice. The tabernacle, having a seating capacity of up to 1,500, was reported to be the largest for Christian gatherings on the island. Some

conventions not only filled the cement block tabernacle but saw an additional thousand persons outside.

The year 1958 was historic because of the Missionary Bands of the World merger with The Wesleyan Methodist Church. The five missionaries in Jamaica, the Glen Pelfreys, Cleo Williams, Florence Pickert and Edna Mae Carter became part of the Wesleyan Methodist missionary family. This brought 20 Jamaican churches and 700 members to Wesleyan relationship. The next year Amos King and Stanley Hewling represented the Jamaican national believers at the general conference of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America which met at Houghton, New York.

The first national leadership was elected in 1960 when acting superintendent Arthur Calhoon came from Haiti where he was the field superintendent and guided the formal reorganization of the district. Amos King, converted as a young man in 1934, was elected conference president. Stanley Hewling became vice president and Noel O. Williams the secretary. The following year a treasurer, Edward Davidson, was elected. A plan was established to carry the conference expenses in which each local member was to pay seven cents per month.

What a celebration they had in 1962 when the church was 50 years old! One of the highlights was an address by 92-year-old Miss Ella Ruddock who insisted on standing while speaking and who was given an appreciation purse of 50 pieces of silver. Also in 1962 the Jamaican church appointed and financed a one-year missionary term for the Stanley Hewling family to Honduras. The Torrington Bible school continued an effective teaching ministry. Thanks are due to the Floyd Bankers and the Price Starks and others who concentrated some "retirement" years there beginning in 1963.

"There are now 32 churches in five parishes," wrote Amos King in 1964—parishes being political divisions in Jamaica. Membership had surpassed one thousand, according to World Missions General Secretary Alton Liddick. Some churches were reported to be 80 to 100 percent self-supporting.

Another historic forward stride was the Wesleyan Methodist-Pilgrim Holiness merger of 1968. At the following January annual conference (1969) Jamaican Pilgrims and Wesleyan Methodists became one Wesleyan family. The result

was 45 churches and 1,983 members.¹³ After a period of honest attempt as one merged district a 68 percent majority voted in 1973 to function as two districts. Gershom Gray was elected district superintendent of the East District and Noel Williams of the West.

The Pilgrim Holiness work began when Mrs. Margaret Hankins arrived in Jamaica in January of 1924. She and her husband saw to the purchasing near Constant Springs, of land still being used by the mission.¹⁴ A Cuban named J. R. Figueroa, following his Bible school training in the U.S.A., opened a work in Kingston in 1919 which later became Pilgrim Holiness.¹⁵ Mrs. Vivian O'Sullivan, originally from Grand Cayman, also started a work which affiliated with the Pilgrims.¹⁶ Much credit to beginnings in Jamaica is also given to William Barnett, Olivene Powery and Nettie Rivers, three young people from Grand Cayman.¹⁷ Years later, in 1941, Missionaries Everett and Eunice Phillippe journeyed from Grand Cayman to Jamaica where they spent a few years establishing a Bible school.¹⁸

The Jamaican Wesleyans as a merged unit grew 30 percent from 1968 to 1971. Significant in the training ministry were the first Japanese missionaries to aid in Wesleyan missions in the Western Hemisphere. The Immanuel General Mission of Tokyo, Japan, had been organized under the leadership of David T. Tsutada in 1945 and as an indigenous holiness Church had become a vital force in preparing young men for pastoral and missionary service. Through the Immanuel Bible Training College located first in Tokyo and later in Yokohama, and based on a federation worked out with Wesleyan Methodists in 1952, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hirai began teaching ministries in 1970 at the Jamaica Wesleyan Bible Institute in Torrington. Dedicated service was rendered by Mission Coordinator Dean Phillips and by Mission Coordinator James Vermilya during the experience of effecting merger.

Late in the 1970s the Northern Pioneer District came into being, bringing the number of districts in Jamaica to three. The new district grew in numbers and strength in a few years and was designated an established district in 1986. During the 1980s the East Jamaica District increased the number of churches from 13 to 16. The capital city, Kingston, established its

second church and added a clinic to help the needy in Constant Spring, Kingston Church community. The West Jamaica District hosted a Metro-Move seminar, which was attended by representatives of all the Jamaica districts with inspiring outreach results. Hurricane Gilbert brought great damage to Wesleyan properties in Jamaica early in 1989.

General Superintendent A. Wingrove Taylor believes Jamaica has arrived at her present level of maturity through "tireless work of some good missionaries, some capable native ministers, one or more outstanding lay persons such as Sister O'Sullivan, and the teaching ministry of the Bible school."¹⁹

The Virgin Islands. Within the 50-island cluster known as the U.S. Virgin Islands are only three with enough size for reportable population: St. Croix, St. John and St. Thomas. Estimated 1988 population of the islands was 106,000.²⁰

With four established Wesleyan churches, two pioneer churches, five elders and a total membership of 334, the U.S. Virgin Islands District (now known as the Virgin Islands District) is growing moderately.

Located some 40 miles east of Puerto Rico, the 133-square-mile island group has the highest per capita income of any of the Caribbean islands, reaching \$7,465 in 1987.²¹ Long the hideout for pirates, the U.S. Virgin Islands became the property of the United States in 1917 when the U.S.A. paid 25 million dollars to Denmark. Now, because of pleasing climate and beautiful scenery, the U.S. Virgin Islands rate tourism as their largest source of income.²² Because of the varied races of people in such a crossroad of commerce and travel, one-third of the work force is of foreign origin.

Although other holiness missionaries visited the islands, in 1924 Mr. and Mrs. Fitzroy Joseph from Barbados began a permanent work.²³ The church grew slowly. By the 1970s a thriving elementary school was functioning on St. Thomas while Missionary James Campau served there. The last U.S.-appointed governor, before local elections began in the 1970s, was Melvin Evans, son of an outstanding Wesleyan.

Extensive damage was done in 1989 to Wesleyan property on St. Croix by Hurricane Hugo. Work teams from the States helped in the rebuilding of churches and parsonages. In 1989 a

church was established on the island of Tortola in the British Virgin Islands, prompting the change of the district name from U.S. Virgin Island District to Virgin Island District. Progress continues under the leadership of the district superintendent Busta Brown, a West Indian minister who is ably assisted by a fine group of pastors, lay workers and local preachers.

Cayman Islands. The Cayman Islands District includes Grand Cayman, Little Cayman, Cayman Brac and Swan Island. This palm-adorned cluster totals about 100 square miles and rests 150 miles northwest of Jamaica. And it was from Jamaica that Paul Ford sailed to Grand Cayman with his family to begin a gospel work about 1924.²⁴ Perhaps the persuasion of Mrs. O'Sullivan, a Caymanian who lived in Jamaica, helped hold the Fords steady during the grueling six-day voyage over angry seas.

One of the many converted under Ford's ministry was H. E. Arch who became a forceful preacher. Alexander Powery, converted in 1907, also bravely helped promote the Pilgrim Holiness work until his death in 1956.

Buell Bingham arrived from the States with his family in 1928 for a two-year stay with a \$25-a-month salary. The growing congregation at West Bay began church construction, appropriating timbers from a recently wrecked ship.

During its early history, with true missionary zeal and reciprocating gospel concern, three young Caymanians went to Jamaica where they established an active mountain church. They were Nettie Rivers, Olivene Powery Barnett and Will Barnett.

"The people of Grand Cayman seem like our own family," said Everett and Eunice Phillippe who first arrived there in 1937.²⁵ Later one of the Phillippe girls, Naomi, became Mrs. John Croft, who returned with the Croft family to pastor the West Bay Church. Ruth Bowman, appointed to the Caribbean in 1949, later adopted Grand Cayman as her home, living there until her death early in 1991.

The district presently seeks to minister through two established churches to the 23,000 inhabitants of the Cayman Islands who include seamen, turtle fishermen, lumbermen, agriculturalists and businessmen. The volume of banking activity has soared in Grand Cayman since in the 1970s it became a tax-free

refuge for foreign funds.

In the 1970s a Christian day school was established and ministry to Swan Island reopened. During the 1980s the West Bay Church built a main school building for the growing grade and high school. The church also purchased land and created a four-apartment teachers' residence.

The church in Cayman with her 75 full members "can best be described as still putting down roots and bearing some fruit."²⁶

Curacao. The Kingdom of the Netherlands includes the Netherlands Antilles. Curacao is an island of that group. Curacao's chief city, Willemstad, is a free port with an excellent harbor. With only 40 miles of Caribbean water between Curacao and Venezuela, the 173-square-mile island has become a world-renowned refiner of South American petroleum.

With employment drawing them to the oil industry, to electronics, and to shipbuilding, numbers of English-speaking West Indians found themselves residing in the Dutch-speaking island of Curacao. A healthy extension of Caribbean Wesleyans caused work to be started about 1949. A capable lay immigrant, Mr. Parrish, played an important role in the organization.²⁷ Missionaries stationed there from time to time included Ruth Bowman, George and Wanda Lingo, Jack and Bonita Duckworth and Paul and Lois Downey.

The district, having one church of 39 full members, became fully self-supporting in 1979. Roots have caught largely in "foreign" soil (among English-speaking immigrants to Curacao). Fruit bearing has been effected by repatriation of some English-speaking members. Church planting efforts have so far been unsuccessful. Presently the church continues to put down roots, especially among the native people, and to bear a little fruit. During the 1980s Lynette Thomas served as pastor on the Curacao District. Her successor, Stephanas Tonka, transferred from Suriname.

St. Lucia. The last, and eleventh, district of the Caribbean Provisional General Conference is St. Lucia, a pear-shaped island about 20 miles south of Martinique in the British

Windward Isles. The culture has a noticeably French atmosphere and 80 percent of the people are Roman Catholics.

R. Wingrove Ives visited St. Lucia, then returned with R. G. Finch, the general missionary superintendent, and Charles Slater in 1923. The same year a work began under Guyanese converts who had resided in Barbados. These workers, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Jorge, labored under severe trials and saw a lovely congregation with an adequate building valued at \$2,000 in the city of Castries.²⁸ Records are not available to indicate why that work is now nonexistent.

In 1976 the St. Lucia District comprising the island of St. Lucia was established when an independent local congregation formally joined the Wesleyan Holiness Church. The work now has two elders serving one established and one pioneer church with a total of 77 members. "The church is now putting down roots and being developed along lines of Wesleyan polity."²⁹

Caribbean Recap. The Caribbean work began with pitifully meager resources and personnel. Travel was often treacherous and in sharp contrast to sleek aircraft that now comfortably touch down on each island's concrete ribbon. But courage was evidenced with bold faith and the church has grown. To God be the glory! In 1956 the first West Indian sat as an invited advisor to the field council. In 1957 the first all Caribbean field conference met at which West Indian representatives and missionaries established policy for the Caribbean church. In 1962 the first West Indian district superintendents were elected. In 1964 A. Wingrove Taylor became the first West Indian president of the Caribbean Pilgrim Bible College. In 1966 the first West Indian delegates attended the stateside general conference. Strides toward self-government continued with the participation of delegates to the Joint Study Conference on Church Growth which met in Marion, Indiana, in 1968.

Soon after the 1968 merger of the Pilgrim Holiness and Wesleyan Methodist Churches the Caribbean field conference recommended that The Wesleyan Church in the Caribbean be known as the Wesleyan Holiness Church to distinguish it from the old-line British Methodists, also commonly called The Wesleyan Church. This was subsequently approved by the General Board of Administration and the General Conference.³⁰

Steps toward national leadership continued with the 1970 election of A. Wingrove Taylor as field superintendent. Then, in 1973, the Caribbean districts each voted in favor of the Wesleyan World Fellowship, thus aligning under a new umbrella of fellowship with the North American General Conference and other units of The Wesleyan Church worldwide.

The 1973 application to become a provisional general conference became reality in 1974 with A. Wingrove Taylor as the general superintendent. The new general superintendent told the conference that in the midst of blessings and burdens there is

... the opportunity to develop ecclesiastical proficiency; to be stimulated by added responsibility, to contribute directly to preserving of doctrinal verity, and to be equal partners with the parent Church in promoting worldwide Christianity.³¹

Thus the Caribbean Provisional General Conference with its 11 districts gives a unified Wesleyan representation of 8,806 members of all categories, 155 organized churches, including 138 elders, 52 licensed ministers, 13 student ministers and 13 other workers.³²

Although island borders and rather constant population totals do not lend themselves to the kinds of outreach promoted in some countries, The Wesleyan Holiness Church, representing 11.16 percent of all Wesleyan members beyond the borders of the U.S.A. and Canada, is indeed a wholesome and sturdy plant, an esteemed member of the international Wesleyan family.

Haiti

Haiti is like a Maryland-sized Africa at North America's doorstep. Discovered by Columbus in 1492, home for African slaves since 1503, and finally a free black republic in 1804, this mountainous island of 10,714 square miles is the home of over six million Haitians. At an annual per capita income of \$300 (1983), Haiti's grinding economic struggle is a fierce giant with which to reckon.

For Norman Neal Bonner, the 1942 trip to Haiti was more than the short afternoon flight which missionaries make from

Miami today. Having left Tabor, Iowa, under the auspices of Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association, Mr. Bonner traveled by a troublesome automobile to Miami where he with his wife, Gertrude, and baby Stanley, boarded a power boat on January 20 to the Bahamas, 100 miles from Haiti. There a storm destroyed the boat to which they had just transferred their baggage. The crew, however, salvaged the Bonner baggage. After waiting 13 days they found a native sailing vessel which provided passage to Haiti. They arrived there March 8, 1942, studied French in Cap Haitien, and then opened work at Port Margot.

On December 5, 1942, the mission was officially registered with the Haitian government. By December 20, 1942, Haitians crowded into the Bonner home for services leaving an additional 40 persons standing outside. Soon a small rented building was acquired to accommodate more than 100.

Evangelist Fred Rosentrater arrived in 1943 at which time Frere Brunot was wonderfully converted. About 1944 Miss Esther Rosentrater and Miss Marie Young arrived to labor in Haiti. The Bonners then returned to California for advanced studies and later served in Africa.

In 1948 the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association offered the Haiti work to the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Calhoun, Wesleyans listed with this Association, made an ideal team for leadership during a time of transition. They served in Haiti from 1948 through 1965. From 1948 through 1989, at least 80 Wesleyan missionaries have served in Haiti. Perhaps the longest tenure is that of Henry and Elizabeth Ortlip who began in 1949 and retired in 1984.

Through the TOOL program (**T**raini**ng** **O**f **O**verseas **L**eadership), Haiti's District Superintendent Gramond C. Paul entered Central Wesleyan College, Central, South Carolina, to pursue a baccalaureate degree. The 1979 annual conference voted to change from one district to three beginning in 1980. The opening of the Wesleyan Theological Institute in January of 1979 was an encouraging step to renewed teaching ministries which had been phased out some years earlier.

Reasons for the fruit bearing and for the planting of new churches in Haiti include the following, according to former Mission Coordinator James Vermilya:

1. A strong emphasis on holiness and holy living
2. Impact of the medical ministry
3. The excellent Bible school training of the 1950s and 1960s
4. Devoted sacrifice of national pastors who often served the same pastorate for many years
5. The Spirit-anointed movement to plant in other communities
6. Numerous daily prayer meetings and Bible studies

The board of administration consists of a majority of Haitian brethren. Missionaries represent the serving centers. More and more decision-making and responsibility rests with this board and less with the missionary council.³³

The decade of the eighties was punctuated with turmoil and triumph in Haiti. Hurricane Allen destroyed most crops in 1980. A wash-out storm later destroyed or damaged 575 homes on La Gonave, a shattering blow to a country that continues to be the poorest in the Western Hemisphere. President Jean Claude Duvalier fled the country in 1986 and after 28 years of dictatorship, a military-civilian council assumed control. Half of Haiti's people were unemployed, according to a 1987 report.

The Church, riding heroically through the storms endured by her people, formed into four districts. In 1982 Metro-Move encouraged evangelism and church-planting, with many conversions. Later in the eighties, the Haitian Wesleyan Women International began collecting offerings for a new church to be planted in conjunction with Metro-Move in the important university city of Gonaives.

By 1990 there were 94 churches, 220 house fellowships and 87 day schools training 16,000 students. On any Sunday morning there is an average of 30,580 persons attending Wesleyan churches. By 1990, the official total membership (2,564 at the time of the 1968 merger) reached 6,312, which is 20% of the total Latin America/Caribbean (L.A.C.) arena.³⁴

The volunteer return of veteran missionaries both to medical and teaching responsibilities, gave remarkable boosts to ministry in Haiti. Such quality labors of love include the Norman Bonners, the John Edlings, Edna Taylor, Virginia Hooker, the Henry Ortlips, the Glenn Barnettts, the Alfred Hartmans and others. The murderous 1989 attack upon Gertrude Fulk was another evidence of the enemy's warfare,

said national superintendent Francois Gilles. Her remarkable recovery and continuing ministry into the nineties brighten the horizons of faith for Haiti's harvest.

Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico, with a proud 140-foot-high fortress whose walls are 40 feet thick, was Spain's sentinel to guard its vast Latin American empire. Lying between the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, Puerto Rico's nearly rectangular land mass of 100 miles by 35 miles saw countless sails flapping in those tropical breezes bearing vessels with gold, silver and other wealth back to Spain and to other European ports. In 1971 San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital, celebrated its 450th anniversary.

Following the Spanish American War, Puerto Rico has had United States ties that now give Puerto Ricans commonwealth rights, similar to those of U.S. citizens except the right to vote in the election of the U.S. president. At one time known as "The Poorhouse of the Caribbean," Puerto Rico began "Operation Bootstrap" in the late 1940s and eventually reached an annual per capita income of \$4,301 (1985). Her population of 3,286,000 is 14 times more dense than that of the U.S.A.³⁵

In 1945 Pilgrim Holiness Missionaries Flora Belle Slater and Daisy Buby went to Puerto Rico, assigned to begin work. The first two converts resulted from a campaign held in a coconut grove. After some eight months, Miss Slater returned to the U.S.A. for deputational assignments while Miss Buby carried on several house fellowships. A rather adequate church building, left vacant by a disbanding charismatic group, was acquired and other missionaries arrived from time to time to help: Mr. and Mrs. George Gilmore, Mr. and Mrs. Andres Vega and Mr. and Mrs. Arreld Yoder. By 1947 Miss Buby had joined Miss Slater and gone to Peru.

In 1948 Field Superintendent Francisco Soltero wrote, The Lord permitted me to visit one of our new fields under my direction—the beautiful island of Puerto Rico. Brother George Gilmore and wife are the superintendents and they have one good organized church plus two preaching points.³⁶

A Bible school near the university had begun but suffered a

serious blow when community residents filed a petition against the placement of some buildings donated by the U.S. Army. About then the Yoders returned to the United States where he encountered serious illness. It seems unfortunate that there was no measurable base at the time of the 1968 merger, although several converts are believed to have continued faithful to the Lord.

In 1952 the Wesleyan Young People's Society of The Wesleyan Methodist Church sponsored a tent campaign in San Juan with workers Orval Butcher, Robert and Norva Crosby and O. Glenn McKinley. Alice Poole of Houghton College and Mr. Glen Whitenack also gave assistance along with others.

Five occupational missionaries arrived in 1953 to teach in government schools and to boost the Wesleyan work: Ronald and Alice (Butcher) Heavilin, Mr. and Mrs. Deyo Montanye and Florence (Crocker) Holms. Claton and Dorothy Butcher later served as pastors of a new English-speaking congregation. Fourteen persons became charter members of the Caparra Terrace Church in September of 1953. The homeland church began a money-raising campaign and builders Harvey Knowlton, Deyo Montanye and Emmett Brentlinger saw the building, begun in 1954, ready for its occupancy in 1956.

The Wesleyan Academy was organized in September 1955 and achieved Puerto Rican accreditation in 1957, with the policy of adding one additional grade to the beginning few grades each year.

With three organized churches and four preaching points, Puerto Rico again made history by its 1959 organization as a provisional annual conference. A group of sister churches known as "Tabernacles of God" also joined and took the Wesleyan name, adding two churches and three preaching points.³⁷

In 1960 the provisional conference met for its first annual conference with General Superintendent B. H. Phaup as chairman. The same year, Wesleyan Academy held its first graduation with two boys and six girls graduating from the sixth grade. In 1961 eight and one-half acres were purchased for a Wesleyan Academy campus. By 1965 the Academy had grown to include grades kindergarten through 12. In 1961 Efrain Santiago became the first elder of the district, then district

superintendent in 1964. The nonaffiliated Wesleyan Community Church (English-speaking) broke ground for construction in 1966.

At the eighteenth anniversary of the Caparra Church, Leondro Morales Cedeño, district superintendent, pointed out persons and events which fit into the progress of the Puerto Rican work. He referred to Efrain Santiago, to George Hilson, to Charles Day, Ronald Heavilin, Miss Roberta Fair, Mrs. Barbara Fowler, John Putney and Ronald Smeenge.

"Actually we are naming only a handful of the valiant ones of the Lord who have seen the challenge, . . . preparing us for a new era of growth," he said.³⁸

In addition to the appointed Wesleyan missionaries, a host of short-term volunteers have invested time, strength, and prayers in behalf of Puerto Rico. Able church administrators and dozens of visiting evangelists have brought gospel encouragement. Jose Hernandez was district superintendent 1974 through 1978.

The Wesleyan Theological College, organized September 1970, trains full-time workers. Two new churches were planted as a direct result of the college program—churches which by 1978 were organized and thriving.³⁹ A second English-speaking congregation began meeting in Dorado and Gerald Jack became its pastor. (The two English-speaking congregations, though Wesleyan in many ways, are not officially organized Wesleyan units.) In 1989 the district reported 14 established churches and 2 pioneer churches with 1,925 members in all categories (from 437 in 1968).

Puerto Rico is putting down roots and planting daughter churches while training ministers and leaders for multiplied future outreach.

One of the most incisive comments to come from Puerto Rico is by the late George Hilson who pastored the Community Wesleyan Church and served as conference president: "Spanish-speaking Puerto Rico affords The Wesleyan Church unrestricted opportunities for training Christian workers to serve throughout the Latin American fields."⁴⁰ Unrestricted opportunity!

For Puerto Rico, the eighties were years of growth and advance. In the Santurce section of San Juan an old theater,

once burned out but with strong walls, was purchased and renovated to serve a growing congregation. The Wesleyan Academy and the Wesleyan Bible College maintained strong, commendable training programs for hundreds of students. David Wells served most of the decade as principal of Wesleyan Academy. The Academy staff positions were increasingly filled by locally hired persons, by fewer Wesleyan Gospel Corps volunteers and by even fewer missionaries.

Worthy of note is the election of a lady, Sarah Gonzalez, as district superintendent, which is an historical event in itself. Only one woman, Mrs. Iva E. Crofford, who served in 1912 and from 1915 to 1919 as president of the Oklahoma Conference, had previously so served.⁴¹ With renewed emphasis upon church growth, Puerto Rico thrives as a fruitful plant in the Latin America/Caribbean community.

Isle of Pines, Cuba

If Cuba were viewed as a graceful porpoise, then the Isle of Pines might be seen as a fragment of bread about to be devoured. Less than 30 miles south of western Cuba, the Isle of Pines is known for fishing, for a national prison and for pine forests. Before 1925 many North Americans settled there with hopes it would be an island annex to the U.S.A.

The Pilgrim Holiness work on the Isle of Pines began through the ministry of an independent evangelist, James Miller, who resided there six months.⁴² In 1929, W. R. Miner and family began a three-year term. A September 1945 issue of the *Foreign Missions Bulletin* announced the placement of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Lyon. Some services were held in the prison and in three altar services 125 prisoners were reported to be seeking salvation.⁴³ Missionary Paul Ragsdale gave valuable help during his service on nearby Grand Cayman. In 1948 the General Board voted to close the Isle of Pines work, probably because Missionary Lyon joined another group.

MEXICO

"Dear Little Sister Nettie, a ball player has come to Christ! Pray for him." This news and prayer request in 1913 developed

into one of the great missionary dramas of the twentieth century.

Nettie Winans, a fair Kansas lass who knew the rigors of homesteading, covered wagon travel and broken family ties, had found Christ after a service was dismissed by timidly telling an itinerant preacher, "I wanted to be saved tonight."⁴⁴

Nettie set out for Bible school in Hutchinson, Kansas, and later reflected, "I had health and strength and youth and salvation. What more did I need?" Later Nettie (1914) joined the faculty of that Bible school where she began exercising her God-given gift of teaching.

By the wonderful providence of God, the Mexican ball player for whom she had prayed for some months and who had come to Christ in Deming, New Mexico, also enrolled in the Hutchinson Bible School. Though she had prayed for him because her distant pastor-brother asked her to, she never even knew his name was Francisco until he was introduced to the students and faculty. His testimony of greeting was so compelling that there were shouts of praise from the audience. He probably told how on the day of his conversion he had gone to the circus in Deming but the prayers of his mother and sisters brought such conviction that he was drawn to church and to the altar and now to Bible school.

Nettie and Francisco Soltero were married in 1918 and within two years were on their way to Mexico under Seth C. Rees's Pasadena Pilgrim Church. "He was a true Mexican gentleman," Nettie said of Francisco. "He had great vision, strong unswerving purpose, and a head full of plans to keep the work moving."⁴⁵ Nettie, a born teacher, started a class wherever she was and taught actively until her death in 1957. Field Superintendent Eduardo Munoz said years later that for 20 years he was instructed by her teaching and life, and that in 35 years she had tutored a whole generation of Mexican ministers.⁴⁶

Perhaps no Wesleyan Mission field is so related to one missionary couple and yet so culturally established and growing. The Solteros saw the Church grow in spite of the very obstacles which seemed to keep some fields small: limited resources, small staff, Catholic persecution, unfriendly officers of government, restrictive laws, suspicion, martyrdom, primitive modes of travel and limited means of communication. After establishing

an urban base in the geographically central but radically Roman Catholic city of San Luis Potosi, the Solteros concentrated on the rural areas where few missions had ventured.

The Developing Churches

Mr. Soltero used to seek out people in parks, trails, in the streets and in prison in order to share Christ's gospel. One prisoner was so remarkably changed through conversion that, following his release, numbers of people came to Christ. Through his testimony the village of Coxcatlan had a revival which resulted in one of the strongest Wesleyan churches now in Mexico.

The Indians of the Huasteca area were neglected and slaves to many vices. Four hundred years earlier their Aztec ancestors were known to be vigorous and healthy—able, for example, to deliver fresh fish to the emperor each day by relay runners who came from the Gulf of Mexico 250 miles away. Now, to these malaria-ridden, drink-depraved people the Pilgrim Holiness Church came with the gospel which Catholic priests and local government representatives bitterly opposed and which caused widespread anger. Persecution was intense. Lady missionaries had to be evacuated. Mobs jeered and plotted. But one by one individuals and villages were transformed by Christ's redeeming power.

Deliverances from death were many. For instance, Jose Trejo, an Otomi Indian, thinking it was morning because the moon was so bright, awakened Brother Soltero to begin a trip to San Luis Potosi. By leaving at the strange hour of 1:30 a.m., they unknowingly averted confrontation with a posse which assembled later to ambush them on the trail.⁴⁷

A church began in Potrerillos where one of the first converts was a man whose purpose in attending had been to murder the missionary for pay. Then the gospel was taken to Xilitla, a village where a Pilgrim colporteur and his wife had been stoned in 1925 but later the torn pages of desecrated Bibles became like coupons for new Scriptures as Pastor Alejo Casteneda was welcomed with his gospel messages.

More churches were planted by fearless messengers of grace. A reputation of honesty was so respected that only

Pilgrim Holiness Church members could get groceries on credit in Coxcatlan County.⁴⁸ However in the Southern District the Pilgrims suffered persecution with seven martyred in 1961 and one in 1963.⁴⁹

The gospel reached into the Mazateca tribe with Mazatecas training in the Bible school.

The Bible School

Nettie Soltero founded the Bible school soon after the Solteros arrived in San Luis Potosi in 1920. Two young men became her students. Often she taught while working about the kitchen. In 1932 the Bible school was moved to the border city of Laredo, Texas. A more formal instructional program began in 1935, with a good property and larger staff, in San Antonio, Texas. Some Texas churches participated. Valles, Mexico, has been the Bible school location since 1942. The number of students varies from year to year, the highest being 80. For some years a Bible school also functioned among the Mazateca Indians in Oaxaca.

By 1957 all of the 126 churches were pastored by Mexican nationals who were converted and trained by the Pilgrim Holiness workers.

Missionaries

Among the missionaries who assisted the Solteros were Miss Daisy Buby who arrived to be school matron and nurse in 1928, Miss Martha Hahn who began a long missionary career in 1931 and Flora Belle Slater who arrived in 1934.⁵⁰ Miss Nellie Carroll arrived on the field in 1947 and in 1964 became Mrs. F. H. Soltero. She served as mission coordinator following Mr. Soltero's retirement. Before his death in 1977, Brother Soltero was able to see a full-orbed work in Mexico, the land of his birth.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church

Wesleyan Methodists also had a Mexico involvement which began in the 1950s. The California Conference had

generated interest and recruited personnel to reach out across the border from Tucson, Arizona. In 1953 the Wesleyan Methodist Executive Board approved the opening of a Mexico work under the supervision of the California Conference. Some three congregations began under the ministry of Herman Perez. Mrs. Ruth Nichols Sanchez was treasurer and visiting representative. Later, in 1961, James and Marilyn Lind were appointed to give missionary presence and leadership.

The ample and successful ministries of a sister denomination, the dearth of adequate local leadership, and the geographical distance from other Mexican churches may be contributing factors to the nonexistence of those congregations by the early 1970s.

Fifty Years Old

The Church in Mexico celebrated 50 years of ministry in January 1970. The Wesleyan Church in the United States sent chief leaders to participate in the memorial event, including General Superintendent B. H. Phaup, General Superintendent Melvin H. Snyder, Robert N. Lytle and General Editor Robert W. McIntyre. Later the same year, Azusa Pacific College in California honored Mr. Soltero with the honorary degree of doctor of divinity. On October 27, 1977, Francisco Holguin Soltero, a great warrior of the cross, went to be with the Lord.

In November 1978 the First National Conference met, including all three districts, to become, God willing, the forerunner of a general conference. Past decades prove Mexican leaders mean business for God. From 1968 to 1978, for example, membership in Mexico grew from 5,960 to 7,135, a gain of 1,175 which is 20 percent.

The reason for growth was the burning compassion each convert had to see still others come to Christ, according to Brother Soltero.

It was never our plan to leave monuments of stone and clay, but men and women who were redeemed, filled with the Holy Spirit, and having a deep passion for lost souls; men and women of prayer who were completely consecrated to the evangelization of our country; men and women ready to sacrifice for Christ and His work.⁵¹

These words of Brother Soltero speak all the stronger as one reviews the fruit of the Mexican work and as one remembers that both Francisco and Nettie are buried in the land to which God called them.

For Mexico, the decade of the eighties brought immense change. Nellie Soltero, 36-year veteran and mission coordinator, went to be with the Lord on May 4, 1983. Ed and Sharon Parman began service in 1980 and Ben and Faith Moncivaiz were appointed in 1986 to the Valles Bible Institute. Evangelism teams by the dozen gave valuable short-term service.

Growing interest for impact in Mexico City, having nearly 20 million souls, led to the acquisition of a commercial building which, by 1990, was still being renovated and developed into a Wesleyan center. National leaders nobly took their places. National Superintendent Eduardo Munoz reached retirement in 1982. The second national conference elected, to succeed him, Emiliano Hernandez.

The 1989 report gives total membership in Mexico at 8,881, with 115 organized churches, 88 preaching points and a Sunday school constituency of 17,741. It is noteworthy that on a Sunday evening an average of 32,440 persons attend Wesleyan services—a number surpassing the total membership of the nine units of the L.A.C. (Latin America/Caribbean) arena. Mexico, true to her history, represents a sturdy and fruitful plant.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Honduras

If Central America helps connect North America and South America, then Honduras may be called the midpoint link of the Americas. Named by Columbus (Honduras means “the depths” because of its deep offshore waters) the country with its 43,277 square miles is similar in size to the state of Pennsylvania. Abundant in tropical fruit and minerals, Honduras is second largest of Central American countries but the least developed.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church appointed its first missionary, Miss Eloise Wood, R.N., in 1957. Beginning in March of that year Miss Wood, a native of nearby Roatan Island, served

alone until joined by the William Davis family in 1958. Miss Wood's medical work on Roatan soon opened doors to preaching ministries including assistance to the Zion Methodist Church (independent) in the port of La Ceiba as well as in Puerto Castilla, Tela, Puerto Cortes, Barrio Mejia in La Ceiba, and Trevecia.

Membership in the Honduras field grew from 111 in 1958 (including the Zion Methodists who officially joined in 1961) to 161 in 1978. This two-decade increase of 50 members represents an augment of 45 percent or an average of 2.25 percent per year.

The congregations of La Ceiba, Tela, and Puerto Cortes proved to be the center of activity across the years with strengths in the English-speaking La Ceiba Sunday school and youth ministries. Missionaries Ronald and Alice Heavilin arrived in 1962 to join the Davises. In the same year nationals from Jamaica, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Hewling, arrived to serve. By 1968 the mission reported three organized churches, plus three other congregations, seven pastors and evangelists, 900 enrolled in Sunday schools, and a total membership of 117.⁵²

The decade of the 1970s saw much earnest activity on the part of William and Dorothy Davis who labored as the only resident missionaries. Floods and storms brought suffering to multitudes to whom the Davises turned with relief efforts. Hurricane Fifi, which took 8,000 lives in 1974, caused the most grief and economic loss to surviving Hondurans. During the '70s, work teams from North America visited to build, to reconstruct, to evangelize and to encourage.

In 1979 Tom Hines and his wife, Lydia, left for Honduras with a one-year stop in Costa Rica for Spanish language instruction. Missionaries who were appointed for the first time to Honduras during the eighties were Dale and Janet Holloway (1981) and Lawrence and Marcia Burke (1985).

As the smallest unit in the L.A.C. (Latin America/Caribbean) arena, Honduras has had her share of challenges during the eighties. The matter in the courts regarding the name change from Zion Methodist finally, after decades, fell through. For the first time, however, The Wesleyan Church achieved government recognition, albeit without three church buildings and a Bible school property. The two full-time national pastors, the Bible

school students, and a majority of members remained staunchly Wesleyan and entered enthusiastically into the work of building the reorganized church.

A strong masonry building, once a discotheque, was purchased and remodeled for church and Bible institute activities in the La Ceiba/La Julia urban complex. Work teams from the states gave tremendous encouragement and assistance throughout the decade.

The congregation in Puerto Cortes was left without a pastor in 1990 when Omar Moya, after seven years of service, resigned to plant a new church. Lack of pastoral candidates forced the closing of the Puerto Cortes church. The total membership reported for Honduras in 1990 was 34.

The future for a thriving plant in Honduras depends on finding committed young people who will train for full-time Christian service.

Guatemala

Just west and north of Honduras, Guatemala has a rich blend of culture from the ancient Mayan Indians. Mission beginnings date from 1912 when K. H. Jackson and Walter Henschen pioneered for the Holiness Christian Church, one of the beginning groups of the Pilgrim Holiness Church.⁵³

Several preaching points soon included Guatemala City, San Raymundo, Escuintla, Antigua and El Rancho.⁵⁴ Diligence was given to Bible school operation, and Alfred R. Higgs reported in the May 15, 1924, *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, that there were 30 students completing a term of study. In 1925 reports from Guatemala spoke of people finding God. At the same time statistical totals showed 79 enrolled in Sunday school but no church members.⁵⁵ By the time Francisco Soltero and Charles Slater arrived for a 1930 inspection-revival tour,⁵⁶ the Guatemala work had had some one dozen missionaries—probably not more than five at a time. Minutes of the Fifteenth Meeting of the General Board of the Pilgrim Holiness Church (1937) indicate that the Guatemala work had ceased to be under denominational administration.

Panama

When the Worldwide Missionary Society of Baltimore, Maryland, voted in 1923 to merge all its missionary work with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, part of the transferred support program was for missionaries to the San Blas Indians of Panama.⁵⁷ One missionary, Mrs. M. Elizabeth Purdy who served in Panama at least nine years, returned to the States with three Indian boys to be educated so that they might return to preach to their own people.⁵⁸ Mrs. Purdy, whose salary was \$30 a month, placed two Indian boys in the Rees Bible School and one Indian student at Greensboro Bible School.⁵⁹ But like the fading of an Indian call on a distant mountain, so reports of further mission activities among the San Blas people seem to fade away.

SOUTH AMERICA

Peru

When Pizarro ambushed Inca Indians in 1533, they had mistakenly thought each Spanish conquistador and his horse were together one creature and that each rifle was good for only two shots! Peru, now stripped of her gold and Inca rule, has a population of 21,792,000 persons whose average annual income is \$940.⁶⁰ Seventy percent of Peruvians speak Spanish, including those, of course, of European descent; most of the rest speak the language of the Incas which is Quechua.

The Wesleyan work in Peru was founded in 1903 by Willis C. Brand who settled in the small city of Chiclayo located on Peru's narrow and rainless coastal strip. Mr. Brand, making the voyage from San Francisco to Peru in 53 days, served under the Holiness Church which merged with the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1946. In Chiclayo amidst fierce opposition it was 16 years (1919) before a Holiness church was organized.⁶¹ Stateside money was raised in 1923 for property and construction of the Bible school which opened in 1924. By 1932, at least eight missionaries, or missionary couples had gone to serve in Peru. That same year J. R. Adams, president of the denomination, organized Peru churches into a district with

James M. Spencer as superintendent. "They have their board of elders, annual assemblies, quarterly conferences, and excellent supervision of churches on the coast and in the mountains."⁶²

The first Pilgrim Holiness missionaries appointed to Peru following the 1946 merger were Flora Belle Slater and Daisy Buby, arriving in March 1947. Gordon and Rita Avery, arriving in 1948, spent 27 years in Peru. Naoma Greer, born in Chiclayo to missionaries, served from 1939 through 1975. At the time of the 1946 merger the Chiclayo Bible School had a student body of 20 and vacation Bible schools meeting in 24 places with an average daily total attendance of 676.⁶³ The work included 11 organized churches, 17 unorganized preaching points and 11 full-time national workers.⁶⁴ In one term the Bible school students held 24 cottage prayer meetings, visited jail and hospital persons six times, visited 1,514 homes, dealt with 332 people concerning their salvation, sold 71 Bibles, 76 New Testaments, 990 Gospels and distributed 13,050 tracts. Sometimes they were insulted and abused but always they were rejoicing.⁶⁵

By the time of the 1968 Wesleyan Methodist-Pilgrim Holiness merger the church in Peru had increased to include 42 organized churches plus 79 preaching points. Membership totaled 3,200 with 7,000 in Sunday school.⁶⁶ Leadership by three national district superintendents was in concert with the guidance of Mission Coordinator G. C. Avery, and with counsel from Field Superintendent F. H. Soltero (founder of the Mexico work), along with oversight from the General Department of World Missions in Marion, Indiana.

In spite of loyal intentions for harmonious merger and appropriate national interdependence, a spirit of separation tore a segment of the Peruvian church. While many members and leaders committed themselves loyally to the newly merged Wesleyan Church, others sought to isolate the Peruvian church from the general Church and from many of their Peruvian peers. The year 1972 was like a destructive storm to the once flourishing plant. Nearly a decade of litigation finally resolved the matter in favor of the denomination. But the membership which had approximately doubled in the 1960s was reduced by half in the seventies. The saintly example of loyal nationals along with compassionate prayer and counsel from other Wesleyans

brought much healing to the bruised vine.

In 1979 Mission Coordinator Richard West reported a spirit of revival in the pastors' retreat and in several of the Bible institute classes. Various pastors reported conversions and the whole climate of the Wesleyan work in Peru took on an optimistic stance. The 1979 appointment of Norman and Kim Wilson to Peru gladdened the hearts of the overloaded missionary staff as well as the nationals.

During the eighties, Peru made definite forward strides in ministry and in administration. By 1990 she reported 54 churches, with a total membership of 2,323. The worn-out Bible school buildings in Chiclayo were dismantled, and a modern three-story, multi-purpose, concrete block edifice was constructed. Qualified Peruvian leaders ably supervise the school. New district boundaries were drawn resulting in three districts, with Enrique Alcantara elected as the first superintendent over the national conference. Another bright spot is the pioneering work in Lima's subdivision called Surco, where promise of a thriving church is on the horizon. Missionaries Gary and Charlotte Wiley and Jarvis and Sue Ferguson are the church planters.

For Peru, the plant is developing promising growth.

Guyana/Suriname Regional Conference

Guyana. Like two drops of dew on the shoulder of a fruit (South America) Guyana and Suriname are adjacent neighbors near Venezuela, French Guiana and Brazil. Guyana is the size of Idaho and would fit 82 times into the South American continent. Suriname, closer to Georgia in size, would fit 107 times into the total area of South America. Wesleyans have joined Guyana and Suriname into one regional conference because of proximity and interests common to both lands.

The Cooperative Republic of Guyana, with its 779,000 people, has a six-feet-below-sea level capital city known as Georgetown. In 1902 Rev. C. O. Moulton arrived to conduct an evangelistic campaign among "the needy of the city."⁶⁷ Perhaps Moulton was enroute to Saba where he took up residence as a pioneer missionary the same year. This beginning led to an urban mission called Faith and Love Mission.⁶⁸ In

1913 it became part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church which grew to 800 attenders and a national staff of 20 by 1936. Many great missionaries and evangelists of the denomination have preached at the Georgetown Church which was constructed for \$1,700 in 1915 by George Beirnes and completed in time for the Charles Slaters, who served while awaiting opportunity to go to Africa.⁶⁹

The Georgetown Church became the sending center to other towns and tribes. In New Amsterdam "the first converts closed the public dance hall by renting it for worship."⁷⁰ Strong evangelistic fervor and distinct emphasis upon holiness accompanied a wave of witnessing and outreach. Lewis C. Hiles, who first arrived in 1925, reported 950 persons seeking the Lord in a little more than one month's time across the district. And on Sunday night, April 30, 1941, the number reported inside the Georgetown church was 1,000 with another thousand outside.⁷¹

Along the country's one east-west highway churches and preaching points came into being. Soon the 16 preaching points became 30. Many developed into churches.⁷² Then along the water corridors of inland Guyana missionaries and nationals paddled and trekked to new villages. The conversion of a riverboat captain, Mr. Fanfair, and of James Watson who worked with Maxey Walton helped speed the gospel to the interior.

The Paramakatoi mission, some 175 miles inland from Georgetown, was established in 1951 by two workers, Nurse Nota Higgins and Ethel Carew, a Guyanese teacher. Student enrollment there was 125 in 1964.⁷³ At least 42 missionaries have invested their efforts for the gospel in Guyana. The interior work, accessible only by air, with its primitive tribesmen continues through diligent missionary and national dedication. Opportunities abound for ministries along the coast as well.

Suriname. The Suriname District, which like Guyana has its own national district superintendent, may have as many differences as similarities with its sister district, Guyana. Suriname's cosmopolitan history is indicated by the fact that the first synagogue built in the Western Hemisphere (1665) is located there.⁷⁴

In Suriname the official language is Dutch and is spoken rather commonly among 90% of the population which lives along the coastline. In the interior, however, are the Boschnegar (bush negro) people who look down upon city negroes and have proudly chosen a life-style like seventeenth century rural Africa. These bush negroes represent 10 percent of Suriname's 450,000 people.

In 1944 a Guyanese Pilgrim Holiness pastor (Ivan Soloman)⁷⁵ began a full-time ministry in the Suriname city of Nickerie, second city in size and having a population of 5,000.⁷⁶ Then in the very Dutch city of Paramaribo, Leonard and Pauline Leitzel established a mission headquarters in 1945. While nurturing a church with an average attendance of 150, and with other Sunday schools and preaching points in the city, the Leitzels had a growing relationship with bush negroes who passed in and out of the city to buy and sell. "We have had about 650 of them, including 15 or more chiefs, visit in our home," reported Mr. Leitzel.⁷⁷ One bush negro, upon hearing the gospel, typified many of them when he said, "What have we run across here? Isn't this wonderful!"⁷⁸

With a growing constituency along the mango and palm decorated coastline, the Leitzels in 1952 hewed their way inland to a jungle area they named Pelgrim Kondre (Pilgrim Country) along the Upper Cottica River to win the very neglected bush negroes of the Aucaner tribe. By the time of merger in 1968 Suriname had 66 members in three organized churches, fourteen preaching points and four national workers. A Bible school had six students and the two day schools served 105 students.

A decade later membership had approximately doubled to 122 members in three organized churches and one pioneer church. There were 11 preaching points. One day school continued with 230 students. Eighteen missionaries have been appointed to Suriname since the work began.

During the eighties, Guyana/Suriname Regional Conference membership increased to 1,627. Paul and Lois Downey, veteran missionaries who had been in recent years pastoring in Michigan, returned as mission coordinator for the Guyana/Suriname Regional Conference with their first residence in Georgetown, Guyana, but also residing, for significant

periods, in Suriname.

A new work in the thriving Paramaribo division of Flora was launched in 1981. The church, built by a work team from Kansas, had every seat filled for its first service. The Wesleyan Bible Institute, begun in Paramaribo in 1983 by Leo Van der Kuyp, continues under the direction of missionaries and nationals. In 1985 Metro-Move seminar/campaigns encouraged growth in both countries, with moving testimonies and healthy goals for new spiritual conquests.

The Leo Van der Kuyps, after nearly a half-century of prominent leadership in Suriname, retired in 1988. Retirement also claimed the Clarence Knupps and Dean Phillipps from active duty. Nurse Doris Wall gave herself sacrificially to translation projects that would extend the impact of the gospel in the interior of Guyana. Extended revivals by visiting missionaries Richard and Jean Grindstaff brought encouragement and victories in the late eighties.

The Guyana/Suriname Regional Conference functions as a plant with promise though somewhat dormant.

Colombia

If South America were a luscious melon and Panama were the connecting stem, then Colombia would be the crown of the melon to which the stem connects. Touching two seas, the Caribbean on the north and the Pacific Ocean on the west, Colombia is an adjacent neighbor to Venezuela, Brazil, Peru and Ecuador.

In 1939 James Elliott of Marion College urged The Wesleyan Methodist Church to give attention toward Latin America by a passionate plea at general conference. Considerable interest and support had also been generated in the public services of the general Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society during the 1939 General Conference. General Secretary of Foreign Missions E. F. McCarty wrote,

Of all the prospects offered our Board in Colombia, the one at, and near [the city of], Medellin seemed to me to be the most desirable and offers the greatest opportunities for developing a good work among a needy, unevangelized people.⁷⁹

Thus The Wesleyan Methodist Church launched a steady program of missionary penetration into areas of the Andes Mountains and the Magdalena River valley in the Medellin third of Colombia.

The ten million of Colombia in 1941 have more than tripled to the 1990 population of 31,821,000. And Medellin, a city of 175,000 in 1941, has added almost one and one-half million people to make a total of 1,664,000. But while the population of the country grew three times, the church growth was slow, and the Protestant church suffered in a religious scene described by some to be more Catholic than Rome. Sterl and Marie Phinney, having returned from war-clouded Japan in 1940, were the first appointed Wesleyans to Colombia. Going in 1941, the Phinneys were joined by the young missionaries Robert and Norva Crosby in 1942. The construction of the Medellin church was a high priority. Two national workers were soon traveling to outstations in neighboring villages. Ruth Gibson, a North Carolina nurse employed at Houghton College, began missionary service in 1944. In the mountain town of Rionegro another of the early Wesleyan churches was planted, but although it was one of the very few evangelical groups in the town, it struggled for decades just to exist. In 1979, however, the giant city of Medellin broke ground on the Rionegro plateau for a new international airport. The arrival of new residents, along with the continued determination of missionaries and national Christians, gave encouraging signs for church growth in Rionegro.

Missionaries joining the Colombian staff in the 1940s included Erma Steinacker, Robert and Louise Lytle and Charles and Lucille Day. Baptismal services saw new believers taking a stand for Christ in such new places as Norcacia and Puerto Salgar. The mission press, called La Tipografia Union, was purchased in Medellin in 1945. It became a key supplier of evangelistic literature, making The Wesleyan Church better known in Latin America than in America, according to one traveler in Latin America.⁸⁰ Missionaries who assisted in the press through the years were William and Dorothy Davis, Harris and Marcia Earl and James and Marilyn Lind.

The religious tensions of the forties and fifties slowly gave way to tolerance for the evangelicals and their message. New

congregations were added but scarcity of trained leaders and of finances seemed to limit growth. A new determination gave birth to a program of training pastors called theological education by extension (TEE). Clusters of students, lay and ministerial, met in appointed places for instruction by a traveling professor. Extension students numbered 66 in nine centers in 1978.

By the late sixties and in the seventies several other important events gave new impetus. In the mid-sixties a congregation was planted with a sanctuary constructed in the capital city of Bogota. By the mid-seventies the Medellin congregation, having lost their church to expressway construction, had rebuilt. The same expressway forced relocation of the bookstore which was moved to a very desirable, though expensive, downtown site. The Wesleyan Bible Institute began its first year of resident instruction in 1979. The Institute, along with extension classes, brought encouragement to the church. A Metro-Move seminar, seeking to enable national leaders to plan strategy for urban churches, was conducted in Bogota in 1979.

Encouraging youth conventions, children's camps, pastoral training, continued printing and bookstore ministries, church planting in Bogota North and other strategic points of opportunity, new national leadership potential, freedom to preach,—all these factors show promise for the Colombian church. Most of the older Colombian Christians bear scars, physical or mental, of days of persecution, but a new era has come. For example, in Bogota North, 62 percent of the 129 families interviewed in a target residential area indicated a desire for a deeper religious experience. And 34 percent agreed to host a weekly Bible study.

Colombia increased its membership almost sevenfold in the 20 years from 1958 to 1978. It was like a vine entering the stage to put down significant daughter plants.

During the eighties, the Wesleyan bookstore which still thrives in downtown Medellin, was transferred to a local Wesleyan named Apolinar Rincon. On new Bible school property, purchased in the Medellin suburb of Bello, construction of an education complex was completed early in 1990.

Missionaries appointed for the first time during the eighties include Rod and Joy Guptill (1986, including language studies), and Marcus and Dixie Dean (1987, including language study).

Pastors of 16 of the 22 churches are graduates of the Wesleyan Bible Institute, which is ably administered by a Colombian named Johana Jimenez. Daughter churches planted during the decade of the eighties include Aures, Mariquita, La Espanola, Choco, Nueva, Zelandia, Chinuinquirá, and Flandes. The 1989 Metro-Move seminar scheduled for Bogotá was cancelled because of drug-related turmoil within Colombia and between the U.S.A. and Colombia.

Total membership reported in the 1990 official statistical report was 2,534. Just as Colombians have endured nobly through history past, so it can be expected that a staunch work will keep growing until Jesus returns.

Brazil

The Federative Republic of Brazil has at least seven cities of more than one million people, is the largest country in South America, has the continent's largest river (Amazon), the largest city (São Paulo) and is the largest producer of coffee.

The dream for Brazil, which for some years had burned upon the hearts of mission administrators, took an encouraging turn when Paul and Lois Downey launched the Manaus work in November 1960 following a year of language study in Campinas, Brazil. Manaus, on the mighty Amazon River, with a dearth of evangelical gospel witness, had great potential for opening a waterway to scattered Indian tribes already ministered to from the Guyana border; but new government restrictions halted that plan. The Downeys served until 1978, along with Paul and Sally Phillippe, and later came James and Vangie Lindner, Ronald and Betty Lou Pickett and Timothy and Marcia Fisher.

The missionaries gave themselves to evangelism, church planting and disciple-making. The first Bible school began March 1967 with four students. A four-year resident program was adopted including a year of practical service. Programmed instruction, having self-teaching techniques, was added to the Bible school curriculum in 1974.

In 1975 the first district conference convened. And in 1977 Mission Coordinator Paul Downey wrote, "I believe the church is beginning to realize growth but we must move with the

growth to conserve it." Total membership stood at 160. And a Monday-Wednesday-Friday radio broadcast, paid for by friends in Canada, touched hundreds of the 200,000 residents in and near Manaus.

An out-of-town campground purchased in 1973 has become a valuable retreat for special training. For example, in September 1978, 150 youth attended such a retreat. Evangelist E. L. Downey held four or more evangelistic campaigns in Brazil's churches and 99 persons sought God's help at altars of prayer. Raimundo Messias Meira, first ordained Wesleyan minister in the national church of Brazil, attended as a delegate the North American General Conference in June 1976 and was so impressed by his Wesleyan family that he encouraged loyalty to fellow Brazilians through photographic slides and personal reports.

An 18-foot fiberglass inboard boat, donated in 1976, made it possible for evangelistic visits by water, especially to the recently opened work about 150 miles upriver called Itape-acu. A lady lay worker from Manaus had made at least two primary visits there and some 60 had come to Christ and were requesting a pastor.

By 1980 many of the problems encountered since founding the Brazil work 20 years earlier, remained but in lesser magnitude: burning need for national workers, limitations of missionary staff including furloughs and visa difficulties, concerns to see revival and evangelistic outreach and the economic bite. With a total membership of 217 in four organized churches, two pioneer churches and three preaching points, the one district in Brazil, called "Amazonas District," was a plant putting down roots and approaching the time for fruit bearing.

In spite of many spiritual battles, the 1980s was a decade of harvest with an increase of 500 members, a gain of 230 percent! Sao Jose and other points were chosen as places for new churches. New camp and Bible school ministries reached prime young people. Metro-Move ignited more hearts with tools for growth and evangelism. The Picketts transferred from Manaus to Fortaleza in November 1981, giving a Wesleyan presence in two major cities.

The first work in Fortaleza was in a place called Planalto Aldeota and soon there were three churches and a Bible school.

Wesleyan Youth's International Convention PACE 86 gave dollars, prayers and teams toward Fortaleza expansion.

Administrative visits by General Superintendent Robert W. McIntyre, by General Secretary Wayne W. Wright, and by such preaching missions as those with Wayne E. Caldwell and evangelist Chester Wilkins, helped to encourage the work and the workers. In 1986 the Church in Brazil celebrated its 25th anniversary.

With the close of the 1989 decade, both Manaus and Fortaleza had newly purchased properties being readied for Bible school construction, which would also serve as district and missionary centers. As a growing, fruitful plant, Brazil offers significant promise within The Wesleyan Church worldwide.

Venezuela

In the 1920s, the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* reported missionary activity in Venezuela through such people as Ford Hendrickson, Charles Slater, O. R. Covault and Earl Baldwin. "It is very necessary that any church intending to do missionary work in the interior of Venezuela have a good strong work on Trinidad which will act as a feeder on the mainland," wrote Charles Slater.⁸¹

"We are 400 miles into the continent with the help of Brother Covault preaching as we go and locating our two stations," wrote Mr. Hendrickson.⁸² References to geographic areas include Ciudad Bolivar and Soledad on the Orinoco River; Caicara, Caripete on the Sarosa River; El Callao in the interior with interest in reaching tribes south to the Meta River. Brother Hendrickson further reported, "We arranged to build our mission back on the headwaters of the Parquasa River."⁸³

In time, however, the Baldwins returned to the U.S.A. in ill health, then went to Trinidad. The Hendricksons and the Covaults ceased to work together, and Brother Slater continued his traveling evangelism to other areas including Africa. Work in Venezuela did not continue.

CONCLUSION

Although no advance of Christianity has ever been without problems and difficulties, the Latin American and Caribbean communities have presented unusual challenges to Wesleyan missionaries. Given the predominance of Roman Catholic believers in almost all of these countries, Wesleyans have allowed the light of God's Word to shine alongside the darkness that has kept the masses unenlightened to Christ's redeeming power. In spite of the sacrifices and hardships faced in most of the areas where The Wesleyan Church has made beginnings, the gains, though modest in comparison to other lands, are more consistent and encouraging than ever before.

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CHAPTER 11

THE WESLEYAN CHURCH IN AFRICA

Norman N. Bonner, Alberta R. Metz

"The spread of the gospel and the penetration of African life and culture by Christianity has been phenomenal. In no other continent has the entire social structure been so greatly influenced by Christian Missions."¹ These words written in 1952 are true 40 years later. Contemporary missiologists concur: "There are titanic transformations taking place all over Africa. . . . Western mission agencies and churches are heavily involved in fostering this transformation."²

The twentieth century is described as the era when "winds of change" are blowing across the once dark continent. Christian missionaries and their African colleagues are making a vital and significant contribution to the new order which is emerging. "By the year 2000, the African followers of Jesus Christ in all their diversity will number 350 million."³

Africa is the last great area of the world in which the colonial patterns predominated. The tide of nationalism finally overran the continent. "Christianity itself is undergoing Africanization. New worship forms, new approaches to polygamy, new theologies are all being developed in a serious attempt to incorporate Christianity in less Western garb."⁴

Wesleyan missionaries have been at work on African soil for over a century. Wesleyan missions were born in Latourette's "Great Century," the nineteenth century. Three volumes in the monumental seven-volume series cover the Great Century. Volume seven covers the twentieth century and is entitled, "Advance Through Storm."⁵ The title graphically describes the progress of Wesleyan missions in Africa.

WESLEYANISM IN AFRICA, A RICH HERITAGE

The Wesleyan Church in Africa, as it exists today, is the result of five separate streams of missionary endeavor in evangelism and church planting, all of which trace their beginning to the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America

The first stream began in 1889 when Sierra Leone became the first venture of the American Wesleyans. The Wesleyan Church in Sierra Leone stands as a monument to the vision of two men, one African and the other American. In 1887 J. Augustus Cole, a relative of King Suluku of the Limba tribe, was pastoring a small, independent church in Freetown. He was anxious for missionaries to minister to his tribe and people. He traveled to America in 1887 and attended the general conference. As a result of his presentation, A. W. Hall, Connectional missionary agent, sailed to Africa and visited the church in Freetown, as well as several tribal chiefs of the interior. Upon his return, he enthusiastically shared his concern for missionaries to go to Sierra Leone. On December 11, 1889, the first missionaries sailed for Africa and consequently opened the first mission station at Kunso.⁶

The Africa Evangelistic Mission

The second stream began in 1898 when Isaac O. Lehman and Alice Heise met in Rhodesia at Matopo Mission (Brethren in Christ) where they were married. In 1902 they were led of the Lord to begin evangelization of African men in the gold mining compounds in and around Johannesburg, South Africa. They remained in this area until their deaths more than 50 years later. Converts from the gold mining ministry were given help in learning to read and write as a means of teaching the Word. These converts later returned to their homes in Mozambique and eastern Transvaal where they joined established churches or planted churches where there were none. The Africa Evangelistic Mission emerged as a result of these efforts,

bringing nearly 150 churches to the merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1962.⁷

The Pilgrim Holiness Church

The third stream began in 1900 with the arrival in Capetown of the William Hirst family. Mr. Hirst was the first secretary of the International Holiness Union and Prayer League.⁸ The Pilgrim Holiness Church was, itself, the result of several streams which flowed together in the homeland.

James Hundley, in 1904, was searching along the coast of the Cape Province seeking for an open door to the African peoples of the interior. He came eventually to the city of Port Elizabeth where God gave a revival with many seeking holiness.⁹

Port Elizabeth became the center of the thrust into the interior as well as into European cities including East London, Umtata, Port Shepstone and Durban. (The term, European, is used traditionally to designate Caucasians, regardless of country of origin.) Mission stations were opened at Mt. Frere among the Xhosa and Baqa peoples, at Emmanuel Mission near Port Shepstone among the Zulu peoples, and in Swaziland among the Swazis. Later missions were opened in Zambia and in Pondoland and the work was revived among the European peoples of South Africa.

The Reformed Baptist Church

The fourth stream began in 1901 when the Reformed Baptist Church with headquarters in Canada sent Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Sanders to Durban, Natal, to study the Zulu language in preparation for a spearhead into the heart of Zululand. They were led of the Lord to a farm near Paulpietersburg which they purchased and developed into a mission station as a base for evangelization among the Zulu people.

In 1966 the Reformed Baptist Church merged with the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This brought into the merged Church in Africa the rich traditions and resources of the Reformed Baptist people. With the merger of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1968, this

stream became a part of The Wesleyan Church. The original thrust of 1901 had extended from northern Natal to the Reef gold mining area of Johannesburg and to the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia area, developed as Bethesda Mission near famous Victoria Falls.¹⁰

The Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association

The fifth stream began early in the twentieth century with the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. William Worchester in Africa. For some time they worked with the South Africa Compound Mission in Johannesburg where they became acquainted with Isaac O. Lehman. The thrust into Africa was effected under the leadership of Elder George Weavers, one of the founders of the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association.

Mission stations were opened up in Natal at Beulah Mission near Umkomaas, in northeastern Transvaal at Letaba, and in Brakpan. In 1941 the work in Letaba and Brakpan was turned over to the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Later, the Letaba mission was discontinued, but Brakpan became headquarters for the All-Africa Conference of the Church.¹¹

WESLEYANISM IN AFRICA— A PRESERVATION OF MANY HERITAGES

As a result of a number of mergers, both in the homeland and in Africa, The Wesleyan Church in Africa maintains a continuing ministry with a rich heritage. Had any of these antecedent bodies "died on the vine" and not merged, at least a part of the labors of love of outstanding holiness leaders across many decades would have been lost. Hence, merger has been a significant factor in the ongoing work of Christ. Much of the heritage from these separate streams has flowed into The Wesleyan Church in Africa and is a part of its ministry. In particular, John Wesley's concept, "The world is our parish," and the great Wesleyan objective of preaching the "full" gospel to "every" man, are preserved.

SIERRA LEONE

The biblical concept of preaching, teaching and healing¹² has been a part of the American Wesleyan Mission in Sierra Leone from its inception. J. Herbert Kane remarks,

In 1889 Sierra Leone became the first missionary venture of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. From the beginning a well balanced program of evangelistic, medical, and educational endeavor had been conducted, with church planting as the prime objective.¹³

Since the first three converts were baptized over 100 years ago, the church in Sierra Leone has grown to a membership of over 14,790¹⁴ in five tribal groups: Temne, Limba, Loko, Susu and Krio. The mission was known as The American Wesleyan Mission, so named in the early days to distinguish it from the English Wesleyans. The Church is now known as the Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone (WCSL).

Early Objectives

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, revived Christians in England and America were awakened to the need of evangelizing the world. They formed mission boards and began sending missionaries in greater numbers to other countries. The Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, organized over 40 years previously, was taking its first steps to initiate missionary outreach overseas.

The singular event that touched the hearts of these American Wesleyans was the well-timed visit of J. Augustus Cole, a Limba of Freetown. At the 1887 General Conference in Indiana, his passionate plea for missionaries led to the election of the Reverend A. W. Hall as Missionary Secretary. His task was to interest the members to pray, raise funds, and organize efforts to open the work in Sierra Leone. Within a short time, he made a trip to study conditions of the area, and his glowing reports convinced the official board to act. On December 11, 1889, the Reverend and Mrs. Henry W. Johnston, their son, Irwin, and Dr. Alice Harris sailed for Africa.¹⁵

Along with the preaching, teaching and healing ministries of the mission, Wesleyan missionaries have been concerned

with other social issues. A. W. Hall writes,

As I paced the deck of the gallant *Liberia* and by the dawning light discovered valley, hill and mountain set in tropical array, reposing in tranquil stillness, the sea sending up its cool, soft and wooing breezes to kiss its hill and mountain top, I thought of the visitations of the white man in his cruel greed for human flesh and blood, and wondered if his wrongs could be so far forgotten as not to forever brand his race with the stamp of barbarism. I recalled the well drawn comparison,—“If the African be the image of God in ebony, the slave dealer is the image of the devil in ivory,” and felt to apologize for my presence, but found none for the wrongs inflicted by my race.¹⁶

This concern of the early missionaries is a reflection of the lofty principle which prompted the advocates of abolition to found the Wesleyan Methodist Connection.

At the organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Church the great and all important question was whether one man had any moral right to hold his fellow beings in servitude. There were other questions associated with this but their importance was estimated according to their direct or indirect relation to the great question of slavery. A sense of the obligation resting upon them to do what they could to preserve the purity of Christianity, a love for the enjoyment of true Christian liberty, and a desire to leave this inheritance to their children led our fathers to the organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.¹⁷

Thus, the voice of missionaries was raised in acknowledgement of the twofold objective of the Church: to free men from slavery, and to free them from the bondage of sin. “The same spirit that prompted our fathers to take this stand against the practice of slavery led them to put forth an effort to deliver the benighted African from the bonds of superstition.”¹⁸ The George H. Clarkes conclude:

It is inconceivable that a church organized as a protest against the evil of slavery and the wrongs of the southern Negro should not also long to alleviate the miseries of the more hideous thralldom of the native African.¹⁹

In like vein, Mr. Hall comments, “If it be true we owe the greatest good to those whom we have most injured, then the African has a claim on our beneficence above all others; . . . ”²⁰

The double commitment of the Church to freedom from

slavery and freedom from sin is reflected in the title of the official history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, *Conscience and Commitment*. It is fitting that the first probe into Africa began in Freetown, Sierra Leone, a city established as a refuge for freed slaves.

Setting for The Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone²¹

Discovered in 1462 by a Portuguese navigator, Sierra Leone was for many years a trading outpost in the 18th century. As noted above, Freetown became a settlement for freed slaves. A limited area around Freetown became a British Crown Colony in 1808. An agreement with France and Liberia in 1896 provided the hinterland of Sierra Leone as a protectorate under British rule. The nation gained independence in April 1961 and became a republic ten years later.

Located on the lower edge of the western "bulge" of Africa, Sierra Leone is approximately the size of the state of South Carolina. To the north and northeast is Guinea and to the southeast, Liberia. On the western coast, the Atlantic Ocean extends for over 200 miles, providing some of the most scenic beaches on the continent. The capital city of Freetown is nestled at the foot of a mountain range on the western peninsula. Inland, the country's elevation varies from low-lying swamps, to rolling hills, high plateaus, and mountain ranges with peaks rising to over 6000 feet.

The country's four million people are of mixed backgrounds. The Creoles are descendants of the freed slaves who were the first settlers in Freetown. Immigrants include those from other African countries as well as Lebanese, Indians, some Europeans and Americans. The indigenous tribes include Temnes and Limbas in the north, Mendes in the South, and the Konos in the east. A variety of smaller tribes contribute to a total of 16 different languages spoken in the country. Though the official language of Sierra Leone is English, the "lingua franca" (trade language) is Krio, the most popular language spoken.

Geographical and Language Areas²²

Soon after an initial thrust in Freetown, missionaries began

moving into the interior. Wesleyan missions are located north and eastward from Freetown in the northern third of the country. The geographical division of Sierra Leone is largely by language areas. The Wesleyan Church labors in five of these areas: Temne Language Area, Limba Language Area, Loko Language Area, Susu Tribal Area and Krio Language Area. Since 1889 centers of missionary activity have been established in each of these areas.

The Temne Language Area. Wesleyan missionaries first began work among the Temne-speaking people. Four centers of activity may be identified in this area.

1. *Kunso.* The first Wesleyan mission station was established in 1891 when the Henry Johnstons and Alice Harris, M.D., arrived there. The first informal organization of believers occurred in 1893 with five associate and five full members. The same year a school was opened for boys and girls. The first African chapel was dedicated in 1912 and the village was destroyed by fire in 1914. The area, known as "the white man's grave," was condemned by the government as a mission site. Between the years 1894 and 1918, the country claimed the lives of twelve Wesleyan missionaries, most of whom are buried at Kunso. No missionary has lived at Kunso since 1918. In 1928 a revival began at Kunso which swept the African field. As a result many people brought fetishes and charms to be burned. A church of 47 members was then organized. Since 1980 a new church has been built. The congregation is self-supporting and oversees several preaching points nearby. The church is bearing fruit and is engaged in planting daughter churches.

2. *Masumbo.* A mission building was completed and dedicated in 1895 at Masumbo which was the second mission station opened in the Temne Language Area. In 1906 the girls were transferred from Kunso and a boarding school established. In the 1928 revival 77 people brought charms to be burned during which time 20 full and 40 associate members joined the church. The mission suffered two setbacks in 1931: a windstorm downed three buildings and a Muslim demonstration against the government also threatened Christians. Some fled the area. Two years later a new paramount chief was crowned,

one who frowned on mission ministries. These factors, plus better buildings and a good road, invited the boarding school's move to Kamabai in 1934. No missionaries have been stationed at Masumbo since 1953. At present Masumbo has an organized church but is struggling because of the strong Muslim influence in the area. Believer groups are present in surrounding towns but a slow response has been experienced in this area.

3. *Makeni*. The Makeni church is located in the provincial capital of the Northern Province. This center was opened in the early thirties and is large and growing, with three daughter churches within a radius of two and one-half miles. Believer groups in three or four other towns are results of the outreach from this center. In the last two years of the eighties two more daughter churches were started. The Makeni (Rogbaneh) church is the strongest Wesleyan church in Sierra Leone. The city serves as headquarters of the national church and for the Makeni District of the Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone. Silas Nicol is the district superintendent.

The new conference grounds for the National Church are located one and one-half miles north of Makeni. Buildings include three dorms, a dining room, an administrative building, four residences, a conference hall and a maternity/community health complex.

4. *Rogbing-Makomri*. This center is located in the Sanda and Gbanthi chiefdoms, north and west of Gbendembu. Rogbing became the first self-supporting church with a fine witness in six or more surrounding towns. This church has supplied some thirty-five pastors and teachers over the years. The Makomri, Kamaranka and Kamalu churches are existing, but rather dormant with little prospects of giving birth to daughter churches.

Prospects for the Future. The Temne people are fast yielding to the sway of Islam which makes reaping among them slow. They are keen, alert, and intelligent and provide some of the best pastors in the mission. The best prospects for expanding the growth of the church in Temne lands are in urban centers such as Makeni.

The Limba Language Area. The Wesleyans have work in

several tribes in the Limba Language Area.

1. *Kamabai*. Kamabai is an alternate capital of the Biriwa tribe. The G. H. Clarkes and Miss Lulu Tanner opened this station in 1908 at the hearty invitation of Paramount Chief Kalawa. The first small hospital was built by B. I. Eddy in 1920. From 1929 Dr. S. I. McMillen carried on a successful practice until the hospital was moved to Kamakwie in 1931. Mrs. McMillen opened the Mt. Loma Bible School. Revivals took place in 1929 and again in 1939 when many people forsook their old ways and turned to Christ. In 1964 the girls' primary school evolved into a secondary school for girls with Bertha Major, R.N., as the principal and only teacher. The next year Marie Evatt became principal and supervised staff increases and the school's growth during the next eight years. At present the Kamabai church is fairly strong, with several preaching points that may become daughter churches.

2. *Binkola*. Binkola is located in the Safaroko Chiefdom. In 1908, Chief Alamami Mare went to Kunso and Kamabai to request a mission in Binkola. As a result, Chester Hurst and John W. Taylor began an evangelistic tour in the area and established a station in 1909. In 1923 the first chapel was built and a new mission home in 1928. In 1935 F. R. Birch added a dispensary building for the growing medical work. In 1937 Price Stark reported exceptional evangelistic services with good results. Binkola was the first properly organized church among the Limba people although outreach has been slow. However, this center has given birth to three churches within a radius of three miles. The church at Mabonkani experienced a mass people movement and in 1943 there were 76 baptized within three months. At present there are some five or six believer groups in other towns, and Binkola is bearing some fruit.

3. *Kamakwie*. This station was opened in 1919 among the Sella Limba tribal people with F. R. and Zola Birch and Miss Lulu Tanner as workers. They opened four outstations, with nationals serving under the direction of the missionaries in establishing congregations. From 1922 to 1927, month-long institutes were held to prepare men for the ministry. In 1928 these expanded to one-year institutes. The medical work was transferred from Kamabai in 1931 and since that time, Kamakwie has served as center for the extensive medical work

of the mission. In 1961 Marie Evatt headed up the mission's first venture into secondary education. Though church ministries grew slowly at first, mission services have expanded now from one end of the Sella Limba tribe to the other. During the last two decades the Church has experienced new life resulting in almost 20 new churches, besides new believer groups at outreach preaching points. The town is the headquarters for the Kamakwie District of the Church. Mallory Kargbo is the district superintendent.

4. *Bafodia*. This station was opened in 1950 among the Wara-Wara Limba tribe by George and Millie Huff. Mr. Huff spent three years in construction of mission buildings and a new seventeen-mile stretch of road leading into the area. Though evangelism and medical ministries held strong priority, the Huffs gave much time to construction (church, dispensary), the laying out of a new town and the installation of its gravity-fed water system during their second term. The church was organized in 1955 with nine members. No full-time missionary has lived at Bafodia recently due to lack of finance, personnel, and the press of needs in other areas. The Thonko Limba Area received attention because of better response among those people and due to a sparsity of population in the Bafodia area. The local church is fairly well established and is self-supporting with growing believer groups at Kapompom and Kayahkoh. The church is bearing fruit and should give birth to daughter churches. Because of outreach into Kabala, a pioneer district has been formed with headquarters in Kabala. Santos Sesay is the district superintendent.

5. *Madina*. This area is northwest of the Little Scarcies River and south of the Susu tribe. It is situated within the Thonko Limba Tribal Area. The area was entered in the late thirties with main works developing in Yebia, Forecarrier and Kamassa. The area experienced slow growth at first as the nearest missionaries were occupied in the work at Kukuna of the Susu people, but had better growth under the Neymans in the sixties. A station was established in 1976 under the leadership of the Gary Cockerill family, who moved the mission residence from Kukuna to Madina. At present there are 16 churches, one health clinic and a number of preaching points with believer groups. The ministry of stewardship, evangelism and medicine

has been strengthened in the area. At the Centennial Conference the Madina-Tonko Provisional District was formed with headquarters in Madina. Bai Bangura is the district superintendent.

The Loko Language Area. The Loko area consists of five Loko tribal groups. They are small in number; therefore the two most southern, Gbendembu and Gowahung, are amalgamated. The growth is most encouraging in the area from Gbendembu south to the Maboli River.

1. *Gbendembu-Kalangba.* The station at Gbendembu was opened in 1919 with Hattie Crosby in charge. George Sprague built the first mission home in 1920, but later the mission was closed due to lack of personnel. In 1928 Charles Carter reopened the station. In 1929 a great sorcerer was converted, and nearly one hundred in the village became Christians. The Bible school was transferred to Gbendembu from Kamabai in 1932, and the name was changed from Mt. Loma Bible School to Clarke Memorial Biblical Seminary. Instruction in English gave way to studies in the Temne language beginning in 1961. Each year the third-term field work by teams of students spread the good news as never before. This gave birth to many new believer groups, especially in Loko and Limba areas. The mother church at Gbendembu is currently large and strong. In the thirties there was outreach into Temne areas to the north and west where three daughter churches were planted. There was likewise expansion into several Loko villages. Evangelism in the fifties fostered growth in the sixties resulting in ten new churches and a number of preaching points with strong believer groups. The Wesleyan Bible School is located at Gbendembu and is currently in the process of building a new campus. In December of 1990, 15 students graduated from the revised certificate level three-year program.

A strong health clinic and recording studio are also located in Gbendembu. As the Bible school students helped in outreach ministries, many more churches were started, resulting in the formation of the Gbendembu District with headquarters in the town. Joseph Conteh is the district superintendent.

2. *Laya Area.* This, the northernmost of the Loko lands, was pioneered by Marion and Marjorie Birch beginning in the

mid-fifties. There are four other villages surrounding the mother church with believer groups.

Susu Tribal Area. Kukuna is the capital of the Susu tribe. The station was opened in 1940 by the F. R. Birches. From the beginning, emphasis has been on evangelism, educational and medical ministry. The work has made little progress even though some of the best pastors have been stationed at Kukuna. This may be due to several factors: There have been but a handful of converts among the Susus; some of the main families have moved away; pastoral personnel have been shifted to the Thonko-Limba people; and the Susu people are about 95 percent Muslim and difficult to move toward God. There is a new attempt getting underway to reach the Susus with the gospel.

Krio Language Area. From the capital city of Freetown, nestled at the foot of a mountain range on the western peninsula, Wesleyan missions across 100 years have gone full circle. The Wesleyan Church is back in Freetown with a new thrust. The Church has cooperated with three other evangelical groups at the Sierra Leone Bible College at Jui since 1964. In 1977 students from this college started a witness campaign into the eastern area of the city, working with Wesleyan ministers from "up-country." The best response was from the Loko people. The first pastor, L. Koroma, was stationed at Kissy in January of 1978, and in July the first church was organized with twenty-nine members. In August a Metro-Move campaign was held in Freetown. Metro-Move is a seminar on how churches move into and grow within the metropolis. It is sponsored by The Wesleyan Church, Department of World Missions, for assisting overseas churches develop urban ministries. The Metro-Move program developed in the heart and mind of Paul L. Swauger, former missionary to Colombia. Mr. Swauger had led more than 25 Metro-Moves by the end of 1991, spurring the planting of new churches on many mission fields of The Wesleyan Church since its initiation in 1978. Currently there are ten churches with several strong preaching points in the Freetown area with outreach in Kenema-Bo. This is a separate district (FIT District) and has 10 percent of the total churches, 8 percent of the membership and 37 percent of the giving in just this short

time. Metro-Move 19 helped plant the eighth church in the FIT District.

Summary²³

Wesleyan missions have been at work in Sierra Leone for over 100 years. During that time the mission has experienced good growth patterns in some areas and has suffered setbacks in others. Presently the direction of the Church has passed from the hands of missionaries to those of nationals.

1. *Spiritual.* Across 100 years, a host of missionaries have labored in Sierra Leone. In 1989 there were 24 missionaries in all areas of service and 175 national workers, ministering in 108 churches and 151 preaching points. Membership totals 14,790.²⁴

2. *Evangelism and Church Growth.* The ultimate objective of The Wesleyan Church is to free men from the bondage of sin and to fulfill the Great Commission. Evangelism, church planting, discipleship and church growth have been means toward this end. Efforts in evangelism are coordinated under the direction of the Board of Evangelism and Church Growth, with the national director of evangelism and district evangelists, pastors and missionaries all involved in evangelistic outreach as individuals and as a team. As part of the 2000 by 2000 program (a commitment to increase the number of overseas Wesleyan churches from 1,450 to 2000) Sierra Leone's goal is to plant 55 new churches in the 11 years from 1989 to 2000. In 1989 alone, nine new churches were started.

3. *Ministerial Training.* The Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone carries out a comprehensive program of ministerial education, training pastors for both village and city churches. This training is at two levels: (1) The Gbendembu Wesleyan Bible School accepts young men who feel God's call for pastoral service and have a minimum of Form Three Secondary School completed. The three-year program combines both academic and practical training to qualify pastors for the village churches. A unique aspect of the Bible school is dry-season evangelism, giving practical experience in church planting. More than 15 new churches are the direct result. (2) The Sierra Leone Bible College at Jui provides ministerial training on a higher academic

level. Graduates of the three-year diploma program and the four-year bachelor of theology are pastoring the larger town and city churches, serving in positions of church administration, and are involved in other aspects of the Church's ministry. The Bible College also provides continuing education for pastors through its Theological Education by Extension (TEE) program.

4. Medical Ministry. The center of the Wesleyan medical ministry in Sierra Leone is Kamakwie Wesleyan Hospital where thousands have received physical and spiritual healing. At this 71-bed hospital, more than 1,200 inpatients are admitted annually, and over 103,000 outpatients visit a hospital dispensary each year. A staff of missionary doctors and nurses, assisted by national nurses and aides, serves in the hospital. Ward services and witnessing of chaplains and staff have been effective in adding believers to the churches and in opening doors to unreached areas. A dispensary at Madina with mobile clinics serve the people of the area and reach many outlying villages regularly with medicine and the gospel message.

The Wesleyan Church has formed a Medical Board and launched its first clinic, Romankneh, near Makeni at the new conference grounds. They have taken over the clinic at Gbendembu and are presently building a third clinic in Freetown. A long-range goal is for a clinic in each of the six districts. Elizabeth Anderson is the medical coordinator and in the next several years a national will be understudying for the position.

5. Education. The Wesleyan objective of reaching all men everywhere includes the children and youth. The church operates 36 elementary schools with enrollment of 13,000 and three secondary schools with enrollment of 1600. The schools are subsidized almost completely by the government. Bible knowledge is a part of the curriculum of the schools. Chapel services and revival meetings continue to be a part of the program to help students understand the Scriptures and to come to know God personally.

6. Radio and Film Ministry. Since 1960 The Wesleyan Church has had an effective outreach ministry over the missionary radio station ELWA in the neighboring country of Liberia. From the Wesleyan recording studio located at Gbendembu programs are prepared in five local languages for broadcast two

hours a day, seven days a week. These are produced by pastors and local musical groups under the national director, Abdulai Sheriff. The aim of radio evangelism has been to evangelize in homes and villages which are without a Christian testimony. In a country such as Sierra Leone where many of the people cannot read, radio is an effective tool for preparing hearts and homes for evangelism. (Unfortunately, the ELWA station was destroyed in 1989 during the civil war in Liberia.)

The film ministry is also a part of the radio studio with more than 100 films being used in dry season evangelism. The film "Amadu" based on the conversion of Amadu H. Kanu from Islam and the "Jesus" film have been very effective.

7. Literature. In Sierra Leone a literacy program is of value in assisting people in learning to read and write. Wesleyan missionaries are involved, not only in writing, translation and production of literature, but in vernacular literacy classes. These classes for new readers are taught by pastors as a ministry of the church. Materials produced include a newly revised Temne hymnbook, flip-charts as teaching aids for stewardship, membership and the *Discipline* for the Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone. A revision of the Temne New Testament is underway, and the New Testament in Krio, Limba and Loko are completed.

8. Auxiliaries: Women and Youth. The first Women's Institute was organized in 1939. Since then the work has grown until now there is a national director, Jenny Conteh, with a National Advisory Board and district committees in each of the six districts. Sixty-seven local groups share in the annual institute which in 1989 saw more than 700 in attendance. Total membership is 4,424. Bible, hygiene, family care, crafts and evangelism are areas covered.

The youth camp started in 1954 with the Youth Department organized in 1980. A National Director of Youth with his national committee and district presidents make up the leadership of the youth work. The ongoing work and response among youth and young adults is very encouraging.

9. Agriculture. Four farms basically given over to rice make up the heart of the newest ministry of the Church. The Bible school at Gbendembu and the Kalangba Wesleyan Agriculture Secondary School are developing strong agricultural programs in connection with their academic programs.

Factors Contributing to Growth

The parable of the sower in Matthew 13 features four kinds of soil: the wayside soil, rocky soil, thorn-infested soil and the good soil. All types of soil may be found in Sierra Leone. Faithful sowing has resulted in reaping. Some definable factors contribute to church growth. (1) Consistent and continuous pursuit of the Great Commission across a century. This is continuing as the Church is praying to be able to send out its first missionaries into Guinea to the north of Sierra Leone. Four Limba villages in French-speaking Guinea have been targeted. (2) Emulation of Jesus' preaching, teaching and healing ministry in the evangelistic, educational and medical programs of the Church. (3) Prayerful quest for responsive peoples where the fields are "whitest" unto harvest. (4) A desire to "go out" to the people of the northern province rather than bringing them to centralized institutions. (5) Cooperation with tribal leaders and chiefdoms, thus providing "bridges of God" to the tribal people. (6) Cooperating with the Holy Spirit in "people movements." Three periods of revival are noted, 1929-31, 1939-43, and 1947. (7) The introduction of the New Life for All movement of evangelism in 1967 and 1968 (through the leadership of field superintendent Marion Birch), which established scores of prayer cells through the churches and trained many lay people to witness effectively. (8) Teams of missionaries and nationals, eight to ten per team, who conducted NLFA campaigns, coupled with a ten-night series of cinema messages winning many converts and reviving churches. (9) The training and preparation of capable nationals for leadership positions in the Church. The Advance Training Board of the National Church has planned for the training of its leaders in theology and development. It will be working in other areas as funds permit. In 1983 Y. M. Kroma was elected district superintendent and then became the first national superintendent in 1985. Under his vision and guidance the Church has grown and developed on many fronts. The infrastructure had been put in place and was ready for a dynamic leader such as Mr. Kroma. The National Board of Administration and national offices work with Mr. Kroma in leading the Church today. (10) The division of

districts from one in 1985 into three in order to multiply leadership positions and provide closer administrative care of churches and pastors. In 1990 there were six established districts, three provisional and one pioneer, 83 established churches, 23 pioneer churches, 151 preaching points and 15 house fellowships.

Factors Hindering Growth

Of the four kinds of soil depicted in the parable of the sower, three were unproductive, yet the sower sowed on all types of soil. Some factors hindering church growth in Sierra Leone are discernible in retrospect. (1) The advance of Islam. For example, the Susu people are about 95% Moslem and the Temne people are fast yielding to the sway of Islam resulting in slow reaping among these people.²⁵ (2) Pagan practices among the people. Missionary Birch states, "Palm wine, polygamy and witchcraft seem to be the besetting sins that bind many of the Limba peoples. Even non-Christians among them volunteer this information to me as reasons for lack of growth."²⁶ (3) Unhealthful living conditions. Kunso, upcountry, became the graveyard of missionaries in the early days. Today Sierra Leone has a 50 percent mortality rate for children under five. (4) Failure to communicate in the national languages. Paul W. Dekker writes, "Most missionaries do not know a native language, which I feel is highly detrimental to adequate discipling."²⁷ With the Krio language becoming dominant and a stronger language program, this is changing. (5) Tardy development of the indigenous principle. Greater progress is noted in the last decade or two. Missionary Dekker states, "The missionary did it too long."²⁸ The late sixties and early seventies saw the combining of all missions church committees and boards into strong church-related and-controlled boards. (6) Neglect of urban areas. The pull of the early missionaries was to the interior. Only in recent years has the Church moved into city areas. Metro-Move is active in Freetown, and the national Wesleyan Church headquarters has been established in Makeni. (7) Lack of finance and personnel, especially in the formative years of the mission. Today that is changing with increased tithes and offerings and multiplied leadership in the six districts.

Look to the Future

The partnership of the mission and Church will continue in this second century as God gives us the time. The Church is moving into dominant leadership as the mature partner. Although the future is known alone by the Lord, plans are made for continued growth and expansion.

Much has been achieved during the 100 years of Wesleyan work in Sierra Leone for which the Lord is to be praised. But the future challenges the Church. God has provided the Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone with a leadership that has vision and dedicated men and women who are willing to take the gospel to every part of Sierra Leone.

One of the primary objectives of the pioneers of Wesleyan work in Sierra Leone was to establish a self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting church. The Church is now largely self-governing and self-propagating. One goal for the future is to be self-supporting.²⁹

The Church is rising to the challenges of the future by becoming more committed to training men and women in theology, community development, agriculture and health to cope with the changing times; and by becoming more committed to the task of evangelization and a wholistic ministry.

To be more effective in her evangelistic efforts, the Church plans to establish an FM radio station to reach a greater number of people in Sierra Leone with the gospel.

The theme for the centennial celebrations was "The Whole Gospel to the Whole Man." This reflects the pattern of WCSL ministry in the past and what it will be in the future—a wholistic ministry. The opportunities for a such a ministry are tremendous. Many people die without the opportunity of knowing about the love of God in Christ Jesus. Many people have neither enough to eat nor adequate health and sanitation facilities. Many children die of diseases which could be prevented.

In the northern province with a population of 1,262,226 there are only 15 hospitals, 55 community health centers and clinics, 36 community health posts and 22 maternity health posts. This means that on the average the ratio is about 12,000 people to one hospital or community health center or health post. Leadership is committed to take "the whole gospel to the

whole man" in every part of Sierra Leone. The goal of the Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone for the year 2000 is to have at least eight districts and 150 churches. This can be accomplished only through the power of God working in and through men and women set apart for His purpose.

LIBERIA

Wesleyan mission work in Liberia began in the late 1970s with much of the thrust for the effort coming from the Wesleyan Church of Sierra Leone.

Setting for The Wesleyan Church in Liberia³⁰

Situated on the southern edge of Africa's great western bulge, Liberia is the second oldest black republic in the world. Only the island Republic of Haiti is older. One hundred thirty-one years after its independence, Liberia became a field of work for Wesleyan World Missions.

Liberia has a land area of 43,000 square miles, slightly smaller than the state of Pennsylvania. The Atlantic Ocean serves as the southern boundary. Sierra Leone is on the northwest. Guinea is on the north and Ivory Coast is on the east. The population of Liberia in 1989 (before the civil war) was estimated at 2,544,000 and of that number approximately 95 percent is made up of more than 20 native tribes. Among the tribes are the Kru, Vai and Mandingos. The Americo-Liberians are English-speaking and are chiefly Protestant. Only blacks can hold Liberian citizenship.

The capital, Monrovia, is the largest city in Liberia. Before the 1989-90 war the population stood at 400,000. Monrovia has one of the best developed harbors along Africa's Atlantic coast. Ten to twenty percent of the Liberian population is Moslem. Ten percent is Christian and the remaining segment practices tribal religions. Liberia is a nation with a unique history, a country of stature in the African scene before it was ravaged by war.

Development of the Wesleyan Work

The Wesleyan Church began its work in Liberia as a result of an interesting combination of three widely divergent contacts. The earliest report came in the mid-seventies through Miss Edna Mae Carter, veteran missionary to Jamaica, who informed Wesleyan World Missions of a Jamaican with Wesleyan background who was doing evangelism and church-planting work in Liberia. A second contact came from Samuel Acquah, a teacher in Monrovia, who persisted in correspondence with the missionary offices. Originally from Ghana, Mr. Acquah was doing work in Liberia and desired affiliation with a North American Church.³¹

Mr. Acquah served in Liberia for some eight years before he moved into Monrovia to teach in a Christian high school. However, he desired to serve the Lord in evangelism and church planting and on his own began a small church ministry near the school. In early 1975 Mr. Acquah initiated correspondence with the Department of Wesleyan World Missions and the ensuing letters were sincere and serious enough to merit a short visit of Wayne Wright, assistant general secretary of World Missions, who was enroute to visit the work in Sierra Leone in February 1977. Mr. Wright in turn requested the district superintendent of the work in Sierra Leone and the missionary coordinator to make a visit to meet Mr. Acquah and evaluate the opportunity with a view of endeavoring to meet the need if it were worthy, and also, of giving the district a vision of missionary service beyond the borders of Sierra Leone.³²

The third connection was through Wesleyans in Sierra Leone who had relatives and other contacts in neighboring Liberia. Although all three contacts played a part in the initiation of a Wesleyan work in Liberia, it was this third connection that provided the most substantial and enduring base on which to see a holiness ministry begin.³³

The direction of the new work was under a committee called "The Organizing Committee for the Establishment of The Wesleyan Church in Liberia." This committee met on January 15, 1978, to plan for the promotion of the work in Liberia. Mr. Y. Martin Kroma, an official of the government in Liberia, was elected committee chairman. Other members were Samuel R.

B. Acquah, secretary-treasurer; William Brown, trained by Wesleyans in his homeland of Jamaica, deputy-chairman; and Julius C. Koroma, son of a Sierra Leonean Wesleyan minister, member. The labors of love of two men from different parts of the world provided the impetus for this new work.³⁴

L. K. Kargbo, Sierra Leone District Superintendent, Hudson Sen-Sisay, and Marion and Marjorie Birch visited Liberia in October, 1977, where they became acquainted with Mr. Acquah and his budding work. They stayed in the home of Y. Martin Kroma, a former student from Sierra Leone and a relative of Sen-Sisay. They also met Julius Koroma, personal secretary of Liberian President Tolbert. In addition, they met the William Browns, Wesleyans from Jamaica who had worked in the United States and had later pioneered a missionary thrust for another agency in Monrovia. Consultation with this group eventually led to the interim planning committee established in Liberia.³⁴

Announcement of approval by the General Board of Administration was made on May 10, 1978, by Robert N. Lytle, general secretary of World Missions, authorizing the General Department of World Missions to continue the project of beginning a Wesleyan work in Liberia. The Sierra Leone District Conference pledged the amount of \$1500.00 for the work. The Caribbean General Conference cooperated with the project.³⁵

Kenneth and Mary Taylor were appointed as the first Wesleyan missionaries to Liberia, but they did not reach the field.³⁶ Mr. Taylor's untimely death on June 18, 1979, was a setback, but progress continued, with Martin Kroma establishing a strong church at Gardnersville and building a place of worship. He assumed leadership of the work during this time.³⁷ In 1980 Paul and Darlene Meeks were appointed, and Mr. Meeks went to the field in April of that year to arrange for his family's arrival. At the very time he was there a military coup brought down the government of President Tolbert. Samuel K. Doe became president and many former government officials were imprisoned, among them, Martin Kroma and Julius Koroma.³⁸ Months of uncertainty changed the plans once more, with the Meekses taking a pastorate in the United States. In 1981 Donald and Elizabeth Karns at last became the first Wesleyan missionaries to Liberia.³⁹ At that time William Brown was the

district superintendent and Samuel Acquah, his assistant.⁴⁰

It was not until July 1981 that Martin Kroma was released from prison (Julius Koroma had been freed in December 1980).⁴¹ The next year Martin and his family moved to their home country of Sierra Leone, where he became active in Wesleyan leadership.⁴²

The Liberian work continued to prosper, given impetus by a three-to-four-week evangelism thrust in 1981 by James Ramsay, missionary to South Africa,⁴³ by Metro-Move seminars in 1983⁴⁴ and by a youth evangelism team from New York led by Steve Moore in January 1985.⁴⁵ Missionaries Milton and Patsy Bagley, replacements for the Karnses, arrived in April 1985.⁴⁶ About this time nine new congregations in Sinoe County, all pastored by Liberians, were welcomed to the Wesleyan work.⁴⁷ The 1987 report showed a 332 percent growth in four years.⁴⁸ Such progress did not go unnoticed or unchallenged by the forces of darkness. The church in Judu's Town in Sinoe County suffered the loss by death of both pastor and assistant, leaving the congregation fearful in a community given to superstition and devil worship.⁴⁹ A few months later better contact with Sinoe County churches was made possible by the gift of two-way radios from the Sierra Leone field.⁵⁰

The work was strengthened by the arrival of first-term missionaries Steve and Audrey Pocock in 1986.⁵¹ Steve embarked on a program of training lay pastors in Sinoe County.⁵² Arriving in 1988 to replace the Bagleys were Phil and Lucille Nettleton.

In December 1989 a violent rebellion began against the government of President Doe. A few months later he was killed.⁵³ In May 1990 the Nettletons, authorized to leave in the face of apparent all-out war,⁵⁴ drove two mission vehicles over the border into Sierra Leone.⁵⁵ The latter months of 1990 witnessed an almost total devastation of the capital city of Monrovia along with destruction of nearly all mission compounds and institutions. Death from violence and starvation claimed countless lives. Others escaped to neighboring countries, including some Wesleyans to Sierra Leone. Lemuel Harris, the assistant district superintendent under Phil Nettleton, stayed in Liberia to shepherd the decimated flock.⁵⁶

Look to the Future

Before the civil war the social climate in Monrovia excelled that of most African cities. Permission of the government was granted, including the personal sanction of the President, for the Wesleyans to commence their missionary ministries in Liberia. The government policy was that new agencies coming into the country were to develop definite plans for interior service ministries, away from the capital city, as well as city church planting. The literacy rate ranks at 10 percent as only 26 percent of the children from ages 5 to 19 are enrolled in school. There are 92 students for every teacher.⁵⁷

In the first decade of the Wesleyan work in Liberia, membership reached nearly 800 in 15 churches.⁵⁸ A goal of ten new churches by the year 2000 had been set. Thousands of Liberians fled the country during the war, many of them to Sierra Leone, where the Wesleyans ministered to the refugees. At the end of 1990 Wesleyan World Missions awaited the opportunity to appoint missionaries to Liberia once more.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REGIONAL AREA

Historical Overview

The Wesleyan Church of Southern Africa⁵⁹ has a rich and impelling history. The founding missionaries came to Africa under three different streams of missionary evangelism with a purposeful church-planting strategy intent on spreading scriptural holiness. This work dates back to the year 1897. The churches resulting from these early endeavors now form the present nine districts of the Southern Africa Regional Conference (SARC). Those three streams were The Africa Evangelistic Mission, the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada. The Church extended both geographically and culturally across four international boundaries to Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Zambia now has its own national conference.

Culturally the expansion was even more dramatic as the gospel of holiness broke through tribal and racial prejudice to

people from eleven nations of Southern Africa, each with its own language and traditions. These eleven are: Ndebele, Pedi, Pondo, Shangaan, Shona, Sotho, Swazi, Ronga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. From the beginning the task of taking the gospel from one tribal group to another has been done by teams which included both North American missionaries and national pastors.

A brief look at the historical milieu of Southern Africa will help one understand the development of the Church in this sub-continent.

The Socio-Political and Economic Milieu of Southern Africa

When the Portuguese explorer, Bartolome Diaz, rounded the southernmost tip of Africa in 1488 he forged the first link in the chain which joined the ancient to the modern in vast Southern Africa. Nine years later Vasco da Gama sailed to India via the Cape, establishing its significance in the control of trade with Asia.⁶⁰ In 1652 the Dutch East India Company dispatched a naval surgeon, Jan van Riebeeck, to build a settlement at Table Bay, later known as Cape Town. Gradually the colony expanded as more colonists arrived and began to extend their agricultural activities further inland. Before long the indigenous people began to react to the continued encroachment by the white people into their land. Ten wars were fought between the cape colonists and the Xhosa tribe. Each time the Xhosa tribesmen were made to retreat as the settlers moved further eastward.

Matters were further complicated when the British annexed the Cape Colony from the Dutch and set up British colonial rule. This resulted in the "Great Trek" as Dutch colonists moved northward into the interior to be free from British rule. Here they encountered the Sotho, Zulu, Pedi and Ndebele nations who engaged the intruders in some bloody battles. Deep scars of hurt and hatred have been carved into the very foundations of South African life by those early encounters.

To the attraction of the rich agricultural potential of South Africa was added the irresistible prospect of great wealth when large deposits of diamonds and gold were discovered deep in

the interior. This brought a new flood of settlers from Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and other countries. Once again British colonial expansion policies led to the annexation of the Boer (Dutch) Republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal who were the custodians of this vast mineral wealth. The result was the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The British were finally the victors, but once again deep resentment and mistrust were produced which have been passed on to succeeding generations.

Another important colonial power in Southern Africa has been Portugal. Portuguese colonial development on the south-east coast of Africa led to the establishment of Mozambique. Large numbers of African men from Mozambique became migratory workers in the gold mines of South Africa. This was to have special significance for The Wesleyan Church.

A similar interdependence developed between South Africa and neighboring states such as Swaziland and Zimbabwe, as these countries supplied laborers for South African mining and manufacturing. South Africa in turn supplied manufactured goods to these countries. These factors have greatly enhanced the spread of the gospel as people have moved back and forth across political boundaries in pursuit of employment.

From the earliest colonial period inevitable cultural clashes occurred between the European colonists and the African people. These were evidenced in attitudes of superiority on the part of the white colonists which became racial prejudice, eventually entrenched in the 1948 system of racial laws called apartheid.

It is not surprising that some African people have been somewhat resistant to the gospel of Christ, calling it the "religion of the white man," and failing to distinguish the message from the culture and policies of the white people who brought it. Wesleyan missionaries had to overcome this obstacle by demonstrating the relevance of the gospel.

These realities, encountered by the missionaries and national leaders of The Wesleyan Church, are of great importance in evaluating the growth and development of the Church in Southern Africa.

Southern African Missionary Pioneers

This history of the pioneer missionaries in Southern Africa is in the order of their arrival in South Africa.

The Africa Evangelistic Mission. The missionary founders of the Africa Evangelistic Mission were Isaac and Alice Lehman. Alice Heize arrived in Cape Town in 1897 and traveled by ox-wagon with a pioneer party of Brethren in Christ missionaries to found Motopo Mission just south of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Isaac landed in Cape Town in 1898 and went to Motopo Mission where he met and later married Alice. They both became fluent in the siNdebele language which with its similarity to siZulu prepared them for a life of fruitful ministry in Southern Africa. In 1901 the Lord led them back to the country of South Africa and the gold mines of Johannesburg where they began the work of evangelizing men from the nations of Southern Africa. Many of these men who were converted and disciplined returned to their homes to share the gospel. Some became pastors of churches which they planted in Mozambique (then Portuguese East Africa), Zululand and the Eastern Transvaal.

Isaac Lehman, a man of vision and zeal, did not need a second introduction to the vast possibilities of evangelizing the thousands of African men employed in the gold mines in order to decide in which direction his future service for Christ lay. The succeeding fifty-six years of the Lehmans' ministry were devoted to intensive evangelism among the 350,000 Africa men employed in the gold mine compounds.⁶¹

The Lehmans trained their disciples in night schools within the gold mines, assigning them as lay leaders to win and disciple their fellow gold miners in the mine hostels where they lived. Many men who did well in Bible training also benefited from the increased reading and writing skills and were promoted to jobs where this ability was needed. In this way they became respected leaders both in the gold mines and in their home communities when they returned to their countries. Some men emerged who had deep commitment to the Lord and became powerful spiritual leaders and aggressive church

planters. These churches were organized into units which later became the Casteel District and the Mozambique District.

In Mozambique outstanding leaders and pastors like Israel Malate and Stefane Macambaco began to organize churches into zones in which the pastors were mutually accountable to one another just as they had been to their missionary mentor in the gold mines. The Lehmans made periodic visits to Southern Mozambique, traveling many miles on foot to encourage and strengthen the developing, indigenous church among the Tsonga Shangaan people.

Another portion of this tribe had migrated to the eastern part of the Transvaal Province. Converts won to Christ in the gold mines from this area also went back to plant churches. As early as 1920 leaders like Josefa Zimande and Simon Nukery began to emerge. Around 1930 a tract of farm land was purchased on the Casteel farm where a mission station was established. The churches started there are now in the Casteel District in which the Shangaan and siPedi languages are used.

At an early age the Lehmans' children were saved and did all they could to aid in the work. Their son, Orai I. Lehman, when he was sanctified in 1930, felt the call to full-time missionary service. He was married in 1942 in South Africa; together he and his wife, Dorothy, developed the work at Casteel in the eastern Transvaal, South Africa.

After the death of the senior Lehman, the full responsibility of the work fell on the shoulders of Orai. This work became a part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church in South Africa in 1962.⁶²

The Africa Evangelistic Mission thus brought into the Pilgrim Holiness Church more than two thousand church members in 84 churches in Mozambique, 12 churches in Eastern Transvaal and Zululand and more than 50 gold mine congregations in the greater Johannesburg and the Orange Free State gold fields. These were spontaneously growing churches, pastored by practical men trained in discipleship ministry.

The Pilgrim Holiness Church. A number of pioneer missionaries came to South Africa from The International Holiness Union, one of the early holiness groups in the United States which later developed into the Pilgrim Holiness Church. William Hirst became the first of these missionaries when he

and his family arrived in Cape Town in November 1900. In 1904 James Hundley held a revival in Port Elizabeth and felt God was opening a door there. By 1907 this became a center for the work.⁶³

Perhaps the man who had the greatest influence in bringing a sense of direction and permanence to the early South African work was Fred T. Fuge, appointed as superintendent in 1907 by what was then known as the International Apostolic Holiness Union. A three-month tent campaign held at Port Elizabeth in early 1908 resulted in a number of converts, many of whom entered into Christian service. G. A. Schoombie and W. H. Reynolds were among that number and gave lives of service to the Church.⁶⁴ Although no permanent congregations resulted from these early efforts, some strong leaders were produced.

1. *Ebenezer Mission, Swaziland.* The Charles Slater family arrived in Port Elizabeth on February 19, 1909, and joined with Fred T. Fuge in evangelistic ministry. On Christmas Eve that same year the Slaters and two converts, G. A. Schoombie and Albert Pato, became the first missionary team to go into the interior from Port Elizabeth. Six months of living and traveling in a mule-drawn wagon brought them to a site in Swaziland which they called Ebenezer.⁶⁵

Ebenezer Mission in the heavily populated Maphungwane area on Swaziland's eastern boundary became the focal point for more than six decades of missionary evangelism. The district now has 20 church congregations with a total membership of eight hundred. Albert Pato's family continues to play an active role to the present time. The first national leader to be ordained in Swaziland was Piet Sigwane. Joy Mission was opened in 1958 with Mr. Sigwane's son, Samson, serving as pastor and becoming superintendent of the district in 1972.

2. *Emmanuel Mission, Natal.* Among the Zulus near Port Shepstone in Natal, Fred T. Fuge began the Emmanuel mission station in 1911. A clinic and school were soon opened with the staff of about eight missionaries and national workers also doing evangelistic work. A convert from the work in Port Elizabeth, W. H. Reynolds, left his secular work to labor among the Zulus, opening outstations around the Emmanuel Mission.⁶⁶ The churches resulting from the mission work centered at this station have been organized into the Emmanuel District which is now

referred to as Nkosinathi District, the Zulu translation of Emmanuel.

3. *Mt. Frere, Cape Province.* Charles and Elizabeth Rodway, in 1908, settled at Mt. Frere on the Transkei Native Reserve in Cape Province. Along with the church, an industrial arts high school for girls was established.

From 1910 to 1930 these three mission stations were the centers of missionary activity for the Pilgrim Holiness work in Southern Africa. In each of these stations the work of evangelism was carried on by missionaries whose hands were also touching the people's physical needs. The founding missionaries and others sent out later were characterized by an aggressive commitment to outreach. The next phase was to prepare national leaders. The first African pastor to be ordained in the Transkei area was Simon Njobe.⁶⁷

Beyond South Africa's Borders. In 1930 the Ray Millers and Miss Mary Loew left the mission station at Emmanuel in Natal and traveled two thousand miles into the British colony of Northern Rhodesia (now known as Zambia). Here they began a ministry among the BaTonga people. They were joined that same year by Miss Ethel Jordan from the Mount Frere Mission and in 1932 by the Alfred Reynolds family from Emmanuel Mission. Alfred was the son of W. H. Reynolds, a convert of the Port Elizabeth revival. Alfred died at age 34 only three years after arrival.⁶⁸

In 1948 a Venda man, James Maadie, along with North American Pilgrim Holiness missionaries, began work in Pondoland, establishing Good Hope Mission near Lusikisiki. Brother Maadie and his wife spent over 20 years in Pondoland and after returning to their own people, were instrumental in starting the Venda District. The Pondoland work is now part of the Transkei District.

Pilgrim Bible Institute was established by Clarence G. Keith in 1948 at Emmanuel Mission to train ministerial leadership. Many of the younger men, in the pastoral ministry without formal training, were encouraged to go to the school. Students who came from Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Natal, Swaziland and Transkei were to become pastors and district leaders in those areas.

At the all Africa Missionary Conference in 1959 the work

was divided into three administrative fields: Southern Africa with F. B. Gray as field superintendent; South Africa (European) with N. N. Bonner as field superintendent; and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) with D. R. Bursch as field superintendent.

The Alliance of Reformed Baptists of Canada. The Reformed Baptist work began in South Africa in 1901 when the H. C. Sanders family arrived in Durban.⁶⁹ After a period of Zulu language study they traveled into the heart of northern Zululand where they felt the Lord had specifically directed them.

Hartland. Near Paulpietersburg, Natal, the mission station at Hartland was established in 1903. The I. F. Kiersteads were sent out in 1905 to assist in the work. Along with evangelism they established schools and medical clinics, expanding southward into other parts of Zululand and westward into Transvaal.⁷⁰ Samuel Mavimbala, the first convert, remained a stalwart Christian until his death in 1955. Paul and Johanisi Nkosi and Alfred Methula were the first to be ordained (1942). Twenty-five years after the opening of the work there were about 400 converts. The following decade saw rapid growth.

Altona. Established in 1930, the work at Altona spread across the Pongola River into the Transvaal, with educational work and medical ministry going hand in hand with evangelism. Missionaries subsequently developed work further westward into the Transvaal reaching to Ermelo and the Johannesburg area. Charles Sanders and family were assigned to Ermelo, and his brother, Paul Sanders, and his family went to the Johannesburg area. As the work became indigenized, missionary personnel opened new bases at Louwsburg, Paulpietersburg and eventually Vryheid. From these Natal stations the work developed during the next three decades.

An outstanding feature of the Reformed Baptist work in Southern Africa is that God called children and grandchildren of the pioneer missionaries into service. The two Sanders brothers were sons of the pioneer missionary, H. C. Sanders, and spoke Zulu fluently. Each gave a lifetime of missionary service. The same is true of Eugene Kierstead, a son of the pioneer missionary, I. F. Kierstead. Two grandsons, Harold and Glendon, also gave valuable service in Southern Africa. One of the factors that has contributed to the depth of ministry, stability and

maturity of the national church is certainly the continuity of missionary ministry.

Rhodesia. In 1955 mission work was undertaken in Rhodesia, and Bethesda mission was established. Numbers of outstation churches were planted near Bethesda along the south bank of the mighty Zambezi River. This work included a hospital with a network of outstation clinics and church-sponsored schools in the area around Victoria Falls. In later years a work was also begun in the city of Bulawayo (in what is now Zimbabwe).

The Evangelical Holiness Bible Training Institute, established by the Reformed Baptist Church at Altona Mission, not only drew men and women from this denomination, but also attracted students from other holiness and evangelical churches.

When the Reformed Baptist Church merged with The Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1966 and then became part of The Wesleyan Church in 1968, their five administrative districts (Altona, Bethesda, Louwsburg, Paulpietersburg and Reef) all became part of the new regional structure. They brought to the merged Church 45 organized churches, 35 unorganized congregations and a total membership of 1,652.⁷¹

Merger - The Southern Africa Regional Conference Developed

The Southern Africa Regional Conference of The Wesleyan Church came into being as a result of the January 1969 Merging Conference in South Africa which followed the 1968 Merging General Conference in North America. Glendon Kierstead was chosen as the first field superintendent of the merged Church and O. I. Lehman as his assistant. Leaders from the districts met to define the emerging regional structure with an enthusiastic spirit of give-and-take and a genuine desire to learn from each other. The result has been a well equipped and balanced whole with an increasing desire to build upon combined experience and strength.

One of the first tasks the merged Church in Southern Africa faced was the development of its own "Discipline." *The Discipline of The Wesleyan Church* in North America provided a basic resource. Adaptations were made to produce a suitable

Discipline which was provisionally adopted by the 1978 Conference of the Southern Africa Region and finalized by the 1982 Conference.

The decade of the 1970s was one of rapid leadership transition from missionaries to nationals for all the districts. In Swaziland, Ebenezer District and Joy District united to form a district strong enough to support its own national superintendent. At the 1972 Swaziland District Conference Samson Sigwane was elected the first national to serve as district superintendent in Southern Africa. Within the next ten years similar action was taken on all of the other provisional districts. Good Hope and Mount Frere Districts merged to become Transkei District with Simon Njobe elected superintendent. Northern Natal and Altona Districts merged to form Qhubekani (Progress) District and elected Robert Nhlengethwa as superintendent. Simon Nhathale became the first national district superintendent in Mozambique, and Enock Ngobeni was elected in Casteel District. Emmanuel (Nkosinathi) District chose Zebulon Mdabe, and F. Nyoni was appointed superintendent in Zimbabwe. By the time of the 1978 Regional Conference at which Melvin H. Snyder presided, the twelve districts represented at the 1969 Merging Conference had been consolidated into eight somewhat larger districts each of which was more able to support a district structure. In 1982 the Reef District completed the cycle by electing Alfred Mbambo as the first national to serve as superintendent.

Regional Superintendent Bill Morgan conducted leadership seminars to help the newly elected district superintendents and other regional officers with noticeable results. At the 1976 Regional Conference Samson Sigwane was elected to serve as assistant regional superintendent. Missionaries continued to serve on some districts in an advisory capacity as district missionaries while others were released to church-planting work.

This release of missionaries from the responsibilities of district administration has had far-reaching effects on the Southern Africa Regional Conference. With national leaders in their rightful places, the districts have demonstrated a new sense of ownership of the work. New missionary enthusiasm about church planting and outreach evangelism is also sparking interest within the ranks of the leaders and people of the whole

region. Young pastors and Bible college students have some new role models in church planting and they are taking up the challenge.

Regional World Missions Department Launched

James Maadie's appeal at the 1974 Regional Conference to send a young couple to his people, the Vendas, prompted a time of special prayer for the right persons to answer the call. Enock Ngobeni reported to the Field Board of Administration in May that Richard Nukery felt called to go to the Vendas. A support fund and a committee were initiated, thus launching the regional department of world missions in Southern Africa. Enock Ngobeni became the first regional secretary of world missions and Richard and Rose Nukery became the first missionary couple to be sent as cross-cultural church planters. James and Carol Ramsay joined the Nukerys in Venda in 1975. Within four years they had started 11 church congregations. James Maadie saw his prayer being answered before he was called to heaven in 1987. The Venda (Far North) District has now become a pioneer district.

The next target area was Lebowa, the home of more than three million Pedi people. While plans were being laid, Pastor Shabangu at the Tsakane Church near Johannesburg led William Silamolela to the Lord in 1980 and disciplined him in soul-winning. William felt called to return to his home to preach in Lebowa. The Dennis Engle family, sent out in 1984, teamed up with William in an effective outreach resulting in three congregations.

The Cliff Amoses from the Pilgrim Holiness Church in Port Shepstone, Natal, on the South African European District, were appointed to serve at Casteel Mission in 1962. Mr. Amos became superintendent of the district. When Mr. Ngobeni was elected as superintendent the Amoses moved to Phalaborwa, a copper-mining city north of Casteel Mission and planted three churches in ten years.

Special Factors Affecting Growth in the Districts

The Church Stands Firm Under Persecution, War and Famine. The church in Southern Africa has had to endure various forms of hardship. In the early days persecution came when relatives saw conversion as rejection of the customs of their forefathers. The church in Mozambique faced strong persecution from the Roman Catholic-dominated Portuguese colonial government. Individual Christians and congregations were prepared to endure that hardship and take their stand for Christ. These became stalwart and stable as they learned to rely on the Lord.

When war broke out in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in the late 1960s and continued into the '70s the people in the churches around Bethesda Mission were caught in the middle. Some church buildings were plundered or demolished and many members fled to other parts of Zimbabwe. Missionary personnel were moved to Bulawayo where they attempted to minister to members who had moved there and to win others to the Lord.

In 1982 a missionary team consisting of the Robert Cheney and James Lo families was sent to Zimbabwe to help reestablish the church through evangelism and leadership training. Four congregations were established in the Bulawayo area. The church in Zimbabwe is showing signs of growth.

During the years of Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique the men converted in the gold mines returned to witness and were faced with immediate persecution by the Roman Catholic authorities. But they stood firm and the church grew into the largest district of The Wesleyan Church in Southern Africa. No North American Wesleyan missionary has ever lived in Mozambique. In 1975 the country became Marxist-ruled and the church faced a psychological undermining of the teachings of Christ. Would the Christians stand amid this subtle form of indoctrination? During a regional seminar on evangelism the pastors who came from Mozambique sang a song they had developed in their Shangaan language, their theological defense of the gospel expressed in music. The song also challenged those who were not holding on to Christ. The

church was standing firm on the Rock.

Then came the bitter civil war with destruction and loss of life and livelihood. Whole villages burned to the ground. Eleven Wesleyan pastors are known to have been killed with others taken captive and presumed dead. Countless church members have been killed or captured. But amid the ashes the Spirit of God blows with a soft breeze of hope as Christians find each other and regroup into new congregations. In 1973 there were 136, mostly rural, Wesleyan churches in Mozambique with a total membership of 2,111, an average of about 16 per church. Fifty churches were represented at the 1990 district conference, reporting 2073 members, an average of 41 per church. The picture will be complete only when the war has ended and all the churches can report. In the midst of the present pain and anguish, God is building His church.

Another district affected by violence and warfare is Emmanuel (Nkosinathi). Along with the political issues, differences that relate to tribal factions have flared up in fighting. The factions have now aligned with either the "Inkatha" movement or the "UDF-ANC coalition." Although the church members have not taken sides either in the past or at present, they are inevitably caught in the crossfire. District Superintendent Mdabe has had numerous threats made against his life. Church members and families have been burned to death when their homes were "petrol bombed" and set alight. Yet in spite of these problems and pressures the church continues to reach out with the message of forgiveness in Christ.

A climate of simmering resentment against "apartheid" laws has existed for many years in the large black townships around Johannesburg. Missionaries, African pastors and believers have worked to build the church in this vast urban area, providing a visible expression of the love of Christ and bringing racial harmony. When violence broke out at the Katlehong Township in March 1990, District Superintendent Alfred Mbambo was killed while trying to negotiate a peace agreement between the two factions. In spite of this setback there is a spirit of commitment on the part of Mr. Shabangu, appointed as district superintendent of the Reef, and a confidence that God will build His church in these difficult times.

Theological Education in Southern Africa. In 1969 the

Church in Southern Africa operated three Bible colleges: Altona Mission (in Zulu), Emmanuel Mission (Zulu), and one under the South Africa District with instruction in English. The Altona and Emmanuel schools were merged at Emmanuel and a new Bible college was opened in 1970 at Joy Mission in Swaziland. In 1978 the Emmanuel Bible College was moved to the Swaziland campus to consolidate development and staffing resources. The well qualified and dedicated staff at EWBC are producing the highest quality of graduates the Church has ever had. The enrollment has been just over 20 for the past few years, with students from almost every district.

Theological Education by Extension was introduced within the region about 1972, and in 1980 Karl Gorman was appointed full-time director of TEE. This phase has been given a new thrust with the appointment of Jim Lo as TEE advisor in 1990. More than 80 students are taking TEE courses in the region. The results of increased training opportunities are seen in the acceleration of church growth on various districts.

The shortage of young people entering the ministry was counteracted by Robert Nhlengethwa, a progressive district superintendent on the Qhubekani District, by calling in 1980 for a weekly time of fasting and prayer. The Lord of the harvest has responded by calling at least 16 new workers from that district into full-time Christian ministry. By 1990 at least ten had graduated and entered the ministry with the other six still enrolled at the Bible college. In the other districts increasing numbers of new pastors are being called.

Rapid Urbanization Spawns New Church Growth. Huge urban centers are developing in many parts of Southern Africa as thousands of people flock to the cities for employment. As early as 1950 the Church responded by sending Piet Langa to Maputo. Similar action was taken in Johannesburg, following up the church people who had moved to the cities. Further impetus resulted from the Metro-Move thrust led by Paul Swauger and his team in 1981. Two Wesleyan congregations were planted as a result, one at Soweto near Johannesburg and the other in Mbabane, capital city of Swaziland. Maputo had five Wesleyan churches in 1980 with about 300 members. Now there are 11 congregations and a number of home fellowships with more than a thousand members. The Swaziland

District is pulsating with new life under District Superintendent Israel Langa, with a good growth spurt in the 1986-90 quadrennium.

Future Prospects

The new regional structure of this field is similar to that of the North America General Conference, paving the way for the SARC to become a Provisional Area General Conference. The goal for the Southern Africa Region is to achieve this status by 1992. Regional headquarters is at Joy Mission near Manzini, Swaziland. Swaziland is a peaceful country where people from all areas of the Southern Africa Region are readily admitted. A residence for the superintendent, with his office and a secretary's office attached, was completed in 1988.

The Church in Southern Africa has come through a full cycle of growth from that foundation stage where all the work was done by missionaries, through the interim stage where responsibilities were shared with emerging national leaders, to the present indigenization of the work. God brought the Church to this point with very little open conflict in spite of apartheid legislation, racial attitudes even on the part of missionaries, and hesitancy on the part of both missionaries and nationals to make the change. Some denominations were literally torn apart over these issues.

The gospel has been freely given to the people of Southern Africa by the faithfulness of the people of God in North America. The Church has responded by entering into partnership with the American Church in taking the message to near neighbors in other South African countries. However, the challenge now lies before the Regional Conference to employ its full financial and human resources in the task of taking the gospel to the rest of Africa and to the world. The goal set for the 2000 by 2000 program of the World Missions Department of The Wesleyan Church worldwide is 115 new churches in the South Africa Regional Conference.

SOUTH AFRICA DISTRICT OF THE WESLEYAN CHURCH

Early European Thrust

The South Africa District is a renewed ministry from the early effort of Wesleyan missionaries to preach the gospel in its fullness to "all men everywhere." At the turn of the twentieth century the Western world was keenly aware of Africa because of the explorations of David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley during the preceding century. The first effort of antecedent missionaries was in Capetown, effects of which remain to this day.⁷² In 1904 the center of activity shifted to Port Elizabeth, a coastal city on the Indian Ocean about halfway between Capetown and Durban. Although early missionaries were seeking to open mission stations in the interior, two factors kept them for a time to the coastal areas: (1) the Boer War and its aftermath made travel into the interior difficult, and (2) a great revival among all races in Port Elizabeth, especially Europeans, kept the missionaries laboring there for an indefinite period. Contacts were made and people converted which led to the opening of work in other important towns, reaching to East London in 1908, Umtata in 1910, Port Shepstone in 1911, and eventually to Durban.

Because of revival, prospects were good for establishing work among the educated people of the cities. However, according to W. H. Reynolds, a life-time South African missionary, a consensus developed that the missionaries had not come to Africa to work with the whites but with Africans. Nevertheless, the compulsion to preach to all men everywhere prompted missionaries across the years to conduct services for small groups of Europeans at or near the mission stations. Such groups met in Mt. Frere, Mehlomnyama, Port Shepstone, the south coast of Natal, Swaziland, Vryheid and in Zambia. At Vryheid in northern Natal, a church was built to provide for the spiritual needs of missionaries and European settlers in the town. In southern Natal, a church was built at Umsinsini as a meeting place for European farmers, traders and friends of the mission. Evangelistic efforts among the Europeans remained secondary, however, to the overarching objective of evangelizing the Africans.

In retrospect one regrets that the splendid revivals in Port Elizabeth, East London, Port Shepstone and Durban did not continue to the present. The Wesleyan Church could be one of the strongest churches among Europeans today.

Re-establishment of the European Work

The year 1948 was a year of new beginnings for the European work. In November of that year, Watson and Rose Goodman from Mt. Frere and Norman and Gertrude Bonner from Natal journeyed to Johannesburg to begin services among the Europeans. The first service was held in the Benoni City Hall. R. E. and Lois Strickland and G. H. Schoombie were also present. Out of this effort the Union Bible College was opened in the city of Brakpan, some 25 miles from Johannesburg, on the East Rand. Brakpan was the earlier headquarters of the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association. Mr. Schoombie made use of the home built for the HFMA as headquarters for the All Africa Conference.

Union Bible College, an interdenominational effort, was later identified more closely with the Church and became Pilgrim Bible College. After merger in 1968 of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the college became Wesleyan Bible College. Brakpan served as headquarters for the European District of The Wesleyan Church until the district offices were moved to Dundee, Natal, in 1974.

The rationale for reopening the European work rested on a conviction that increasing difficulties experienced in bringing overseas missionaries to Africa would eventuate in turning the work to South African-trained missionaries. Two factors bear on this conviction: (1) the Second World War made impossible the moving of missionaries into or out of the country, and (2) developing nationalism sped the breakup of colonialism.

Setting for The Wesleyan Church in South Africa

The Republic of South Africa is a beautiful country of modern cities, towering mountains, and more than a thousand miles of golden coastline along the blue waters of the Indian Ocean. Johannesburg, called by Africans "the city of gold", is a "mile

high city," sometimes called "the garden city of the world." The gold-mining reef stretches eastward and westward from the heart of the city. Fast electric trains speed to growing cities and industrial centers on the East and West Rand. Nearly two million people live in modern "Joburg," and nearly one million in her twin, Soweto (Southwest Townships). Although Johannesburg is predominately "white" and Soweto "black," Africans move freely to and from the city.

Durban is a semitropical city in Natal, "the garden province," a city of beautiful beaches and modern hotels. Here begins "the garden route," one of the most scenic routes in the world, one thousand miles of breath-taking beauty, from the blue waters of the south coast of Natal, the mountains of Transkei, the coastal cities of Cape Province, past the vineyards of Constantia, the fishing villages of "The Cape," and finally to Capetown, the "Gateway of Africa." Capetown features Table Bay, where ocean liners come to rest, Table Mountain and the Twelve Apostles towering over the city and the Cape of Good Hope where the cold waters of the Atlantic meet the warm waters of the Indian Ocean creating the famed cape rollers and "the cape of storms."

Historical Highlights

The South Africa District of The Wesleyan Church ministers in four population areas in South Africa: The Witwatersrand or Reef Area, Northern Natal, Durban and the South Coast, and Northern Transvaal (Pretoria, the capital city).

Witwatersrand, Reef Area: Beginning in Johannesburg and stretching out 30 miles to the East Rand, the South Africa District of The Wesleyan Church has five organized churches and one pioneer work.

1. Craighall Park. The Johannesburg "city church," Craighall Park, is located in the rolling hills of the northern suburbs about seven miles from the heart of the city. This church is English-speaking, although the pastor is bilingual, and Afrikaans-speaking people often attend. The church began as an independent church. In May 1949 in a prayer meeting a decision was made to turn the church to the Pilgrims. Unable

to complete the building program, the people contacted R. E. Strickland to organize the Craighall Park Pilgrim Church. The property consists of a church, a two-story educational building and a three-bedroom parsonage or manse. This church has been pastored by Winston Callaghan who has also served as superintendent of the South Africa District for more than a decade. The district office is located on the Craighall Park Church property.

2. *Bredell*. Located in a rural area about midway between Brakpan and Pretoria, Bredell Wesleyan Church is in an Afrikaans-speaking community but the church has developed as bilingual. The church grew out of a ten-week tent meeting conducted in 1949 by R. E. Strickland and "Uncle Charlie" Slater. A number of Christian workers have come from the Bredell congregation, which has a five-acre lot with church, manse and educational building.

3. *Boksburg*. Boksburg is the city which served for years as headquarters for the Africa Evangelistic Mission and for several years as headquarters for the Reef work of the Reformed Baptist Church. The church is beautifully situated on a strategic corner in the southeastern section of the city. Built and organized under the supervision of Winston Callaghan, the church serves a growing congregation, one of the larger Wesleyan churches in South Africa.

4. *Kempton Park*. Located about five miles from the Bredell Church, Kempton Park Wesleyan Church is near the Jan Smuts International Airport. Built and organized by F. E. Stanley in 1958, it is located in a growing residential area of Kempton Park.

5. *Brakpan*. The church, in the eastern part of Brakpan, for many years shared a campus with Pilgrim Bible College until the school was relocated at Rand Collieries just west of the city. Brakpan served for some time as headquarters for the European District. The church, known as Anderson Memorial, was built by R. E. Strickland in 1949, the manse, by Paul Wilson.

Northern Natal: The European churches in Northern Natal are about midway between Johannesburg and Durban.

1. *Vryheid*. The European church in Vryheid was launched by missionaries of the Reformed Baptist Church with services

first conducted in the home of the Eugene Kiersteads. When another family moved to Vryheid, the missionaries rented a hall for services. Later they purchased a lot and built a church with worship in English for the missionary families as well as services for interested Europeans. At the time of merger it became part of the European District.

2. *Dundee.* The city of Dundee, a quiet, peaceful town in northern Natal on the border of KwaZulu, homeland of the Zulu nation, is near the Blood River monument, site of the bloody conflict between Boer farmers and Zulus. The Swedish Mission founded a station in Dundee which became important as a medical center treating soldiers from both British and Boer armies in the Boer War. The historic building, now the Dundee Wesleyan Church, has been declared a national monument by the South African government. In 1974 the European District headquarters was moved from Brakpan to Dundee, which is strategically located between the Natal and Transvaal churches. The commodious campus served as the campgrounds for the district until 1982. Due to the high cost of maintenance it was decided to sell this campus and invest the money so as to provide funds for lease of an annual camp meeting site. In 1979 the district office was moved to Craighall Park Church.

Durban and South Coast: A number of churches have been established along the shores of the Indian Ocean. Much of the thrust for this work came from missionaries working at Emmanuel Mission, Mt. Frere and Pondoland.

1. *Unsinsini.* This was the first church built among Europeans in the reorganization of the work. Services were started in a farm home in 1948 in the midst of sugarcane plantations. Families attending had come within the influence of Emmanuel Mission. Located about 25 miles from Emmanuel near the Port Shepstone-Durban road, the church served as feeder to other European churches. It was later discontinued.

2. *Port Shepstone.* The Methodist church in Port Shepstone is a monument to Fred T. Fuge, dynamic evangelist who conducted revivals in Port Elizabeth, East London, Port Shepstone and Durban. The Methodists still occupy the site where Mr. Fuge built a spiritual lighthouse in Port Shepstone before moving the center of his activities to Mehlomnyama among the

Zulus. In 1956 a church and manse were built at Oslo Beach, a suburb of Port Shepstone. Like Umsinsini, Port Shepstone became a feeder to the Bible college and other churches. Although the buildings were sold, services are still being conducted at a road camp near Port Shepstone.

3. *Margate.* Port Shepstone is on the South Coast road some 70 miles from Durban. Margate, the little Hollywood of South Africa, is some 14 miles further down the coast. The church and manse are located with a "million dollar view" of the Indian Ocean and Margate beach.

4. *Durban.* Woodlands Wesleyan Church is situated in the western part of the city not far from the South Coast road leading to Port Shepstone and Margate. The church was dedicated in 1953 and a parsonage acquired later. The church sponsors a growing child-care center and school.

5. *Pinetown.* A branch work was started some years ago at Pinetown about ten miles north of Woodlands church on the road to Pietermaritzburg. Although the work at Pinetown is not presently functioning, there is a need for a strong Wesleyan church in the area.

Northern Transvaal: This area has four Wesleyan churches.

1. *Pretoria.* Pretoria, the Jacaranda City, is the administrative capital of South Africa. This is one of the newer areas entered by The Wesleyan Church in South Africa. On August 1, 1978, the F. E. Stanleys launched a new work there. A survey showed some 10,000 people, largely unchurched, in Garsfontein in the southeastern part of the city. Since 1979 the Pretoria Wesleyan Church has grown steadily under the capable leadership of the Stanleys to become the largest church of the South Africa District in all categories of statistical measurement. In 1989 they reported 60 full members and an average Sunday morning attendance of 73. In conjunction with the modern sanctuary they have a large Christian education unit which serves as a day-care center during the week with 150 children enrolled. Adjacent to the church is a three-story retirement center developed as an extension of the church's ministry. During the past decade of its existence the church has given birth to a daughter congregation in Sinnoville to the north and one at

Garsfontein Extension 10 to the east.

2. *Sinnoville*. This is a daughter church of the Pretoria congregation. It began when F. E. Stanley discovered a large property which had been developed as a child-care center but had ceased to function. With their experience in operating day-care centers and seeing this as an open door into a new community, the Stanleys and their church board secured this property. They recruited the Gordon Websters who have managed the child-care center and have planted a new and growing Wesleyan church in this northern city of the greater Pretoria area. A loan from the North American Wesleyan Investment Foundation has enabled the church to purchase the entire property including the day-care center, manse and a large hall which is used for services. In 1989 this church reported 6 full members, and averages of 29 for morning worship and 30 for family Bible hour.

3. *Garsfontein 10*. Started in the Garsfontein 10 Extension as a daughter church of the Pretoria church, this new congregation meets in the buildings of a new day-care center built under the direction of F. E. Stanley. The Wayne Smiths have been appointed as pastors and some of the members of the Pretoria congregation are forming a nucleus for the new church.

4. *Pietersburg*. In 1982 Missionaries Michael and Carolyn Rumble were stationed in Pietersburg to do church planting among the North Sotho people. When they moved in and began to become acquainted with some of their white neighbors, they found people who had deep spiritual needs. Their witnessing led to conversions. These new converts brought friends and relatives for counseling and an ongoing chain of conversions took place which resulted in the establishment of the Pietersburg Wesleyan Church. The South Africa District was given responsibility for this new congregation.

William Stanley, chairman of the board of trustees, recognized that a child-care center could supply the financial base for buildings in which this new church could locate, and he supplied the expertise to develop an impressive building complex where the church now meets. The Childsmith family was appointed to manage the child-care center and pastor the church which reported ten provisional and five full members in 1989 with an average worship attendance of sixteen.

Wesleyan Bible College. In 1960 the Church acquired a fine property in Rand Collieries in the western part of the city of Brakpan and relocated the Bible College. Since that date the campus has expanded to include 15 acres and several major buildings, including the administration building, which houses chapel, offices, dormitories, classrooms and two apartments, and a classroom-library building. Three homes on the campus include a four-bedroom brick home for the principal.

Summary

Three missionaries serve the European District, all stationed at Wesleyan Bible College. About 1960 the Church decided to reduce the number of Americans serving as pastors and the amount of overseas funds invested in the work. In 1990 all of the churches were pastored by South Africans, most of whom were trained at Wesleyan Bible College. Thirty-six national workers serve in fourteen churches, seven organized and seven unorganized. Full membership is 360 with Sunday school enrollment of 724. Twenty students are enrolled in the Wesleyan Bible College, six full-time and fourteen part-time.

The South Africa District has produced some outstanding pastors and missionaries who have gone out into cross-cultural evangelism and training. Beginning with the earliest history of the work, men like Harry Reynolds and G. H. Schoombie teamed up with their American missionary mentors to pioneer mission work among the indigenous people. In recent years other cross-cultural missionaries have been sent out from this district.

The Cliff Amoses planted three new churches near Phalaborwa within ten years. Chris and Rosemary Motley served faithfully in Swaziland, Dundee and Port Shepstone where their love for the Lord and the people was evident. Daphne Niemack graduated from Wesleyan Evangelical Seminary in Brakpan and was assigned to teach at Emmanuel Wesleyan Bible College in Swaziland. She excelled as a teacher and mentor as she involved students in planting new churches in the surrounding area. Daphne, the first woman to be ordained as an elder in The Wesleyan Church in the South Africa District, earned a master's degree at Fuller Theological

Seminary in California. Mrs. Sue Merriman is a missionary nurse from the Craighall Park Wesleyan Church who is serving in Kenya and continues to be supported by the South Africa District.

Factors Contributing to Growth. To start a work in a new country is not easy. Most of the momentum from the early thrust among Europeans (1904 and thereafter) had been lost. However some factors contributed to growth. (1) Intense interest on the part of the North American church. R. G. Flexon, General Secretary of World Missions for the Pilgrim Holiness Church, 1946-54, was the motivational force for the opening of the work. R. E. and Lois Strickland gave valuable leadership in the construction of buildings and the direction of the district. Uncle Charlie Slater gave of himself tirelessly in evangelism among the Europeans until his death in 1950. (2) The intense loyalty of Wesleyans in the local churches. Many of the present leaders, including district superintendent, pastors and wives, youth and Sunday school workers, have "come through the ranks." South Africans are among some of the most stalwart to be found in the Church. (3) South Africa is a traditionally religious country. The Wesleyan message of the "full gospel for every man" is attractive to South Africans, both English and Afrikaans, who are hungry for a deeper life. (4) The Wesleyan Church has a good name in South Africa and the term "Wesleyan" is attractive to the people.

Factors Hindering Growth: The Wesleyan Church has experienced slow growth in South Africa. Some factors contributing to this follow. (1) The Church has held closely to the model of the home church. It might have experienced better growth as a "new plant" rather than as a "transplant." (2) The Church was slow to turn leadership to national pastors. National leadership has been more effective in building churches within the culture than have overseas pastors. (3) The momentum of earlier thrusts was lost. Had those revivals continued, the holiness message would have made a greater impact on the nation.

Look to the Future: The political climate in South Africa

has moderated considerably in the past two decades. The official policy of "apartheid" has become less stringent. Government approval for the admission of all races at Wesleyan Bible College was received in 1981.⁷³ Cooperation with the University of South Africa in Pretoria where Wesleyan students may take modules of instruction makes possible the completion of degree programs. Wesleyan Bible College is moving toward accreditation by the Accrediting Council for Theological Education in Africa.

With warm and prayerful support from the home church, Wesleyans in South Africa may be expected to make a dynamic contribution in the ongoing work of Christ and His kingdom in that country. A goal of seven new churches by the year 2000 has been set. The challenge is great but the resources are greater.

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, is located in the north central portion of what is known as southern Africa. It lies wholly inland and takes its name from the Zambezi River, which rises in the northwest corner of the country and forms its south boundary.

Geographically, Zambia is a part of southern Africa. However, ideologically, politically, and economically, Zambia is separated from its neighbors to the south, especially Zimbabwe and South Africa. For this reason, the Zambia Regional Area of The Wesleyan Church is a separate administrative area from the Southern Africa Regional Conference.

Setting for The Wesleyan Church in Zambia⁷⁴

The south central African republic of Zambia, slightly larger than the state of Texas, is home for over seven million people.⁷⁵ Most of the present population is of Bantu origin, descendants of tribes who have migrated to the area since the seventeenth century. They speak six main African languages and forty dialects, while English is the official language of government and business. Despite the influence of modern civilization, most of the people still follow primitive social customs. Tribal

dancing, witchcraft, and fear of evil spirits are very much a part of everyday life.

The history of Zambia reaches far into the past to ancient African inhabitants who migrated from other parts of the continent. The first European to explore the area was David Livingstone who discovered magnificent Victoria Falls in 1855. Later, Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company chartered the land north of the Zambezi River and administered the area known as Rhodesia until it became a British protectorate in 1924. Landlocked Northern Rhodesia finally became the independent nation of Zambia on October 24, 1964, with its capital at Lusaka.

The national motto "One Zambia, One Nation" sets the tone for the monumental task of binding many tribes into a strong aggressive nation. A president with his cabinet of ministers, a parliament of 105 elected members, and a house of chiefs constitute the national government. The country is divided into nine provinces. Better educational opportunities, and an ambitious program of economic infrastructure providing roads, housing, power, and communications have improved life in Zambia. However, since national funds for development come from her mineral resources (Zambia is the world's second largest producer of copper), progress has slowed because of a decline in the price of copper in the 1980s. Severe drought also caused famine during this period.⁷⁶ Tourism also brings in revenue as people from all over the world come to view Victoria Falls, one of the great wonders of the world. The Zambian name for this mile-wide, 347-foot-high wall of water is "Mosi-oa-tunya," or "the smoke that thunders."

Abundant wildlife roaming freely and the famous game reserves attract many tourists throughout the year. Nearly ideal tropical climate the year around is conducive to outdoor activities such as hunting, sports and huge open-air gatherings.

Historical Highlights

The Wesleyan work in Zambia is the outgrowth of Pilgrim Holiness Missions in South Africa. The first "invasion" occurred in 1930 when the Ray Millers and Miss Mary Loew drove 2000 miles over rough dirt roads, spurred on by a burning desire to

reach the primitive peoples of Northern Rhodesia. The party was soon joined by Miss Ethel Jordan. Permission was obtained from government officials and chiefs to begin work in the Southern Province. When the Millers had to cut short their stay because of illness, Miss Jordan and Miss Loew worked briefly with the Brethren in Christ Mission until another missionary and his wife could come from South Africa. Alfred and Cora Reynolds were sent from Emmanuel Mission in 1932. Witnessing and preaching absorbed the time of the missionaries until death terminated the labors of Mr. Reynolds on March 8, 1937. Subsequently, R. E. and Lois Strickland were appointed to superintend the mission.⁷⁷

Zambia has witnessed the most intense educational and medical effort of The Wesleyan Church in southern Africa. From the inception of the work, emphasis was placed on the four aspects of missionary endeavor: spiritual, educational, medical, and agricultural.

The Wesleyan Church in Zambia is known as The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church to avoid confusing the Church with the English Wesleyans. Of the nine provinces, the Church labors currently in six: Southern, Lusaka, Copperbelt, Eastern, Northern, and Northwestern. Language groups served by Wesleyan churches in Zambia include Chitonga, Chinyanja, Chibamba, Lozi and Kaunde.

Present Mission Locations

1. *Jembo.* The work at Jembo Mission was opened in 1932 with the arrival of the Reynolds family. When R. E. Strickland became superintendent, he purchased 3,200 acres of land for the mission. Based on the spiritual, educational, medical, and agricultural objectives of the founders, Jembo Mission became the largest operation of The Wesleyan Church in southern Africa. Located about fourteen miles from Pemba, a town on the Great North Road, the mission includes several commodious mission homes, hospital, nurses' quarters, girls' and boys' boarding school, dormitories, African preachers' and teachers' homes and regional Bible college. At one time, approximately 500 people lived on the mission compound. Missionary and medical personnel work extensively in outstation and village

work. Chababoma Mission in the Gwembe Valley was pioneered from the base at Jembo.

2. *Siachitema.* The Great North Road, extending from Livingstone in the south to Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, plays an important part in Wesleyan Missions. Choma lies on the Great North Road, about 40 miles south of Pemba. Siachitema Mission is situated about twenty miles southwest of Choma. Beautifully laid out like a wheel around the hub of the mission homes are the dispensary, school buildings, orphanage and teachers' homes. The orphanage, where many African children received loving care and concern, is a monument to the life-time labors of Miss Claudia Peyton. Many of "her children" have become loyal and devoted Christian leaders in the church and community. In 1983 Miss Peyton was given the Grand Officer of Zambia award by Zambian president, Kenneth Kuanda.⁷⁸ She died March 27, 1984. The mission has been consistently active in village evangelism and pioneered the work at Zimba.

3. *Choma.* Choma is the home of Choma Secondary School, a cooperative effort of the Wesleyan and Brethren in Christ Churches. It is also headquarters for the national church and home of the field superintendent, an office held for many years by Jack Munsaka. Mr. Munsaka and his wife, Julia, were products of the evangelistic and educational work of the Church. Mr. Munsaka's funeral in 1982 was attended by over a thousand people, including government officials. Elected to fill the vacancy was Simon Syabamba.⁷⁹

Choma Secondary School is a boarding school for 1200 students. Some of Zambia's finest young people come to Choma where they receive not only excellent secondary education, but instruction in the Word of God. Daily chapel services, midweek prayer meetings, revivals, evangelism clubs, and choral groups give ample opportunity for winning and training Zambia's future leaders. For many years about half of Wesleyan missionaries working in Zambia served in the school at Choma. But the number of Wesleyan missionaries in educational work in Zambia has been greatly reduced.⁸⁰ Currently only Wesleyan Gospel Corps workers, who support themselves in short-term service abroad, teach there.⁸¹ The school celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1987 with many former teachers and

students returning for the occasion.⁸²

4. Chababoma. Strategically situated in the great Gwembe Valley of the Zambezi River, Chababoma Mission was built about a mile from the banks of the river. When the Kariba dam was built, creating the largest man-made lake in the southern hemisphere, the mission was relocated above the high-water mark just over the escarpment, about thirty miles from Jembo Mission. For many years, Wesleyan missionaries, even before the founding of the mission in 1950, followed David Livingstone's trails in evangelizing the villages in the great river valley. A considerable amount of medical, educational and evangelistic work has been a part of the Chababoma effort.

5. Livingstone. The Great North Road crosses from Zimbabwe into Zambia at Victoria Falls. The scenic bridge across the high gorge of the Zambezi River has long provided a breath-taking view of the lovely rain forest, rainbow falls, and "devil's cauldron," so majestic that David Livingstone remarked, "Angels paused in their flight to marvel." Just a few miles from the falls lies the town of Livingstone. Here is the site for the David Livingstone Teacher Training College, an institution in which The Wesleyan Church has cooperated with four other mission groups. Overseas and national Wesleyan missionaries have cared for the interests of Wesleyan students and have helped to evangelize surrounding areas.

6. Zimba. Zimba Mission (the word Zimba means lion) was founded in 1957 and is located fifty miles from Livingstone up the Great North Road. Zimba Mission ministers to both Africans and European farmers and tradespeople. It provides a center of activities for schools, hospital, mission homes and village evangelism. The mission serves a number of outstations and preaching points where, in some cases, the church buildings also house educational activities.

7. Lusaka. The outreach of the national church has created the Capital District in Lusaka, where the mission director's office is located. A fine church where Wesleyans meet regularly for worship serves as center for outreach in the Capital area where seven churches have been planted. One of these is a strong city church planted by missionaries Dan and Nancy Gormong in Munali, a part of the capital city near the university. The church is becoming a strong center of evangelism and

of finances as the congregation supports the Bible schools and other ministries.⁸³

8. Chipata. The work at Chipata was started in 1974 in the Eastern Province as a cooperative effort of the mission and national church. Missionaries Wissbroeckers, Gormongs and Peeds, in succession, planted this work, which is now nationalized and a strong financial support for the Zambian work. A new pioneer district has resulted as the Chipata church has given birth to several daughter churches.⁸⁴

9. Ndola. Work in the Copperbelt was pioneered in 1982 by Robert and Grace Duda⁸⁵ and developed further by Richard and Inge Huston.⁸⁶ By 1990 two churches and three pioneer works had been planted in this area.⁸⁷

Summary

After nearly sixty years of service in Zambia, the process of nationalization is almost complete. In the early part of the 1960s the Church was heavily involved in primary education. At one point the mission was administering fifty primary schools teaching over 7,000 students. More recently the government has assumed full responsibility for these schools.

Medicine is a challenge in Zambia where the government assigns the responsibility for maintaining medical facilities to church organizations in a given area and subsidizes these. Many people come for treatment from far and near to the four facilities maintained by The Wesleyan Church. Over 112,500 outpatients and 4,500 inpatients are treated in one year's time. Many who would never come to a church service will listen to a daily hospital service or to the testimony of one of the workers as they receive medical aid. As a result many are healed both physically and spiritually. The presence of Filipino missionary doctors (Romeo and Erlinda Caringal) at the Zimba hospital has greatly enhanced its ministry, making it one of the more desirable places in southern Zambia for medical treatments. This also represents a further step in the "internationalizing" of missions, a trend in many places.⁸⁸ Alan and Myrna Houston carried the work of hospital administration (for two hospitals and two clinics) for several years. This post was nationalized in 1990 when the Houstons retired and Dennis Sichombo took up

the duties.⁸⁹

At the center of The Wesleyan Church in Zambia, located at Jembo Mission, is the Pilgrim Wesleyan Seminary, where two Wesleyan missionary couples are assigned. The result is a greatly strengthened program with increased student body and a much higher percentage of "successful" graduates who remain in the work. The electrification and other physical improvements at Jembo have also contributed.⁹⁰ Training is provided both in English and in Chitonga, the principal language spoken by the Wesleyan constituency. Wesleyan missionaries are also involved in theological education by extension and programmed instruction. Literature is provided for pastors' and field conferences and for Wesleyan Sunday schools. John Connor, missionary to Zambia from 1970-82, wrote *What Wesleyans Believe* and translated it and other books into Chitonga.⁹¹

A field conference in which both Zambians and missionaries participate serves as the highest governing body of the Church. A field council serves in the interim between conferences. From a membership of 1,628 in 1979, the Zambian churches have grown to almost 4,500 members.⁹² At the 1990 National Conference the Siachitema District and the Jembo District divided, bringing the total number of districts to seven.⁹³

Factors Contributing to Growth

The Wesleyan Church in Zambia has ministered to needy people in four areas of service: spiritual, educational, medical and agricultural. This approach has won the confidence of government officials as well as nationals. Some factors which may have contributed to growth: (1) Strong leadership by missionaries and nationals. (2) Emphasis on evangelism and church planting while maintaining the service programs of the church. (3) Developing a second, third, and fourth generation church. (4) Ability to change with changing circumstances. (5) Priority on training of national leaders. (6) Cooperation with other missions and mission agencies. (7) Maintaining a good relationship with government officials at all levels.

Factors Hindering Growth

The Wesleyan Church, like other missions in Zambia, is passing through a transitional period. Some factors which may have hindered growth of the church are discernible in retrospect. (1) Institutionalization. Missionaries have expended a tremendous amount of effort on mission compounds. While beneficial, these programs have limited evangelism, church planting and discipling. (2) Slow process of nationalization. Only during the past two decades has real progress been realized in placing control of the church in the hands of nationals. (3) Limitations of polity agreements. Early missionary activity was proscribed, to some extent, by polity restrictions and agreements with other missions working in the Southern Province which hindered follow-up of Wesleyans moving to other areas. (4) Lack of clear lines of communication. Missionary groups and nationals meeting separately resulted in some apprehension and lack of coordination, especially in the earlier years. (5) Lack of articulation between upper and lower levels of national leadership. This is especially needful in areas of organization, administration, planning and promotion.

Look to the Future

Transition is the order of the day in Zambia. The role of the missionary has changed from that of leader to helper. As a result of feeling "not needed" missionaries may tend to become one- or two-term missionaries. The degree to which missionaries are able to adapt to change may determine their role to be played in the future of the church in Zambia. In any event, the work will continue and it behooves the home church to "stand by" in supportive ways. Saturnino Garcia visited Zambia in 1989 presenting the worldwide goal of 2000 churches by A.D. 2000. The Zambian leaders have set their goal as 60 new churches by the year 2000.

New areas are opening up in Zambia, especially in Eastern Province, in the copperbelt in the north, and in the urban areas. Doors of service remain open to missionaries in Bible teaching, the medical services, in theological education by extension and

programmed education and in literature.

The Wesleyan Church is in the hands of able national leadership. With warm understanding and support of the home church, good progress can be expected in the future.

Summary And Conclusions

Paul Swauger focused on the importance of the countries in Africa where Wesleyan missionaries labor. In a graphic editorial⁹⁴ various countries on the map of Africa are compared to the features of a man's head facing westward. Ralph D. Winter states that the tomorrow of the yesterdays has now passed and that the world now faces another tomorrow.

It is a world torn by racial strife, weary in morale, uneasy about traditional morality, unprecedentedly wealthy in some sectors yet massively hungry and destitute in others, and in some ways more sobered and more mature. It is like a youth who has finally gained his college diploma only to discover that the great issues and problems of his lifetime are still ahead of him.⁹⁵

Wesleyan missionaries have labored for nearly a century in Africa. The story which they have been writing is nearing completion. But other chapters will be written in large part by the nationals. An important aspect of "the shape of tomorrow," as traced by Winter, is "the phenomenon of the passing of the torch."⁹⁶

The Wesleyan Church in Africa has prepared for this day, albeit perhaps not as rapidly as should have been done. Men of stature and leadership ability are standing at the helm.

What is to be the role of Wesleyan missionaries as the Church continues its redemptive ministry? Most assuredly, it must be a supportive ministry. Because the daughter church has come of age is no reason to abandon her. Now may be the brightest day that has dawned for Africa, or it may be the darkest day. Mr. Swauger pointed out that at the time of writing there were two revolutions which raged in Africa: one was racial and political.

News releases in Red China declare that Africa is ripe for revolution. Russia is reported to be supplying Angola, Mozambique, and other nearby countries with a stream of advisers and machinery. A million Africans are running across land borders, but the

confusion is so great they hardly know which dog will bite or who is a true friend. Blood is flowing. Humanity is convulsing. Atheistic communism's cancer is spreading toward vital parts.⁹⁷

The second revolution in Africa was of a spiritual nature.

Pagan traditions are increasingly in question among the rising tide of Africa's youth. They seek hope; fulfillment. Gospel broadcasting and Bible literature penetrate to remote villages. Trained national preachers proclaim salvation through Christ's atoning blood. A genuine revival in the church can remove the strife. Vital Christianity is hard into the stream of history for Africa. The battle is not over!⁹⁸

The analogy of the "African head facing westward" is not in terms of political and traditional affinity alone, but in terms of spiritual sensitivity. The task of indigenization is practically complete on all Wesleyan fields in Africa. Missionaries still find a ministry in Bible colleges, literature, radio, theological education by extension, church planting and extension, and the auxiliary functions of the Church. However, even in these areas, the national leaders must assume increasing responsibility. A Wesleyan missionary states, "As missionaries we must back off in our dominant leadership, taking positions of encouragement, teaching and discipling behind national leadership. . . . A key question for new missionaries should be, are you willing and can you find it easy to submit to national leadership, working under their plans and vision?"⁹⁹

What Can the Church Do—Tomorrow?

The Church cannot be complacent. The task is not yet completed. As the Church faces tomorrow, the first call is to prayer, vital and vibrant, concerned and expectant. The Church must be informed, know what is happening on the field, what transitions are taking place, what needs are evident, where her priorities lie. The Church must give. Because missionaries retire from a field is no indication that financial help is no longer needed. The Church may assume a cooperative role in opening new areas to the gospel. And the Church can exercise faith that the hopes and aspirations, the goals and objectives of the Church at the birth of Wesleyan missions—"the full gospel for the whole man," the "world is our parish"—may prove an ongoing process.

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CHAPTER 12

THE WESLEYAN CHURCH IN ASIA AND AUSTRALIA

Virginia Wright

Probably no area of the world where The Wesleyan Church has gone with the gospel has been more difficult to serve than the Orient. Faced with language and culture problems on one hand and the interruption of missionary activity caused by two world wars and the threats of communism on the other hand, Wesleyan missionaries have persevered until some bright chapters of victory and success emerge amid the darkness of the nations of Asia and Australia.

CHINA

The earliest attempts of which any record exists of missionary activity in the Orient was near the turn of the century when Martin Wells Knapp offered himself for China. His death in 1901 cut short any serious effort even to visit this great land of opportunity. The E. R. Monroe family left for China in 1903 and founded the South China Holiness Mission with headquarters in Canton. The leaders of the International Holiness Union and Prayer League (IHUPL) did not feel they could accept the responsibility of the work and it was later merged with the Oriental Missionary Society.¹

Because of the lack of funds and people to support the various outposts in the early days, all the mission works in China became autonomous and were not governed by the IHUPL. Although a brief visit in 1920 had been made by E. F. McCarty, foreign field secretary for the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America, it was not until October 1946 that the William N. Wagers entered China. They took up residence and

established a Bible school at Tsun Yi, the second largest city of Keichow Province, in order to train Chinese pastors for an indigenous church. Henry and Elizabeth Ortlip joined the Wagers in April 1948. When the Communists rose to power and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan in 1949, the missionaries were recalled by the missions board. They later went to Taiwan to work among the refugees from Mainland China. Miss Freda Farmer joined the Wagers in 1955 and remained until 1970, having given 15 years of unstinting service, much of the time in Taipei, Taiwan.²

INDIA

In 1903 A. Lee Grey and family from God's Bible School joined Mr. Gorham Tufts in northeastern India. Concern for India had been generated through a fund-raising effort in 1900 known as "All Indian Famine Relief Fund." Several other missionaries also served in India for a few years but no permanent work was established at that time.³

The Wesleyan Church is now at work in two areas of India, West India in the Gujarat Province and in Rajnandgaon and environs in Madhya Pradesh, Central India.

West India

Wesleyan work in West India began in 1907 when Miss Stella Wood felt a call to that land. In the August 1908 annual missionary meeting at Stoneboro Camp of the Allegheny Conference, Mrs. Clara McLeister, president of the conference Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, planned a program to include India. Miss Chadwick, pastor at Barberton, Ohio, was the speaker and raised \$300 for a new mission project in India. A. T. Jennings, one of the evangelists, presented this report to the next meeting of the executive board of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. They passed a resolution in favor and received the money which was being raised.

The Vanguard Mission. In 1910 A. E. and Bessie Ashton, who had spent some years in India under the Vanguard Mission of St. Louis, were in the U.S. looking for someone to take over

their work. They presented their proposal to Eber Teter, the Connectional missionary secretary. They suggested giving the title to the five-acre mission compound in Pardi (West India) to Wesleyan Methodists in return for \$600, assumption of their travel expenses back to India, and continued support. Approval was given, and the agreement was made. The Ashtons and their children were accompanied to India by Miss Stella Wood and C. B. and Fannie Harvey in December 1910.

The Vanguard work began under the direction of C. W. Sherman, superintendent. His daughter, Bessie, went to India in 1891 and was later joined by other missionaries. In 1900 Mr. Sherman went to India and established an orphanage in Mahim just north of Bombay. Later he secured a grant of 30 acres at Sanjan in Gujarat Province and moved the orphanage to the new site. Meanwhile, Bessie married A. E. Ashton, a missionary from England. In 1902 they purchased land at Pardi and the orphanage was once again moved to a new site. Later more than 200 orphans were divided, with boys at Pardi and girls at Sanjan. Wesleyans took over in 1910, becoming responsible for a 1000-square-mile area in Gujarat Province.

John Armstrong, who was left in charge while the Ashtons were in the U.S. in 1910, later joined the Wesleyan Methodists, but died in 1912 and was buried at Pardi. He was the first to give his life in India.

Mrs. Ella Burman, another Vanguard missionary, came to Vapi between Pardi and Sanjan, bought land and established a mission. Through her ministry along with an Indian couple, various outstations were begun, including Dandi Maroli on the Arabian Sea. This work also became part of the Wesleyan Methodist mission and remained under Mrs. Burman's leadership until 1918.

In 1913 John and Mary Reed joined the team at Pardi, having become Wesleyans in the Allegheny Conference. Mrs. Reed, the former Mary Leach, had been part of the Vanguard work almost from the beginning.

The People's Mission Church had sent C. B. and Fannie Harvey to work with the missionaries of the Vanguard holiness work of St. Louis. Harvey spent most of his life in India working with the Wesleyan Methodist Church which took over the Vanguard Mission near Bombay.⁴

After a two-year furlough the Harveys returned to India where Mrs. Harvey died in 1922, the second missionary to give her life on the field. The Reeds completed their term and returned home, leaving four ladies on the field, Stella and Grace Wood, Frances Forte and Mary Greene. Of these four, Stella Wood worked in India the longest, remaining until 1946.

A second attempt by the Pilgrim Holiness Church to sponsor missionaries in India was made in 1922 when E. A. and Chloie Meeks and Miss Edith Sterns went with A. E. Rassman and his family to Bombay. Rassman had already served one seven-year term and was returning to Babatpur, Benares District. Other missionaries joined them and in spite of severe handicaps they

... carried on evangelistic work by means of village visitation, distributing gospel literature at village fairs, open-air Sunday school work, personal visitation and church services on the main compound. They had a clinic for treating the sick and won their way to many hearts by that means. A school was conducted for awhile.⁵

Other early missionaries were Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Morris, Miss Flora Pitts, Mr. and Mrs. P. D. Doty, Mr. and Mrs. John Smeltzer (she died in India in 1923), Miss Hazel Rodgers and Floyd Banker. Hazel Rodgers and Floyd Banker were married in India and served a total of five terms, their service ending when Mrs. Banker passed away during furlough in 1959.

Missionary methods used during this early period in India were orphanage work, dry season gospel teams, native preachers and Bible women, village schools, and medical work done by nonprofessionals. Each main station had outstation work. Training of national workers was initiated by Miss Stella Wood who began with a class of four students in a three-month, rainy season Bible school. The school continued annually for many years thereafter for the training of workers, many of whom came from the orphanages. Ten sessions were required to complete the preacher's course of study.

The 1915 General Conference recognized the India Mission Conference even though only missionaries were delegates at that time. In 1921 E. F. McCarty, missionary secretary, visited

the field and encouraged the missionaries to involve the Indian brothers in the conference. By 1924 the conference was organized, including Indian delegates from local congregations, with pastors being included later.

Political and Social Revolution. The period from 1925 to 1950 was one of political and social revolution in India. Rising nationalism and the move for independence from England gave rise to strong feelings against foreigners. While India struggled with its immense social and political problems, the work of the missionaries continued in spite of tightening government restrictions.

Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Morris leased land before 1924 at Dandi Maroli for a dispensary which was finally built in 1927. Another was built at Sanjan in memory of Mrs. Fannie Harvey and Mrs. Edna Smeltzer. In response to the overwhelming physical needs of the people, Miss Isla F. Knight and Miss Hazel Jones went to India in 1926. The 1939 General Conference set a goal of making Sanjan a medical center and sending a doctor, subsequently raising \$30,000 for the project. The site was changed to Vapi, but the lack of government approval delayed the project. In the meantime, a dispensary was built at Dhagadmar.

By 1932 the missionaries had purchased land at Dhagadmar near Pardi to establish a Christian farm colony in order to help the orphan boys and girls, now grown, to establish farms of their own. By 1950 a church and parsonage were built through the assistance of the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society.

During this period, significant steps were taken in the development of the national Church. In 1934 the first Indian elders were ordained: Thomas Kimaji, C. M. Justin, and Daniel Kalaji. Paul N. Parmar was ordained in 1936 and Somchand D. Madhurvarishichand in 1941. Ten new churches were established during the following ten years. Work was begun among the Marathi-speaking people with a compound developed at Udva. In 1944 the West India work elected its first Indian conference president, C. M. Justin.

The orphanages were phased out in favor of boarding schools, but even these were closed as the government began to

establish schools. In 1945 the old Pardi compound was sold and a new, smaller site purchased where a new mission center was developed.

Growth in the Midst of Turmoil. The years following independence from 1950 until merger in 1968 were made difficult by the rising tide of nationalism and increasing social chaos. India was divided into two nations, with the new India becoming the home of the Hindus and Pakistan the home of the Muslims. Religious riots resulted in the death of millions of people, while many more died of exposure, disease and starvation. Mahatma Gandhi, who had been the hero of the peaceful road to independence, was assassinated, January 30, 1948.

In spite of the turmoil, God honored the work of the newly formed India Evangelical Fellowship. Dr. Paul Rees, convention speaker in 1952, was mightily used of God in bringing revival among the missionaries. The spiritual awakening spread to Union Biblical Seminary in Yeotmal. God used Floyd E. Banker to help spread the revival through his spoken and written accounts.

Wesleyans pursued their hospital project at Vapi by sending Dr. and Mrs. Lowell Jennings in 1952. He was able to secure government permits to build, and soon a dispensary and two leper units were up. A small bungalow for the doctor, two staff units, four hospital units including two operating rooms, and a church followed. Later a permanent doctor's bungalow was built. By mid-1954, a 35-bed hospital was almost finished. The work came abruptly to a halt on August 17, 1954, when the government refused to renew the Jenningses' permit to remain in Bombay State.

The hospital began limited operation during the quadrennium of 1959-1963 with a national doctor and two national nurses. Dr. and Mrs. Waldon Kurtz arrived in July 1963, but after investigating medical facilities and needs in the area, he did not recommend equipping the hospital and returned home. However, in 1968 the Wesleyan Mission and the Mar Thoma Evangelistic Association of South India began joint operation of the Vapi Hospital.

The hospital at Vapi continued to be owned by The Wesleyan Mission, but operated by the Mar Thoma Church of

South India.⁶ Finally, the property was sold to the Mar Thoma Church, since it was impossible to bring a Wesleyan missionary doctor into India for that purpose.

A significant step was taken in upgrading the preparation of ministers for the West India Conference in 1958. Floyd Banker was acting principal of Union Biblical Seminary at Yeotmal in Central India for one year, setting the stage for this institution to be used by Wesleyans for training of workers. In 1963 two young men from the Wesleyan work in West India were enrolled at Yeotmal, and by 1965 one was graduated with six others enrolled. The denial of visas to missionaries prevented Wesleyans from placing a missionary couple on the faculty of the seminary.

During this period, ownership of some mission property was gradually transferred to the West India Annual Conference. Several other elders were ordained, including Samuel Justin, son of the first national who served as conference president. However, by 1968 several elders were lost to the work, making it impossible to staff a full-fledged conference organization. The executive secretary of world missions assumed supervision of the conference, appointing a committee of three persons to act in lieu of a board. Among those leaders were A. T. and I. T. Christian.

The number of missionaries on the field diminished due to tightening of government restrictions on visas. Only Miss Bibbee remained and was in charge of both fields at the time of merger in 1968, when the West India Conference reported 7 churches, 4 other congregations, 9 pastors and evangelists and 162 members.

Work in the West India District was carried on through the years by faithful pastors under the leadership of the supervising committee with I. T. Christian and Samuel Justin alternating as chairman. A beautiful new church building and parsonage were built at Pardi. The church at Dandi was revived through the evangelistic efforts of young men in training for the ministry. Ground was broken in 1979 for a new church to take the place of the one which had long since been destroyed. The beautiful building was dedicated in 1986 with a ceremony well attended by members and village people.

As a result of General Superintendent J. D. Abbott's visit to

India in 1985, he recommended that the West India District be encouraged to complete translation of the *Discipline* into Gujarati. This would prepare the way to organize a provisional district which would replace the old supervising committee set up in 1963.⁷ In 1987 the West India District was reorganized as a provisional district according to plans made by Wayne Wright, general secretary of world missions, during his administrative visit the previous year.⁸ Joel Justin, son of Samuel Justin, was elected district superintendent. The superintendency went back to Samuel Justin in the conference in 1989.

Plans for a new district center were approved by the General Board of Administration in 1987. It was to provide dormitory rooms for men and women, a kitchen and dining room, as well as a mission apartment and guest rooms.⁹

Central India

Wesleyans did not become involved in missionary work in Central India until 1961 when merger with Missionary Bands of the World based in Indianapolis brought their two fields, Central India and Jamaica, under the direction of The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Missionary Bands. The work which would later become Wesleyan was begun indirectly in 1880 when Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Ward went to Burnhampur and Ellichpur. After furlough in the States, they returned to find others working in these locations. They moved to Rajnandgaon, the capital of Nandgaon State, 700 miles from the Vanguard work in West India. The Indian ruler (rajah) gave them a plot of ground near the railway station on which they built the first small building. The great famine of 1897 propelled them into orphanage work, bringing hundreds of children under their care.

In 1897 four missionaries from Pentecostal Bands, the forerunner of Missionary Bands, arrived in Nagpur, the capital of Central Provinces, just 100 miles west of Rajnandgaon. They were Mr. and Mrs. Frank Hogle, William McCreedy, and Elizabeth Tucker. The Wards became acquainted with the group at Nagpur and joined the Bands, and the two groups pooled their efforts.

The Wards built a spacious bungalow on the Rajnandgaon property which became the headquarters of the work. Through the years many other missionaries assisted in the Missionary Bands work in Central India. Outstations were established, orphanages for both boys and girls were maintained, medical care for lepers was initiated, and a strong evangelistic thrust was carried on. Among the missionaries of the period were Ross Willobee and his son David, both of whom died and were buried at an outstation at Chowki.

Merger With the Wesleyan Methodists. In 1958 the missionary staff included: Mr. and Mrs. Jehart Hanson, Miss Florence Cain, Miss Rebecca Bibbee, Miss Ruth Curtis, R.N., Miss Juliette Breedlove, and Miss Hazel Compton, R.N. At the time of merger with The Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1958, the Bands work included a main station at Rajnandgaon with two bungalows, a church and orphanage. A leprosarium with staff buildings, a church for lepers, and houses for a doctor and nurse were located on the outskirts of Rajnandgaon. National pastors and Bible women were at work in ten outstations within a 30-mile radius of the headquarters.

In 1960 Wesleyans sent Dr. and Mrs. Charles Paine to the leprosy hospital which housed 100 inpatients and ministered to 400 outpatients.

In 1962 five churches were organized in preparation for the inauguration of the Central India Conference. Later that year B. H. Phaup, general superintendent, organized the Central India Conference with five churches and five outstations. Shoba Lal was elected vice president, and Sonu Lal, secretary. The registration of the conference as a property-holding body was made possible by the translation of the *Discipline* into Hindi in 1964. Another significant step in the development of the Central India Conference came in 1965 when Shoba Lal became the first Indian president.

By the time of merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1968, Miss Juliette Breedlove and Miss Rebecca Bibbee were the only missionaries left in India.¹⁰

Following merger, the two districts in India were placed under the supervision of Mission Coordinator Rebecca Bibbee. This required dividing her time between Rajnandgaon and

Pardi. Help came when miraculously, in spite of government restrictions on visas for missionaries, Miss Leonette White was granted permission to go to India to work in the leprosy hospital. She arrived in India in the summer of 1969 and began a long and fruitful ministry to lepers, both physically and spiritually.¹¹

The girls' orphanage in Rajnandgaon was under the care of Miss Breedlove until 1971 when she returned to the States for furlough and retirement.¹² Miss Bibbee, who had been involved in that work through the years, continued to be mother to the few remaining girls who were not yet married. In 1974, the orphanage was closed after nearly 80 years of operation. Miss Bibbee summarized the ministry of the orphanage in the following words:

For the first time in nearly 80 years the fireplace was cold at the Mission Girls' Orphanage at Rajnandgaon . . . From tiny bits of unwanted humanity deposited here have come most of the mothers of our church, not to mention the multitude who have been married off to other places, each one to become a part of her husband's church.¹³

English-Speaking School. Later in 1974 the Central Conference launched an English-speaking kindergarten with Mr. B. Singh, a retired public school administrator and fine Christian, in charge.¹⁴ The rooms of the orphanage buildings once again rang with the sounds of children at school and play. The history of the Wesleyan English Medium School is replete with stories of courage, vision, and faith on the part of Miss Bibbee and Mr. B. Singh. It grew from a small beginning of less than 50 students the first year to more than 1700 from age 3 through high school in 1990.¹⁵ Beautiful new buildings have been added to the campus, housing administrative offices and classes. The school is self-supporting and staffed with qualified Indian teachers.

Mr. B. Singh, principal, was to have been awarded a Doctor of Laws degree honoring his tremendous contribution to the cause of Wesleyan missions by Central Wesleyan College at its commencement in 1986.¹⁶ However, Mr. Singh became ill and passed away before that day arrived. The degree was awarded posthumously during the dedication ceremony for the

new school by Wayne Wright, general secretary of World Missions, in November 1986. During that visit, a constitution governing and insuring the continued operation of the school was framed and passed by the district conference.¹⁷

New Life. In the Central India District new life came to the outstations through evangelistic efforts and the pastoral ministry of young men being trained at South India Biblical Seminary (World Gospel Mission) and through the Union Biblical Seminary extension program held at Rajnandgaon.¹⁸ A new church was started at Dallirajhara by a graduate of Union Biblical Seminary. Ground was broken for a building for that new congregation by Wayne Wright in 1986. Two other new congregations were formed since 1988.

Miraculously, once again the Indian government granted a visa, this time in 1987 to Dr. Patsy Detamore to serve at the leprosy hospital.¹⁹ Miss Leonette White continued to serve in the hospital and in Hope City until 1989, when she returned home for furlough.

Both Miss White and Miss Bibbee were influential in the initiation of Hope City, a settlement for beggars, many of whom were cured lepers from the leprosy hospital. Through the cooperation of the government administrator in Rajnandgaon, new one-room cement block houses with steel doors and windows were built. The community was equipped with a pond stocked with fish; mulberry trees were planted where silk worms could live, providing a silk industry; and a school was established where trades were taught.²⁰ A Wesleyan Church was organized in 1989.²¹

Statistics for the combined districts in 1989 revealed 18 churches, several preaching points, 877 total members, 12 elders and 16 district personnel.²² New signs of revival give hope for the future. India's goal is to have ten additional churches by the year 2000.

JAPAN

The Japan of the early 1900s was opening up to world influences. The end of the ancient shogunate rule came in 1868 followed by a move toward capitalistic enterprise and

nationalistic marshalling of political and military energy. By 1900 Japan was an emerging world power being influenced by western styles, economics and industrialization. She established a representative government, with a cabinet and prime minister. Although the new constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, Buddhism and Shintoism of ancient Japan still claimed the allegiance of most Japanese.²³

It was this Japan which burdened the hearts of Wesleyan Methodists under the leadership of Eber Teter, general missionary secretary. The Church was further challenged by Mr. G. Hiraide, a young Japanese theological student in America who had joined the Allegheny Conference.

The missionary board approved a plan to send missionaries, and appeals for workers were made in the *Wesleyan Methodist*. Maurice A. and Opal Gibbs responded to the appeal, left their pastorate in Titusville, Pennsylvania, and were sent to Japan in October 1919. They were met by Mr. G. Hiraide who had returned to Japan and was ready to assist them in adjusting to their new environment.²⁴

The first order of business was to find a place to live. Mrs. Gibbs wrote of that experience.

The owners . . . had made up their minds not to rent to "dirty foreigners" who wear shoes in houses, let grass grow in their yards; who don't go outside the living rooms to wash their dishes, and smoke up the whole house with a stove in the winter; and who even get the hot water in the "honorable bath" so dirty that no one else can step in after them! . . . but some way the Lord wanted us to have this house, and here we are! It is God's house . . .²⁵

They enthusiastically applied themselves to learning the language and in time, became fluent speakers of Japanese. Their first rented house in Yoyogi, a western suburb of Tokyo, became the meeting place for young men eager to learn English, several of whom accepted Jesus as Savior. In the fall of 1920 they rented a house in Ikebukuro, another suburb of Tokyo, where services were held for four years with attendance of up to 150.

In 1923 E. F. McCarty, then foreign field secretary, broke ground for the first American Wesleyan Methodist church in Japan at Ikebukuro. The church was completed in 1924. The second church was built for the congregation in Zoshigaya in

1927. The ministry of the Gibbsses resulted in as many as fifteen different groups, no more than ten of which were functioning at any one time. Their service spanned the years from 1919 through 1934 with an interruption of an extended furlough because of Mrs. Gibbs's serious illness. During their absence, the work was carried on by Japanese pastors under the guidance of Floyd Hitchcock of the Oriental Missionary Society.

Mr. Gibbs returned to Japan alone in 1929 and was joined by his wife and daughters in 1930. During that term a mission home was built in Tokyo, and the first annual conference was held in 1931. In 1932 five churches with Japanese pastors were reported.

For the second time the work was without a resident missionary after the Gibbs family returned home in 1934. Finally, E. Sterl and Marie Phinney were sent to Japan in 1937 to assume supervision of the work. They arrived at a very difficult period of rising imperialism when Japan was flexing her political and military muscle. Increasingly, churches were being subjected to extreme pressure to compromise their message with the ideologies of the politicians, war lords, and Japanese cultists, particularly Shintoists who demanded that everyone should bow at Shinto shrines regardless of their religion.

As the situation worsened, many mission boards recalled their missionaries, and Mr. Phinney asked his home board for instructions. In early 1940, after carefully assessing the situation, they cabled him to "Return!"

The Phinneys worked feverishly for the next month preparing for national church leaders to assume responsibility. They sold the summer property in Nojiri and the mission home in Tokyo. Most of the proceeds were turned over to the Japanese church along with the remaining mission properties, and the reins of leadership were put into the hands of Mr. Kobayashi, who led and organized the Japanese people who were to carry on the work. They left Japan on April 1, 1940, again leaving the work without missionary supervision.²⁶

Events worsened rapidly until December 7, 1941, when Pearl Harbor was attacked, and the expansion of World War II into the Pacific theater made contact with Japanese Christians impossible.

After the war Japanese Wesleyans who had remained true

pleaded for missionaries to return to their land. American Wesleyan Methodist men in the occupation army urged the Church to renew their commitment to the Japanese church. Emperor Hirohito declared that he was not a deity. General Douglas MacArthur called for thousands of missionaries to meet the challenge of Christianizing the nation during the small window of time afforded by the reconstruction period in Japan.

In answer to the challenge, Maurice Gibbs was sent to Japan to assess the situation of the church and plan for the future. In answer to his call for help, his son-in-law and daughter, A. Gordon and June Wolfe, joined him in July 1948. A year after the Wolfes and their youngest son arrived, the door to China closed for Wesleyan missionaries there. The home board asked the William N. Wagers and their son, Robert, to transfer to Japan. One year later in August 1950 the third couple, Roy S. Nicholson, Jr., and his wife, Pat, along with the Wolfes' two older sons joined the team in Japan. At that point Mr. Gibbs returned home, having fulfilled the responsibility given to him.

That three-year period was significant in the life of the Japanese Wesleyan mission. Property was purchased for a mission headquarters in Itabashi in Tokyo. Plans for advancement of the work were being laid, with evangelism and preparation of workers being the two most significant parts of the strategy. The first Japanese pastor was ordained in July 1950.

In response to an appeal for the organization of a Japan Conference, F. R. Birch, secretary of foreign missions, went to visit the work in December 1950. He reported a Bible college building, three mission homes and a large garage on the mission property. He did not recommend the formation of a conference, a significant decision which eventually led to cooperation with the Immanuel General Mission, an indigenous holiness church in Japan.²⁷

Extensive discussion concerning the future of the Bible college and training of workers led the three missionary couples and Mr. Birch to a visit with David Tsutada and the Immanuel General Mission. Earlier contact with Mr. Tsutada had been made when Maurice Gibbs became a lecturer in the first session of their training college in 1949. Later Gordon Wolfe became acquainted with Mr. Tsutada at the annual New Year's Holiness Convention of the Immanuel General Mission in 1950. It was

in that meeting that the first idea of federation was planted in Gordon Wolfe's mind.²⁸

After Mr. Birch returned to the States, the three missionary couples wrestled with various strategies for expanding the Wesleyan Methodist work. They concluded that a period of at least 20 years would be required to achieve their goals. As an alternative they approached David Tsutada with overtures of cooperation, and the idea of a federation emerged. The home board gave approval, and in April 1952 the Immanuel-Wesleyan Federation was formed. In 1954, World Gospel Mission joined the Federation.²⁹

Immanuel General Mission was born in a prayer meeting of six people on October 21, 1945. The human dynamo who led them was David T. Tsutada, British-educated lawyer-turned-preacher, just released from a Japanese prison where he had been placed in solitary confinement for preaching the second coming of Christ. He had been converted and sanctified while a student in England. Immediately upon his return to Japan in 1930, he began to preach. God blessed his efforts and many came to the Lord, especially in the church he pioneered in downtown Tokyo.

During his imprisonment God gave him the plan for an indigenous, Wesleyan-Arminian Japanese church, episcopal in church government and evangelistic and missionary in outreach.³⁰ At the time of the formation of the Federation, the newly formed church was growing rapidly through the mother-daughter church planting concept. Young people were being called into ministry, and the Bible college was flourishing at the Tokyo Central Church under the leadership of David Tsutada.

Immediately after the decision to join forces with Immanuel General Mission, the Wesleyan Methodist Church sent Harold and Edna Johnson to join the missionary staff in Japan. The Wagers left the field that same year, 1952, and three years later William and Opal Cessna arrived. New homes were built for the Nicholsons in Kobe and one for the Johnsons in Kyushu. The Wolfes returned home in 1956, leaving the Cessnas at the headquarters in Itabashi where they carried on printing work and taught at the Immanuel Bible Training College.

Contributions to IGM in the early years were made in the form of building projects, the establishment of Japan Wesley

Press, a revolving loan fund for building new churches, evangelism, music ministry, and teaching at the Immanuel Bible Training College. Meanwhile, Immanuel General Mission was growing rapidly and developing in stature in Japan and in the United States. David Tsutada was granted an honorary doctor of divinity degree in 1955 by Houghton College. He was chairman of various important evangelical committees in Japan and was highly respected as a man of God and leader of the church.

In 1965 IGM celebrated its twentieth anniversary. Its goal of establishing a church in every prefectural capital was reached. The church reported nearly 7,000 members, 100 congregations, missionaries in India with others to be sent, and a Bible training college preparing its pastors and workers.³¹

The missionary staff continued to change with the loaning of the Nicholsons to World Vision during the quadrennium of 1959-63. Cessnas returned to the states for furlough in 1959, going back to Japan in 1963. In 1967 Barry and Margaret Ross were reassigned to Japan instead of India because of repeated visa denials.

In 1968 the training school and headquarters for the IGM were relocated to a campus setting in Yokohama. At the time of merger the Johnsons and Rosses were the only missionaries of The Wesleyan Methodist Church remaining in Japan, working in cooperation with IGM in evangelism, teaching at the training school, and assisting in holiness literature printing and distribution.³²

Immanuel General Mission suffered a severe loss when David Tsutada went to be with the Lord on July 25, 1971. However, the church was strong with a large group of godly and dedicated leaders and pastors. The IGM board named John Fukuda, Mr. Tsutada's brother, to assume leadership, and the church moved on.³³ Mr. Tsutada's eldest son, John, became the president of the Bible college, serving also as pastor of the Central Church in Tokyo.

Reports in 1977 indicated 9,400 members, 201 ministers, and missionaries serving on 5 mission fields: India, Papua New Guinea, Jamaica, Kenya and Brazil. In 1978 they reported 19 new churches established during the previous quadrennium. Fukuda stepped down from leadership in 1978 due to ill health, and Joshua Asahina was elected to succeed him.³⁴

During a visit to Japan in 1979, Robert Lytle, general secretary of World Missions, was asked to explain the Wesleyan World Fellowship to the leaders of IGM. Subsequently, they decided to send a fraternal delegate to the Wesleyan World Fellowship general council in 1980.³⁵ This has been done for each succeeding general council since, further strengthening the bond of mutual respect and brotherhood between The Wesleyan Church and Immanuel General Mission.

The Rosses returned home in 1971 for an extended furlough, during which time Barry Ross obtained a Ph.D. degree in Old Testament, and Mrs. Ross added a master's degree in special education to an undergraduate degree in home economics. Both were on the faculty at United Wesleyan College, and Dr. Ross taught at Azusa Pacific College before returning to Japan in 1983.³⁶

The Johnsons remained in Japan until 1985 with only furlough years interrupting their ministry on the field. They continued The Wesleyan Church's involvement in the work of Immanuel General Mission, teaching in the Bible college and assisting in the translation and production of holiness literature. They were involved in music evangelism, holding revivals in the churches and conducting outreach campaigns. Mr. Johnson also served as the director of the language school for missionaries and head of the Japan Evangelical Missionary Association for much of the 1970s.³⁷

After the Rosses returned to Japan in 1983, the two missionary couples were confronted with the question of what to do with the mission property in Itabashi. The surrounding area was rapidly becoming commercial, with office complexes and skyscrapers swallowing up residential areas. Travel to Yokohama to teach at the Bible college was becoming more difficult and time-consuming. It was finally decided to sell the property when the opportunity would arise, and to relocate near the school.³⁸

The decision coincided with the expansion plans of the Bible college which was being led by Joshua Tsutada, second son of the founder, who had returned from missionary service in India. From the sale of the land, the Wesleyan Mission in Japan was able to contribute toward the purchase of additional property for the school on which the training college was able to

build much-needed buildings. A new mission home with guest rooms and small apartment was built near the school on land owned by IGM under a special agreement. When supervising general superintendent, Lee Haines, and wife visited Japan in October 1989, he was asked to participate in the dedication of the fine new buildings at the training college and also the new mission home.³⁹

In 1990 the Rosses were the only Wesleyan missionaries working with the Immanuel-Wesleyan Federation. Mr. Ross was a valued member of the faculty of Immanuel Bible Training College. He contributed to the translation and publication of holiness literature and also ministered to the larger evangelical community through lectures and seminars. Mrs. Ross was involved in reaching Japanese women through her home economics expertise, combining cooking classes and Bible studies.

Mrs. Opal Cessna returned to join the Rosses in Japan as an associate missionary in 1989. Her husband had passed away in 1984. She went to work with Japan Christian Academy, a school for missionary children.

Statistics for Immanuel General Mission for 1987 showed almost 12,000 members, about 250 total workers, 170 churches and preaching points, and missionaries in Jamaica, Philippines, Bolivia, Kenya, Taiwan and Papua New Guinea.⁴⁰ The leadership of this strong holiness Church included several department heads with special emphasis on outreach at home and missionary work abroad. Giving to missions abroad and the support of the Church at home reflected the strength of the Church's vision. Word of Life Press was busy producing holiness literature such as *Christian Perfection*, the works of David Tsutada, works by John Fletcher, Wesley's sermons, and several excerpted volumes of the *Wesleyan Bible Commentary*, all translated into Japanese.

The Immanuel-Wesleyan Federation was strong and functioning as envisioned 38 years before.

THE PHILIPPINES

Paul W. Thomas

The history of The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines is the history of the Pilgrim Holiness Church in the Philippines beginning in 1932, the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Philippines beginning in 1949, the merger of the two Churches in 1972, and the subsequent happenings.

History of the Philippine Pilgrim Holiness Church

The Pilgrim Holiness Church had a spontaneous and indigenous beginning as a result of soul-winning work in California in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Holiness people of several denominations began to witness and carry on evangelistic work among the Filipinos who were employed in the fruit orchards, hotels, restaurants and other places. The Filipino converts also became active in witnessing to other Filipinos. The Pilgrim Holiness Church at Alta Loma, California, with Mr. and Mrs. Garnet Palmer as pastors, became a center from which the work spread to the Philippines. A revival spirit prevailed in the Alta Loma church during those years, and souls were frequently praying through and finding God.⁴¹

Miguel Zembrano, a member of the Alta Loma church, was the first to return to his homeland. He was converted in a meeting in San Francisco, California, while still a sailor in the U.S. Navy, and had completed a Bible study course.⁴² After arriving at his home *barrio* in San Francisco, Balaoan, La Union, in the foothills of northwestern Luzon, he soon began to hold services under a house and a revival took place. Zembrano was a dynamic speaker and a zealous worker. Gaspar Barbo, a young convert, reported to the General Board that a Pilgrim Holiness Church was organized on June 26, 1932.⁴³ They soon reported over one hundred members.⁴⁴ The congregation at San Francisco thereby became the "mother church" from which the work spread to the nearby *barrios* of Mangaan, San Jose, and Apaleng.

The bright beginning was soon tarnished, for the worker himself lost out completely. However, the sparks that were

kindled in the hearts of several new converts would not be snuffed out! In response to their appeals, the Alta Loma church raised funds and sent forth C. T. Bolayog who arrived in January, 1934.⁴⁵

Bolayog was a Visayan from Siquijor, a small island near northern Mindanao, and he began preaching through an interpreter to the Ilocanos of San Francisco. Concerned about Bolayog's language handicap, Antonio D. Campos felt led of the Lord to join him, arriving in May 1934. The congregation at San Francisco immediately accepted Campos as their pastor. As a result of the combined ministry of Bolayog and Campos, the work was revived. Bolayog soon became fluent in the Ilocano dialect.

The Filipino brethren wrote letters to the Pilgrim Holiness Church headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana, reporting on the progress of the work and requesting missionaries. They could have worked independently but were eager to have their work counted as part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Their letters aroused the interest of Paul W. Thomas, secretary of foreign missions, who had known some of the Filipinos in California.⁴⁶ Under the direction of the General Board, Secretary Thomas made the month-long journey by ocean liner across the Pacific to Manila, then north by rail, horse-cart, and finally by hiking the last six kilometers into San Francisco. It was Christmas season in 1934. He ministered in San Francisco and the nearby barrios, attending also the Christmas programs presented by these new Pilgrims. He was impressed by their hunger for the gospel and the great potential of the harvest.⁴⁷

Secretary Thomas appointed Bolayog as the leader of the work and made him responsible to communicate with the office in Indianapolis. He urged him to emphasize soul winning and good stewardship with tithes and offerings. Bolayog did serve as the Filipino leader for the next twenty years and was a great support to the missionaries.

The General Board of the Pilgrim Holiness Church welcomed the new work and voted to send a missionary couple as soon as funds were available.⁴⁸

Ten Filipinos eventually returned to the Philippines, mostly at their own expense. They went to their home towns and witnessed with varying results. Besides the sincere desire to share

their faith, there was an economic factor that influenced some to return. The Great Depression of the early 1930s was on, and American men were competing with them for their jobs. The only permanent work established was the church at San Francisco and two small "one-family" churches at Caaringayan, Manaoag, Pangasinan, and Badoc, Ilocos Norte. Four of the returnees rendered a lifetime of faithful service as pastors, but effective leadership was yet to come from those who were trained in the Philippine Bible schools later on in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁹

In 1932 the Philippines had a population of 14 million. Roman Catholics predominated, Protestants were said to be about two percent, and there were minorities of pagans and Muslims. A public school system had been established by the United States, making it possible for many to obtain up to a sixth grade education. As evidenced by the testimonies of those who were converted in California, a personal born-again Christian experience was unknown, even to most Protestants.

The First American Missionaries. The first board-appointed missionaries were R. K. and Rachel Storey from Indiana who arrived with their two children in Manila on June 20, 1937.⁵⁰ Mr. Storey was an effective and fervent spiritual leader. He conducted revivals and prayer conventions and led the way in several church-planting ventures. After a series of meetings in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, the first Tagalog-speaking Pilgrim church was established. It was also the first church in a town or a city.

One of Storey's main concerns was to establish a Bible school for training workers. A five-acre plot was purchased near Cabanatuan, the provincial capital of Nueva Ecija and an important railroad and communications center in the rice-producing plains of central Luzon. A simple two-story frame building was erected with walls of *sawali* (bamboo matting) and a roof of *nipa* leaves. The Storey family lived in one room and ate with the students.⁵¹

The school opened in 1939 with eleven students.⁵² The second year with an enrollment of thirty students was just under way when it was interrupted by the Japanese invasion.⁵³

World War II and the Japanese Occupation. The Japanese invasion which began on December 8, 1941, abruptly ended all work by foreign missionaries. Brother Storey had been advised to leave by correspondence and by telegrams from the foreign missions secretary, but he postponed his departure until it was too late.⁵⁴ The Storey family fled to the nearby mountains, hoping to escape by walking the seventy-five miles to Manila along mountain trails. Instead, they were captured by Japanese soldiers. Just before capture, their twelve-year-old daughter, Lola Mae, already fluent in the Tagalog dialect and frequently serving as her father's interpreter, drank from a mountain stream, contracted a fever, died, and was buried on *Bondoc Pait* (Bitter Mountain) on February 1, 1942. The Storey family was incarcerated with other Americans in the infamous Sto. Tomas prison camp in Manila for the duration. Their fate was unknown. Their deliverance became a focus of prayer concern by the entire Church.⁵⁵

The students returned to their homes in La Union, Pangasinan, and Nueva Ecija by walking. They traveled at night and sought refuge and hospitality from strangers during the day. There were two or three students from Mindanao who were forced to stay in Luzon for the duration since all inter-island transportation was cut off. Japanese soldiers looted and dismantled the Bible school buildings.⁵⁶

By that time there were eight churches, twenty-six preaching points, and about four hundred members. All except the Tagalogs in Cabanatuan were Ilocanos.⁵⁷

The Japanese occupation was a time of privation, suffering and abuse for the Filipino people. All communication with the missionaries and the outside world was cut off. There was no more public transportation by inter-island vessel, train, bus or other mechanized vehicle. Due to lack of medicine, many died of malaria and other diseases, and many families lost babies or children.⁵⁸

Religious activities were controlled by the "Religious Section" of the Japanese Imperial Army. Church services continued but with restrictions. Denominations with less than five hundred members were required to join with a larger group. The Pilgrim leaders chose to unite with the Fundamental Baptist Church because of their evangelical doctrines. There was no

other holiness church in the Philippines.⁵⁹

Ministers were required to wear a badge. Pastors often had to show an outline of their messages to Japanese officials before preaching them. They were not to criticize the Japanese or exalt the Americans. Night services were forbidden. Any conferences had to be reached by walking or by riding bicycles, *calesas* (horse carts), or *carritons* (carabao or cow carts). Some Pilgrim pastors and members were forced to serve as baggage carriers for the Japanese, and others were pressed into service as guides.

The most severe circumstances came during the climactic days of the battle for liberation when American forces returned in 1944-45. Six Pilgrim churches were burned along with the barrios in which they were located. During those times the entire barrio had to evacuate, with people fleeing to the hills and the mountains for refuge. Some Pilgrims were casualties of the ground warfare as well as the bombings and strafings of U.S. planes. C. T. Bolayog was falsely suspected of being a guerilla captain and was beaten nearly to death by Japanese soldiers.⁶⁰

Pastors were faithful to their appointments during the Japanese occupation, supplementing their meager support by farming. Pastor Antonio Campos took the initiative in conducting revival campaigns, assisted by brethren from Caaringayan and Labayog, and established churches in Saytan, Rosario, La Union, and nearby Sagunto, Sison, Pangasinan. He first had to obtain permission from the Japanese officials in Rosario.⁶¹

Post-War Years - (1945-1950). As often said, the darkest hour is just before the dawn. General Douglas MacArthur exclaimed triumphantly as he strode ashore on the beach at Leyte, "I have returned!" Deliverance had come.

After the dramatic rescue of the American prisoners at Sto. Tomas on February 3, 1945, by the First Cavalry, the Storeys left immediately for the United States and had no opportunity to meet with any of the Filipino brethren. They did not return to the Philippines.⁶²

The Pilgrims in the United States were overjoyed to learn that the Philippine church had survived and even gained a little. The foreign missions department sent shipments of relief clothing to the church people and a substantial cash love offering for

each worker, all of which was greatly appreciated. Monthly workers' supports were resumed and were administered by C. T. Bolayog and P. C. Briones.⁶³

Philippine life in general gradually returned to a more normal situation, though the devastation of war was everywhere. Prices were inflated and food was scarce. Independence from the United States was proclaimed and celebrated on July 4, 1946. Public transportation resumed. A unique legacy of the war were thousands of U.S. Army jeeps that were converted into colorful "jeepneys," minibuses with a capacity for ten or twelve passengers. There was always room for one more passenger and one more sack of rice.

The U.S. Government provided financial aid for those who suffered loss during the battle of liberation through what was called "war damage claims." Several Pilgrim churches were rebuilt with money from this source.⁶⁴

William and Mary Dudley arrived in Manila on January 6, 1947. The situation was still hectic, and the Dudleys had to rent a house in Manila. After one year they returned to the United States for medical reasons.⁶⁵

Dudley was able to purchase a property in Valdefuente, Cabanatuan, for the relocation of the Bible school. The new site was just a few miles from the first one on the opposite side of Cabanatuan but was a much more advantageous location that was not available before the war. The first building was made from a Quonset hut provided by the U.S. Army surplus. Later on the Lola Mae Storey Memorial building was built there. School resumed in 1947 with a Filipino staff.⁶⁶ The former property in Bitangkol was used for cultivating rice, the harvest of which went to help feed the Bible school students.

The *Hukbong Magpapalayan Bayan* (People's Liberation Army) was a communist insurgency movement that plagued the Philippines until their defeat in 1954. Unfortunately the Cabanatuan school was located in the center of "Huk" territory in central Luzon. For several years gun battles between the "Huks" and the Philippine Army could be heard almost every night on the school campus, sometimes only a few hundred yards away.⁶⁷ Their *haciendos* (landowners) who owned most of the land were the chief target of the "Huks." They were afraid to stay in their *haciendas* (palatial homes) and resided in Manila.

Several million people descended on Manila to seek employment, often building houses out of scraps. There was a thirst for higher education and within a few years several hundred thousand university students were in the city.

Expansion to Mindanao. The migration of land seekers to Mindanao from many other islands resumed after the war when inter-island transportation became available. Some Pilgrims, including several pastors, were among the migrants, resulting in the extension of the Pilgrim Holiness Church to Mindanao.

Mindanao is a large island, about equal in area to the State of Indiana. It is rich in lumber, fertile virgin soil, and natural resources. The government opened up vast stretches of land and made them available to homesteaders. The people who migrated to Mindanao were those willing to venture out and endure the hardships of pioneering in order to have a better life. Some tenants under oppressive landlords took the opportunity to have land of their own. Instead of the alternating rainy and dry seasons as customary in Luzon, the annual rainfall in Mindanao was spread out over the year, making it possible to grow three corn crops per year instead of one. Mindanao was populated with five main tribes of Moslems, numerous animistic pagan tribes in the mountain areas, and a few "Christians" in the coastal areas.

It was a fascinating sight to see families debarking from crowded inter-island vessels in the port cities, usually with a *carabao* (water buffalo), a *carriton* (cart), a plow, sometimes with a sewing machine, and a few boxes containing their possessions, then loading the boxes into the cart and making their way to the place of their choice. Usually they went to a place where some townmates or relatives had gone before them. There were few roads in the 1940s and early 1950s and they were not graveled or paved. A good rain left buses, jeeps, carts and everybody stuck in the mud until it dried out. Along the coast, transportation was by small passenger-carrying boats. Stevedores carried passengers to and from shore on their backs.

New towns and barrios were springing into existence everywhere. For several years in many places giant trees of beautiful hardwood, three and four feet in diameter, had to be cut down with a two-man handsaw and then burned in order to clear the

land for the cultivation of rice and corn.

Mindanao became a great melting pot as Ilocanos, Tagalogs, Ilongos, Cebuanos and many others mixed together. Many doors opened for the gospel. In several new towns the Pilgrims were able to secure a lot for a church in the center of town without cost.

Hard times came due to rat infestations, locust plagues, troublemaking Moslems and other vexing problems. At one Pilgrim conference, rice was scarce due to the locust plagues, so the main diet was fried locusts ("John-the-Baptist food") caught with mosquito nets! At those times people said it was the "land of broken promises" instead of "the promised land."

Ludivico (Ludy) Ganibe was the first Pilgrim to reach Mindanao, arriving in Kiamba, Cotabato, on the southwestern coast in 1933, just a few months after the work began in San Francisco, Balaoañ, LaUnion. Ludy had gone to the United States to further his education. He was saved in a downtown mission hall in Los Angeles and afterward became associated with the Alta Loma Pilgrim Holiness Church. In a missionary service he felt called of God to return to his home in Tamurong, Candon, Ilocos Sur, in northern Luzon, arriving in May 1933. His family were Protestants, but he was burdened for their salvation. They were going to church, but there was no change in their lives. They were smoking tobacco, drinking *basi*, swearing and having religion but they had no salvation.

God honored Ludivico's witness. Several of his family and relatives were saved. Two of his brothers became pastors. At the time of Ludy's return, the family was preparing to move from Tamurong in Northern Luzon to Kiamba, Cotabato, in Southern Mindanao, becoming some of the first immigrants to Mindanao. Ludy went with them. In Cotabato, he continued to witness and hold home services. He moved across the island to Lupon, Davao, in 1935. It was not until after the war in the late 1940s that Pilgrim churches were established in Kiamba and Lupon. Ludy has been a faithful lay leader of the Church down through the years.

Establishing a Good Foundation (1950-1962). The important accomplishment during the next ten or twelve years was the establishing of the work on a good spiritual foundation, or

perhaps it should be said re-establishing after a decade of turmoil and difficulty.

Missionary leadership resumed in January, 1950, with the arrival of Paul William and Frances Thomas in Cabanatuan. After their arrival in November 1951, Wayne and Virginia Wright were stationed in Cabanatuan and became responsible for the Luzon school and district. Miss Flora Belle Slater, a veteran of missionary service in Mexico, Peru, and Puerto Rico, also arrived in November 1951 and became principal of the Mindanao Bible school, located first in Kiamba, Cotabato, and then in Davao City. The Thomases moved to Davao City, Mindanao, in May 1952 to give full time to the leadership of the new Mindanao District and to assist Miss Slater in the school. Mr. Thomas was also field superintendent and responsible for the overall direction of the Pilgrim work in the Philippines.

Joining with these missionaries later on were Meredith and Elsie House and family (1954), Paul W. and Darlene Meeks (1958), and Robert E. and Julia Smith (1960).

Remarkable unity prevailed among the missionaries, who shared a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of the Filipino people.

When Thomas arrived in Cabanatuan in January 1950, he was given a list of forty persons classified as workers. About a thousand members were reported to the annual conference.⁶⁸ However, it was eventually discerned that this was more form than substance. There was no spiritual life in the work. The workers for the most part were unqualified due to the lack of opportunity for training during the war and postwar periods. Very few members had experienced the grace of regeneration but just had a form of religion. A good beginning had been made before the war but now there was a desperate need of revival and renewal. It took years of "blood, sweat and tears" to see it turned around.

The years of Japanese occupation and the liberation time had taken a fearful moral toll. Many compromises were made in those desperate times. As an example, confessions by those who found spiritual victory revealed that many had inflated or falsified their war damage claims and had restitutions to make. There was a great moral letdown in the country, and the church did not escape.

It is difficult to summarize in a few words all that happened. It took time for the new missionaries to identify with the people, learn something about the language and the culture, know the individual workers and students, and come to grips with the spiritual issues. Basic truth had to be declared about sin, righteousness, salvation, holiness, and Christian living in conferences, ministerial meetings, seminars, Bible studies, and often on a one-to-one basis. The most important factor was the step-by-step leadership of the Holy Spirit. There were crisis times of deep conviction of sin and unrighteousness, resulting in glorious victory for those who responded to the truth.

As the truth was declared and the Spirit worked, there was a great sifting out. Most of those listed as workers returned to a lay status. Three of the older workers were placed on probation. As the workers repented and found victory, the church members began to experience revival and renewal.

When an effort was made in 1954 to count only those members who evidenced a born-again experience, the membership count dropped from a thousand to about three hundred, and most of these were the fruit of revival. As the standards for Christian life were taught and applied, it became meaningful to be a member of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Gradually a distinct change came in the churches. Spiritual life was manifested. There was a better foundation and an inner spiritual dynamic began to express itself in church growth.

Bonifacio Urbano, a graduate of the Cabanatuan Bible school and assistant superintendent of the Luzon District, said in his report to the 1962 conference:

We have come to the realization of what it means to have a real holiness work in the Philippines. It is only for the past two years that we have realized what it means to have a real holiness work.⁶⁹

The Bible Schools. The Bible schools for the training of ministers and deaconesses were and are the heart of the work. The character of the work is largely determined by the character of the workers, and this is formed in a great measure in the Bible schools.

There were two main schools, now known as Wesleyan

Bible Colleges. The Cabanatuan school was transferred to Rosales, Pangasinan, in 1962 and serves as a center for the Luzon districts. A large tabernacle and a beautiful campus were developed there under the leadership of Wayne W. Wright.

The Mindanao Bible school began when Paul William Thomas first visited Mindanao in March 1950 and organized the district. He felt that because of the great potential in Mindanao, the language problems and the distance from Luzon, there should be a school for Mindanao and urged the sending of a missionary for that purpose. R. G. Flexon, foreign missions secretary, advised him that there were no funds available for such a school, and this news was shared with the Mindanao brethren. Thomas returned to Mindanao in November 1950 for a workers' conference in Sinawingan, Cotabato. There was a climactic service on Sunday morning when the temporary chapel was filled with people. A great outpouring of the Holy Spirit took place at the close of the message, resulting in several hours of fervent prayer with nearly everyone on their knees. Many were saved and a church was established. Several young people were called into the ministry. A spontaneous pledge offering erupted for a Bible school when Ludivico Ganibe jumped up with a shout, exclaiming, "We can have a Bible school!" and promised to give five hundred pesos. People pledged their *copra* (coconuts), sacks of rice from the next harvest, pigs, cash and other possessions. When the Bible school was built in Davao City in 1952, these offerings paid for the first building. The two mission homes were paid from mission funds, but the school buildings were built with local finance and voluntary labor.

The Mindanao school began at Davao City in 1952 with about twenty students under the leadership of Miss Flora Belle Slater, assisted by the Thomases. Miss Slater was unusually gifted in discerning character and in helping each student to be spiritually established in saving and sanctifying grace. If there was any deceit, pride or superficiality in them, she "pounded" it out by one means or another. The students loved her and referred to her as "Mother Slater."

The Davao City school was transferred to Kabakan, Cotabato, in 1959. A large tabernacle was built with hand-sawed lumber from large trees that were brought from the forest. Volunteers came from the churches, brought their own food

supply and worked together. Sometimes there were seventy-five or eighty men present at one time. The evening hours were used for Bible studies. The hand-sawed lumber was crafted so skillfully that it appeared to be purchased from a sawmill.

Another phenomenon took place in Mindanao in regard to the support of students. Each student was required to bring a certain amount of rice or corn and cash which paid for the operating expense of the school and the salary of Filipino staff members. Young people would testify, "God has called me to go to the Bible school." Sometimes others would then testify, "God is not calling me to the Bible school, but He is calling me to support him while he goes!"

The Bible colleges were united in their purpose, course of study and practices. The ministerial course consisted of a four-year curriculum. One additional year before the final year was spent in full-time service as a pastor or Christian worker, making a total of five years. Not only were the doctrines and denominational distinctives taught, but the emphasis was on Christian experience and character. In most cases, their culture had not prepared them for the life of rigorous scheduling and discipline which they experienced in the Bible school. Many learned how to trust God for their financial needs. Practical experience was gained at the schools when the students filled pulpits in nearby churches. No one was to graduate who did not feel called of God into the ministry and ready to go anywhere for full-time service.

The graduates began to go out into the work in the late 1950s. They became the pastors, evangelists, district superintendents, faculty members and general officials of a fast-growing Church.

The beginning enrollments were small, but as the graduates entered the work the number of students increased. There has been an average of 140 to 160 students in both colleges during the 1970s and 1980s, with about twenty-five to thirty graduates each year.

In 1973 Filipino college presidents were appointed by the national board of administration. It was the last official position to be relinquished by the missionaries and turned over to the Filipinos. The first presidents were Alphonso Pablo for Kabakan, Josue Ganibe for Rosales, and Gideon Luquingan for

Sinipsip in Mountain Province.⁷⁰

In 1976 a program was launched for the further education of the faculty members.⁷¹ Since that time, several have earned doctor's degrees and nearly all faculty members have earned one or more master's degrees in biblical, theological and ministerial studies. In many ways the colleges have been upgraded and made more indigenous.

The Ministry. Another important part of the history is related to the lifting up of scriptural standards for the ministry. This was interwoven with the matter of indigenous financial support and the Bible college training.

These important principles were upheld: (1) the only scriptural basis for being in the ministry besides the experience of salvation is a call from God; (2) if there is a call from God, He will supply your needs; (3) those who are called should be separated to full-time gospel work.

The key again was in the Bible college training. Many times the conviction of a divine call to the ministry and the Lord's will was not clarified until time had been spent in the Bible school. The answering of the divine call and the commitment to full-time gospel ministry usually precipitated a spiritual crisis in the individual's life.

It was also in the Bible college that many learned to trust God to supply their material needs. There was often severe testing along this line. Missionary Bob Smith reported the following experience:

Recently the rice barrel at the Rosales Bible College became empty. The faculty needed money for their support . . . The students were fasting and praying, earnestly seeking God's help. One young man "prayed clear through"—he touched heaven! As they waited in expectance after the time of prayer, a shout went up from across the campus. The father of the young man who had received the assurance from the Lord was arriving. The father said, "As I was working around home, God told me to sell one of my large pigs and bring the money here for you students." Shouts of rejoicing echoed across the campus.⁷²

Another account follows from Robert Smith's report:

One outstanding example of these principles is Rufino Kimao, one of the first Igorot converts, from a far place in the mountains.

On the mountainside near his home he settled it in prayer that God called him to preach. Orphaned, ignorant of the outside world and its ways, yet sure that God was speaking, he left his home and came to the Bible school. Lessons were not easy, the weather was hot, he felt ashamed of his mountain speech and manner, he seldom had money in his pocket, but yet he plugged away at the task of going through Bible school. When he had no soap, he would pray and God would supply. Sometimes it was for shoes or a shirt that he prayed. Finally, his big debt in the Bible school prohibited his return for one year, but he did not turn back. God sent a burden to a Filipino layman to become a father to this young man and pay his debt. At last the day of graduation came and he went out to preach the gospel to his own people.

God has used Rufino to establish churches and save souls. His prayer that God would provide him a wife was also answered. Step by step God has led and blessed his life, making him fruitful and effective in the building of His kingdom.

It was a requirement for graduation from the Bible college that the worker was willing to go anywhere he may be needed. The Lord has raised up a band of gospel ministers and deaconesses who are divinely called, separated to the full-time gospel ministry (no "side work") and supported by the Filipino church.

Along with this standard for the ministry, the standard for membership has been upheld. It means something to be received as a member of The Wesleyan Church. The Church covenant and what are now called the "membership commitments" have been invaluable as a guide for a Christian life-style.

Indigenous Financial Support. The missionaries developed the conviction that God's plan for the Church was that it should be supported by tithes and offerings and should not depend on foreign support. The key to indigenous financial support is the biblical principle that all believers should become faithful in stewardship, giving their tithes and offerings. The ministry must also be God-called, well qualified, worthy of trust and willing to live on the same standard as their people.

When R. G. Flexon went to the Philippines in January 1950, he initiated a plan for administering workers' support that was very beneficial for the Philippine Church. All tithes were to

be forwarded to the district, and the workers' supports disbursed from there. Salaries were set by the missionary superintendents at first and later by the district councils (now called boards of administration). Some larger churches had an overabundance of tithes, while others were lacking, and by this means all were taken care of in an equitable manner. As the work has grown, and more urban churches have been established, this plan has been modified.

Mindanao led the way and became the first "self-supporting" district in the Pilgrim Holiness Church foreign missionary work. There was tension over this issue, however, for a time. Money had been promised for several church buildings. It was then decided not to ask for U.S. money to build churches and support pastors. This precipitated resentment and bitterness on the part of some. A crisis developed over this issue. God led in these situations and in the presentation of truth. The issue was settled in an unexpected manner. There was a wonderful outpouring of the Holy Spirit at a workers' conference. After that anyone who wanted to ask for U.S. money was counted as a backslider or a carnally minded person!

The Mindanao church became a giving church like the Macedonians in the New Testament. Since the responsibility was placed on the Filipinos to support the work, several indigenous plans sprang up, one of which was the *renakem* (God's faithful hand) rice offering. When the meal was prepared, a handful of rice was set aside for the pastor's support. On Sunday morning, some member of the family brought the *renakem* offering forward at a given time and laid it on the altar. This was in addition to the tithe.

The older work in Luzon had since the war come to depend on the United States for the support of workers and students. The battle there was a fierce one, extending over several years. Indigenous financial support was presented as God's scriptural plan for the church. The climax came at the annual conference in Rosales in May 1962. After a stirring and final challenge by the missionary, the conference voted to renounce all U.S. support. A wave of blessing and victory swept over the Luzon conference. The secretary recorded this statement in the minutes.

It was moved and seconded that we send a cable to Rev. Ermal Wilson, secretary of foreign missions, stating that the Luzon

District is now self-supporting, and because of this the amount we have been receiving before be cut off and be used for other projects of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. This motion carried which was followed with a prayer of thanksgiving to God. God was in our midst. The conference sang the song, "How Great Thou Art."⁷³

The plan was vindicated. Even though more graduates went into the work that year, there was adequate support for all. The workers had better support from the churches than previously from the United States.⁷⁴

Had the Philippine Church depended on U.S. financial support for students and workers it would never have grown as it has. The number of students would have been severely limited. Following the biblical patterns uncapped a great number of unanticipated resources for the work of God. It has also been verified that where your treasures are, there your heart will be also. It is giving and not receiving that builds church loyalty.

Organizational Development and Indigenous Leadership.

The Manual of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and after 1968 *The Discipline of The Wesleyan Church*, with adaptations for the Philippines, has been emphasized as the book of government in the training of workers and the administrations of the churches. The doctrines and practices recorded in those books constitute a rich spiritual heritage that was shared with our Filipino brethren. This emphasis proved to be a source of strength and stability to the young Church. The strategic factor was the preparation of church leaders in the Bible colleges already referred to. The Filipinos have advanced rapidly in assuming leadership roles.

Beginning in 1952, missionary appointments and other plans were coordinated through the Philippine Missionary Council. The Philippine National Council, now called the General Board of Administration, composed of both missionaries and Filipinos, began in 1963 and gradually superseded the missionary council, including the appointment of missionaries.

A dramatic moment came on March 28, 1969, when Saturnino P. Garcia was elected national superintendent by the Philippine National Council. Wayne W. Wright, missionary field superintendent, turned over the chairmanship and the responsibility for administering the entire work to the newly

elected superintendent.⁷⁵

Saturnino P. Garcia has been a dynamic and effective administrative and spiritual leader. He was born on October 15, 1932, in Pozorrubio, Pangasinan, (Central Luzon), the son of a Filipino farmer and one of ten children. The family moved to Mindanao, locating at Katidtuan, Kabakan, Cotabato, where Saturnino came into contact with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. He was converted in a service in Davao City in 1953 at twenty years of age, called to the ministry two years later, and sanctified in 1958. He was one of the first graduates of the Davao City Bible School in 1958 and was married to Magdalena Campos of Kiamba, Cotabato, a cograduate, on the day of graduation. In 1963 he was ordained to the ministry by the Mindanao District. Magdalena has served with him very wholeheartedly and has filled many responsible positions. After graduation Saturnino served as pastor for two years, assistant district superintendent for three years, and district superintendent for seven years. Upon the recognition of the Philippine Wesleyan Church as a provisional general conference in 1975, he was elected the general superintendent serving until early 1989 when he chose to step aside. The Philippine General Conference held that year elected Dr. Alfonso Pablo as general superintendent.⁷⁶

Garcia has represented the Philippines as a delegate to the North American General Conference and the Wesleyan World Fellowship in four conferences (1972-1984). He has served the Wesleyan World Fellowship as the chairman, secretary and member-at-large. In 1981 Marion College (now Indiana Wesleyan University) honored him by conferring a doctor of divinity degree. He served as chairman of the Holiness Churches Fellowship of the Philippines and as president of the Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches.⁷⁷ He has also carried on a great deal of editorial work and radio ministry. He has ministered by invitation in the Caribbean Wesleyan churches, Indonesia and the Japan Immanuel Church. Upon completion of his work as general superintendent he took up duties as director of 2000 by 2000, traveling to all Wesleyan mission fields to assist in reaching the goal of 2000 Wesleyan churches in world mission countries by the year 2000.

Garcia's personal report to the 1971 session of the

Philippine National Council indicates how busy he was:

In my capacity as national superintendent, I have visited all (seven) districts, conducted the annual conferences, attended the ministerial conventions, presided over a number of district council meetings, edited the *Wesleyan Newsletter*, attended to the office, and edited the monthly issues of the *Timek Ti Kinasanto* (Voice of Holiness). As a radio pastor, I preach every week on four stations. The rest of my time was spent in helping the pastoral work of the Manila church. All of these were done, by the grace of God with great joy and delight.⁷⁸

A national headquarters was established in 1971 in Valenzuela, Metro-Manila. This was another great victory in raising the needed finance. The first building was a memorial to the first Pilgrim missionaries, the R. K. Storey family.

Evangelizing the Igorots. Five major tribes of *Igorots* (mountain men) live in the rugged mountains of northern Luzon, the "Skyland of the Philippines." Their rice terraces on the precipitous mountain slopes are a spectacular tourist attraction of grandeur and beauty. The vast extent of the terraces testifies to centuries of back-breaking labor. The estimated population is about four hundred thousand.

The Wesleyan Church is working among two of these tribes, the Benguet and the Kalingas.

The Igorots are distinctly different from the other Filipinos, physically and culturally. They have their own dialects and customs which vary from tribe to tribe. They are shorter of stature, the men averaging five feet or slightly less. In spite of the cooler mountain temperatures, the men are usually clad only in a "G-String," which hangs down from the waist like a necktie. Traditionally they have been fierce and warlike. Though "head-hunting" is now forbidden by law, it is still carried on occasionally in the interior places.

For many Igorots life is a struggle for existence. They subsist chiefly on boiled *camotes* (sweet potatoes), while the rice is made into wine for the *canaos* (feasts). The children are usually undernourished and succumb to a variety of sicknesses. Tuberculosis is rampant, and other tropical diseases are common.

Morally and spiritually they are in total darkness. Sin has

no meaning for no moral law exists among them as we know it. They continually battle with the demons which exist all around them, believed to be responsible for all their sickness, accidents and troubles. Their worship consists of ancestor reverence and the offering of animal sacrifices for the appeasement of the demons or evil spirits. They pray to their gods, to their ancestors, and to the devil and his demons. Demon possession among these people is common. The entire system is built upon fear and is fastened upon them with Satanic power.

Sometimes the Benguet Igorots from the interior mountains came down to the barrios and marketplaces along the foothills in LaUnion Province where the Pilgrim churches in San Francisco, Sugpon and Mangaan were located. R. G. Flexon encountered two Igorot men during his visit in January 1950 and after talking to them through an interpreter became burdened to reach the Igorot people with the gospel. After returning to the United States he raised money for this purpose and this became a catalyst for the beginning of the work.

Exploratory trips were made in Mountain Province. There were Roman Catholic and Protestant missions in two main centers. However, it was observed that the Igorots in those places were still in paganism with a veneer of Christianity. It was decided to go into the mountains east of San Francisco where the "mother church" was located. The Igorots there had never been reached with the gospel or any kind of mission work. Finances were very inadequate for going to a main center.

In January 1952 a caravan led by Paul William Thomas and newly arrived missionary Wayne Wright hiked across three mountain ranges to the town of Bakun in Mountain Province where the Benguet people live. A Pilgrim brother from Sugpon who had been a guerilla captain during the war and who knew the mountains and the Igorot people served as guide and liaison. Rice and other provisions were backpacked. The way was leech-infested and the mountains were rugged.

Bakun was in a valley surrounded by towering cliffs and steep mountain slopes. The rice terraces were a fascinating sight. The thatch-covered houses were scattered, usually in clumps of two or three. The people kept their distance from the visitors.

When the group departed the Policarpo Labaddans who felt

called of the Lord were left behind to start the work. Bakun was a lonely, rugged and isolated station for the workers. There were no converts for several years.

The first breakthrough came after the worker, Bonifacio Urbano, had spent all night in intercessory prayer. It has been proven now over and over again that when Igorots are born again by the Holy Spirit they are delivered from their paganism and become wonderful Christians. They have the characteristic of steadfastness and a willingness to sacrifice for the furtherance of the gospel.

The gospel has radically altered the life-style of the believers. They no longer indulge in the *canaos* (feasts) with their drunken orgies and pagan worship. The men are properly clothed. Converts often face severe opposition for breaking with the traditions. A teen-age girl who came to the Rosales Bible school nearly died as a result of her father jumping up and down on her stomach with hob-nailed boots on, manifesting his anger to her change of life. Not only the life of the believers, but the life of the entire community now has been changed.

Though it was slow in the beginning, there are now ten organized churches, five unorganized churches, 502 members, eight ordained ministers, four licensed ministers, and one ordained deaconess among the Benguet Igorots.⁷⁹

The work among the Kalingas in northeastern Luzon was pioneered by E. B. Albano, one of the returnees from California who purchased a farm in the town of Tabuk, Isabela.

Reaching Out to Southeast Asia. Daniel and Adelina Pantangan and family were commissioned by the Philippine National Council as the first foreign missionaries. They were sent to Indonesia, arriving in Jakarta on August 4, 1971. Missionary offerings were raised in the churches to finance this venture. The opening of this work is described in the section on Indonesia.⁸⁰

History of the Philippine Wesleyan Methodist Church

The beginning of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Philippines was similar to that of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. It began in 1949 when Romeo Baronia, a Filipino convert,

returned from the United States to his homeland in the Philippines as a missionary-minister of the Dakota Conference.⁸¹

Romeo Baronia came to Sidney, Montana, in 1928 to assist in the beet harvest with other migrant workers. He was converted in a cottage prayer meeting in Chicago where he was employed as a dishwasher for a restaurant. In 1935 he united with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Pollock, South Dakota, at the invitation of the pastor, J. F. Simpson, and was granted a local preacher's license by the church. After his graduation from God's Bible School in Cincinnati he returned to the Dakota Conference for ordination. In 1949 members of the Dakota Conference raised funds to send him to the Philippines.⁸²

As the result of Baronia's ministry, an existing Protestant congregation of about seventy persons in Urdaneta, Pangasinan, a town in Central Luzon, became the first Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Philippines. Several more congregations were organized in Pangasinan Province. Baronia also persuaded several Protestant ministers to unite with him as Wesleyan Methodists.⁸³

In 1958 the work began in Isabela Province in northeastern Luzon as the result of the witness of a layman who moved into that area. Isabela proved to be an open and ripened harvest field for the gospel, and the work spread through evangelistic and revival campaigns.

There were two churches in Mindanao as the result of the migration of members: one in Lanao Province and another in Cotabato.

By April 1972 when the Wesleyan Methodist and Pilgrim Holiness Churches in the Philippines were merged, the work was organized into two districts: the Central Luzon District with 15 churches and seven preaching points in Pangasinan and La Union Provinces, one licensed and ten ordained ministers, 16 commissioned and licensed deaconesses, and 473 members; the Cagayan Valley District in Northeastern Luzon with 20 churches and 14 preaching points in Isabela and Quezon Provinces, eight ordained and three licensed ministers, ten commissioned and licensed deaconesses and 623 members. The membership statistics were "guesstimates" since no membership

records were kept.⁸⁴

There was a Bible school in the barrio of Caramutan, Villasis, Pangasinan, with seven school buildings and two mission homes on a two-acre campus. Villasis was just a few miles from Rosales where the Pilgrim school was located. The average student enrollment was twenty-five to thirty, nearly all of whom were Ilocanos.

From 1957 to 1972, J. F. Simpson served as conference president of the Philippine Wesleyan Methodist Church.⁸⁵ He presided over the annual conference sessions but did not take up residence in the Philippines.

Several American missionaries were sent to assist in the work. Special mention should be made of L. D. Harris, a retired elder of the Dakota Conference, who went to the Philippines in 1958 and was responsible for the construction of several Bible school buildings, mission homes and about twenty-five church buildings.

Luis Ordonez succeeded Romeo Baronia in 1961 as the superintendent and main Filipino leader. Baronia moved to Isabela and gave full time to the churches there.

Philippine Missions, Inc., was organized under the laws of South Dakota by J. F. Simpson as a means of furthering the Philippine work. Several hundred thousand dollars were forwarded to the Philippines through this corporation for the purchase of properties, construction of mission homes, Bible school and church buildings, and the support of workers, students and missionaries.⁸⁶ After his retirement from general church service in 1963, Rufus D. Reisdorph joined his brother-in-law, J. F. Simpson, in the Philippine project. Mr. Reisdorph and his wife gave several years of leadership to the Philippine work, returning a number of times.

The Philippine Merger

The merger of the Pilgrim Holiness and Wesleyan Methodist Churches of the Philippines took place on the campus of the Wesleyan Bible College in Rosales, Pangasinan, on April 26, 1972. The service of merger was preceded by three years of negotiation and preparation. It was not included in the denominational merger that was consummated on June 26,

1968, in Anderson Indiana, because the Wesleyan Methodist Church of the Philippines was not under the world missions department but rather under the Dakota Conference and the Philippine Missions, Inc.

Merger was not easy because of the great difference in mission philosophy and policies. The work of the Pilgrim Holiness Church was largely indigenous while the Wesleyan Methodist Church was mission oriented and heavily subsidized. That proved to be an almost insurmountable difference.⁸⁷

Ermal Wilson, general secretary of world missions, opened negotiations in 1969 as authorized by the General Board of Administration.⁸⁸ However, Melvin H. Snyder, western area general superintendent, became the main leader, working with the principals on both sides of the ocean for 18 months.

The board of general superintendents prepared a "Merger Statement" on November 10, 1970, setting forth guidelines for the merger of the two churches in the Philippines.⁸⁹ The Merger Statement was the result of Snyder's negotiations with both denominations and was considered by all related persons as fair and equitable and was fully implemented. The two denominations were to be treated as equals, even though the Pilgrim Holiness Church work was more than three times larger. A joint merger committee was established in the Philippines, consisting of five members from each denomination.⁹⁰ The Merger Statement was carefully considered by the Philippine joint merger committee and approved without any dissent.

The Merger Statement, the Basis for Merger and other recommendations of the joint comity committee, and a Resolution of Merger were approved by the official bodies of both denominations, in each instance under the chairmanship of General Superintendent Snyder.⁹¹

An agreement between the Wesleyan general superintendents and the leaders of the Philippine Missions, Inc., and the Dakota District Superintendent was signed on September 27, 1971, at a special meeting in Denver, Colorado. The administration of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of the Philippines was placed under the General Department of World Missions. The Philippine Missions, Inc., was not to function any more as a fund-raising body. All funds were to be channeled through the world missions department.⁹²

J. F. Simpson, founder-director of Philippine Missions, Inc. cooperated fully with all the merger arrangements and urged the Filipino brethren under his care to cooperate and enter into it wholeheartedly.⁹³

Seventy-two official delegates and other visitors gathered on the campus of the Wesleyan Bible College at Rosales, Pangasinan, for the merging conference. General Superintendent Snyder presided, assisted by the two Filipino superintendents, Saturnino Garcia and Luis Ordonez.

It was a thrilling moment when the two Filipino superintendents read the Declaration of Union:

We now jointly declare that the plan for uniting the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church of the Philippines, has by its terms and by the terms of the enabling legislation become effective and henceforth the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church of the Philippines shall go forward as a single entity to be known as The Wesleyan Church.⁹⁴

Luis Ordonez, superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and co-chairman of the joint comity committee, rejoiced over the fact they had been treated as equals in his report to the conference:

We may be but a third in strength and number of your constituency . . . but you did not just swallow us in . . . Together we have equally shared in the undertaking of the establishing of the right kind of a holiness church that we would like to have in the Philippines in times like this.⁹⁵

Saturnino Garcia was elected general superintendent, and Luis Ordonez was chosen assistant general superintendent. Garcia and Ordonez were also chosen as delegates to the 1972 General Conference at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. A *Discipline* prepared by the joint comity committee was adopted. Financial plans were adopted that provided for workers' support to continue from the United States until such a time that all churches could achieve an indigenous financial status. A board of trustees consisting of an equal number of members from both churches was elected for the holding of property. The official name was The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines. The national headquarters was to be in Valenzuela, Metro-Manila.

The merged church was organized into four districts: Central Luzon, Northeastern Luzon, Southern Mindanao, and Central Mindanao. There were 3,577 members, 85 organized churches, 39 provisional churches, 64 preaching points, 56 ordained and 70 licensed ministers, and an average Sunday school attendance of about ten thousand.⁹⁶

Schism After Merger. Although the merger brought many positive results, the unity and cooperation of many Wesleyan Methodist workers was only temporary. Most of them did not care for the changes that were to come in regard to financial support. Luis Ordóñez did not go to the headquarters in Valenzuela, Metro-Manila, or assume any duties in the merged Church. About fourteen workers followed Luis as he joined another denomination that would provide financial support from America. They did not want the responsibility of teaching their people to give their tithes and offerings to support the work on an indigenous basis.⁹⁷

Rufus D. Reisdorph returned to the Philippines in November 1972 and again took up residence in a mission home on the Villasis campus. Reisdorph had been a member of the joint merger committee and fully participated in all the preparations for merger and the merging conference. Upon his return, he began legal proceedings to nullify the merger, reclaim titles to the former Wesleyan Methodist properties, and block the registration of the merged body with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Luis Ordóñez worked with Mr. Reisdorph to nullify the merger. The dissidents tried to claim the former Wesleyan Methodist properties and filed court proceedings to prevent a change of registration to the merged body.

In October and November 1973 some outstanding revivals were experienced in the Isabela area of northeastern Luzon with overflow attendance and hundreds of people seeking the Lord. Superintendent Garcia said, "The entire area is with the merged Church in spite of the persistent attempt of the split group (dissidents) to get both the people and the property." Nevertheless there was a difficult time and seven churches in that area were lost to the merged body.⁹⁸

An amicable cash settlement was reached with the denomination which had received the former Wesleyan Methodist

workers in exchange for seven properties in the Pangasinan and La Union Provinces, including the Villasis Bible School in Caramutan.⁹⁹

It was reported to the next provisional general conference in 1975 that there was a net increase of 139 members "in spite of the fact that more than 500 disappeared after the merger." General Superintendent Garcia was glad to report a measure of victory:

The two main groups that stayed in the merged Church did truly merge and are getting adjusted to each other, very much more smoothly and rapidly than anticipated. Today there is love and unity among the people of the two former groups. All have truly become Wesleyans, obviously proud of and satisfied in the new Church . . .¹⁰⁰

Legal proceedings continued until 1976, when The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines was vindicated. Registration was cleared and made secure with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Toward General Conference Status. An historic step in the maturation of the church was taken when The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines was declared to be a provisional general conference on April 22, 1975, on the campus of the Mindanao Bible College in Kabakan, Cotabato. General Superintendent Robert W. McIntyre officiated over a "Service of Declaration." Robert N. Lytle, general secretary of world missions, presented an authorizing resolution from the North American General Board of Administration. Chairman McIntyre also presented a "Statement of Commendation" from the general superintendents.¹⁰¹

The organizational structure was further developed to provide for general church departments: literature and radio, evangelism and church growth, world missions, Sunday school, youth, educational institutions, and a general secretary-treasurer. At first only the general superintendent, the general editor, and the general secretary-treasurer were to be full-time officers. Financial plans were further developed to carry the additional load of the general Church.

The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines set the goal of becoming a full general conference with membership in the Wesleyan World Fellowship. This goal was reached and at the

1988 General Conference in Knoxville, Tennessee, The Wesleyan Church in the Philippines was declared to be the General Conference of the Philippines.

On February 21-23, 1989, the Philippine General Conference was organized on the Bible college campus, Rosales, Luzon, with Alfonso Pablo elected general superintendent. Saturnino Garcia was honored with the designation general superintendent emeritus. He immediately gave himself to travel all the Wesleyan mission fields of the world in an all-out effort to attain 2000 overseas churches by A.D. 2000. The inspiration and challenge of his vision for the Lord has continued through 1991.

Church Growth and Evangelism. Church growth and evangelism has had a high priority in the Philippine Wesleyan Church since 1971. Superintendent Garcia reported to the Philippine General Board: "Among the countless blessings God bestowed upon the work, the two outstanding ones are the new dimensions of evangelistic fervor and missionary thrust."¹⁰²

A General Department of Church Growth and Evangelism was created in 1975, over which there is a general secretary of church growth and evangelism. Each district elects a district director of church growth and evangelism.

One major program has followed another, each with goals for the national, district and local levels. From 1975 to 1978, it was the "Wesleyan Evangelistic Bayanihan Service" (WEBS); from 1979 to 1982 it was the "Reach Every Available Person" (REAP); and from 1983 to 1986 it was the "Lay Involvement for Evangelism" (LIFE).

Several outside agencies have had an important part including the inter-denominational congresses on evangelism, Campus Crusade for Christ, Philippine Crusades, and the Metro-Move from the USA world missions department. One report was as follows:

Following the All-Philippines Congress on Evangelism a deep stirring is being experienced here. Campus Crusade made a great contribution to this through campus ministries. Seminars were conducted in each of the Bible colleges by Campus Crusade and Rev. Orval Butcher. These seminars have produced lasting fruit. Presently the entire Philippine Wesleyan Church is in a program of

training the laymen for evangelism. Many souls have found Christ and are being led into a victorious walk with the Lord through the use of Bible studies. Revival fires are spreading everywhere. More souls are being added to the Church, and new places are being opened up . . .¹⁰³

Each organization has provided more tools, techniques and motivation for evangelism. The church has grown through personal witnessing, revivals, evangelistic campaigns, lay involvement, home Bible studies and literature distribution.

New places have been opened up constantly. Sometimes the key is migration. After oil was discovered on Palawan Island, a Wesleyan business man moved to Puerto Princesa, the capital, opened up a motorcycle shop, and called for workers. The Daniel Pantangans, former missionaries to Indonesia, were sent to pioneer the work. Palawan was a ripened harvest field, and the work there is rapidly developing into a district.

In other instances, the new work is the result of a burden and a vision. Cebu City is the second city of the Philippines. It is a stronghold of Roman Catholicism for it is there that Spanish missionaries first planted the cross in 1521. The people of Cebu (Cebuanos) are not "nominal" Catholics. They are devout and zealous Catholics. Some Cebuanos were reached in Mindanao, but the possibility of a church in Cebu had always seemed most remote. This is an account from Missionary Janet Turner of how the vision and the burden came for Cebu:

The Eastern Mindanao District promotional seminar was just finished in Sto. Tomas (Davao, Mindanao). I was presenting the need to fill the gap between Mindanao and Luzon. Sensing the Lord's leading, we went down on our knees for prayer. The Lord came in a wonderful way, speaking to our hearts. One pastor responded, sobbing and crying, "Brethren, I am fully convinced that the Lord needs us to bring the Wesleyan message to the Visayas. I feel that God is calling us to go . . . " A spontaneous offering followed of 2,393 pesos . . . Some of our pastors sacrificed two months' salary.¹⁰⁴

Ben Ganibe, Mindanao District Superintendent, and others went to Cebu City and rented a house for the appointed worker to stay in. Patrocinio Basmillo, a Cebuano from Davao, Mindanao, assisted by Missionaries Paul and Jean Walborn, pioneered the work and planted a church.

There is now an organized church in one of the most beautiful buildings in the Philippine Wesleyan Church. Since Cebu City is in the center of the Philippine Archipelago, it is a favorite meeting place for the General Board of Administration.

Other beginnings have been made on Mindoro, Leyte, Bicol and in Legaspi City.

From 1975 to 1985, the Church grew at an average rate of 11.5 percent each year in membership. The membership tripled in the ten years after the first provisional general conference in 1975. The Philippine General Conference, which included Indonesia, in 1988 reported a total of 416 ministers and other workers in 16 districts, 14,288 members, 30,013 enrolled in Sunday school and property values of \$16,401,225. There were 211 churches and 56 preaching points.¹⁰⁵

Summary and Conclusion

The population of the Philippines has increased from 14 million in 1932 when the Wesleyan work began to 56 million in 1988. In spite of the rapid church growth the question arises, "Is the church keeping up with the population explosion?"

The future of the Philippines, politically and economically, is very uncertain. A communist insurgency movement known as the New People's Army (NPA) is now in its seventeenth year and in control of certain areas. NPA "sparrow units" are very active in Manila and uniformed men are dying every week. A lay delegate to the 1987 Provisional General Conference from Marvel, Kidapawan, Mindanao, and serving as a supply pastor, was executed in his own home for refusing to close the church and for criticizing the forced taxation by the NPA. Many Protestant pastors are facing martyrdom at this time.¹⁰⁶

The economic situation is increasingly desperate. While the Philippine Wesleyan Church has done remarkably well in supporting the pastors, the Bible colleges, and the foreign missionary work both in cash and in kind, the poor economy and the rampant inflation is such that the Church can hardly cope with the amounts needed for the purchase of property and erection of buildings in urban centers, capital improvements in the Bible colleges, adequate support of foreign missionary ventures, and the like.

In the midst of this, however, there is victory and Christ is building His church. General Superintendent Garcia's report to the 1987 Provisional General Conference sums it up this way:

The past quadrennium, although characterized by gnawing fears and uncertainties caused by political upheavals, ideological struggles, biting poverty, and shocking expressions of moral decay, have been a wonderful time of growth, expansion, and blessing in The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines. Some of us went through deep waters, and some through fiery furnaces of trials, but through the blood of Jesus we all have safely come this far. The journey through the valley of uncertainty is far from over, but we are confident that "He who holds [our] tomorrows" will see us through!¹⁰⁷

The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines, now recognized as a leader in the Philippine evangelical community, is the largest family of Wesleyans outside of the United States. The goal set in 1988 was 125 new churches for the Philippines' part of the 2000 by 2000 plan.

AUSTRALIA

Robert A. Mattke

Australia is often referred to as "the land down under." This idiom is used frequently in the northern hemisphere because this is the way cartographers position Australia on their maps. To the Australians this is not the most complimentary statement that could be made about their country. The redeeming factor in this is that it serves to illustrate how innocently we acquire some of our prejudices.

If one wants to use a cliché to describe the Australians, they would prefer to be known as "the people under the Southern Cross." This constellation of stars is visible only in the southern hemisphere and obviously is much more positive in its implications.

Naturally, Australia has its own religious history. It is important for Europeans and North Americans to remember that Australia's history is unique. Because there are surface likenesses it is deceiving to think that our respective cultures are not that much different. To be sure, Australia is one of the British

Commonwealth of Nations, but this association must not cause us to overlook and underappreciate its distinctions.

What is not well known, and for obvious reasons, is that Australia was in its earliest days one of England's penal colonies. It is understandable why wraps would be put on this kind of knowledge because it is not the most glorious chapter in the history of western society. Some of the prisoners had committed only minor crimes and they were oftentimes transported to this far-off land under the most inhuman conditions. Because of the large element of incrimination it is painful to write about the first white settlers who were brought to Australia.

According to the records when the First Fleet reached Port Jackson, now Sydney Harbour, on Saturday, January 26, 1788, the colonization of Australia made an inauspicious beginning. "Seven hundred and fifty-six members of the founding settlement of 1,030 were convicts who could not be accommodated even in the filthy hulks which were the British prisons."¹⁰⁸

Fortunately, the First Fleet had on board a chaplain who was a man of deep evangelical conviction. His name was Richard Johnson and for Wesleyans it is interesting to note that he had been recommended to William Pitt, the Prime Minister, by William Wilberforce who was a friend and an associate of John Wesley in the task of emancipating the slaves in the British Empire.

Richard Johnson met much opposition to his evangelistic efforts. At his own expense he built the first church building which was a simple wattle-and-daub structure with a thatched roof. It was soon burned down, supposedly by a convict who objected to compulsory church attendance.

After more than two years "Johnson was eventually forced to return to England . . . the good man was depressed beyond measure after being well-nigh starved, uncomfortably lodged, neglected by officials, and slighted by those around him."¹⁰⁹ His state of mind resembles the description of Wesley's condition when he returned from America thinking that he had failed in his mission. (The Georgia of Wesley's day also had some elements of a penal colony.)

The clergymen who succeeded Johnson did not fare much better. From the outset an anticlerical sentiment was fostered among the convicts by policies of forced church attendance.

Another contributing factor was that during the week the clergy were employed in the colony as magistrates to mete out justice. As a result the mercy they offered in their Sunday sermons was not well received.

By 1850 the free settlers outnumbered the convicts, but then other circumstances arose which militated against the young nation. In 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria and within a decade the population of Australia trebled. Thousands of people were fired with the ambition to get rich quickly. At one point every member of Melbourne's police force deserted to the gold fields.

This combination of events led to much violence and crime accompanied by a wave of unbelievable immorality. All of these factors produced a climate that instilled in the people an "antiauthoritarianism which associated clerics with the government bosses."¹¹⁰ Any student of history knows that once these conceptions become firmly established in culture, they are not easily uprooted. Some would say that remnants of these conceptions persist to this present day.

Most of these developments in Australia's religious history were not well known prior to World War II. Up until this time the world community had pretty much neglected Australia. But when action in the Pacific theater got worldwide attention, the location of Australia with its resources became strategic. In a sense Australia was rediscovered and became a viable part of the free world.

After General Douglas McArthur was forced to leave the Republic of the Philippines he set up his base headquarters in Australia. It was from here that the long and costly march to the conclusion of the struggle began. In launching the offensive thousands of America's military personnel poured into Australia in the early 1940s.

Kingsley Ridgway Meets the Wesleyans

God used this set of circumstances to introduce The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America to Australia. An Australian, Kingsley M. Ridgway and his family were in Australia when the war broke out. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities they had been serving as missionaries in Egypt. Because

it was impossible to return to the mission field Mr. Ridgway began to serve as chaplain to the Royal Australian Air Force. One night as he attended a religious service in one of Melbourne's churches he heard an American serviceman give his testimony. Because he articulated the experience of entire sanctification so convincingly the chaplain was much impressed.

In conversation with the soldier, Mr. Ridgway learned that the young man was a member of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. As a result of this encounter Chaplain Ridgway was prompted to enter into correspondence with the leaders of the denomination. Because of his own personal convictions and experience in holiness circles on the mission field, the chaplain was looking for a way to make a significant impact in Australia. The more he learned about The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America with respect to its history, its structure, its emphasis and fidelity to the holiness message, the more he was impressed.

A conviction was born in his heart that Australia needed the framework of such an organization. In a young nation where efforts in behalf of holiness evangelism were sporadic, the need for a stable organization like The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America became appealing.

Before serious negotiations got underway the American leaders were made aware that evangelism in Australia was limited and had a definite nondenominational stance. Responsibility for this situation was "due to the liberalism of the 'established' denominations; evangelicals have tended to regard denominations and theological liberalism as synonymous."¹¹ Consequently, most evangelicals were found in small, isolated, nondenominational fellowships held together by an authoritarian leader. Many of these groups had a commendable interest in overseas missions and channeled their support through a variety of nondenominational mission organizations. By their very nature they were not equipped to engage in church planting efforts in their homeland. Most of these fellowships lacked the strength to branch out, and to do so would require some type of organization which they were desperately trying to avoid.

From the theological standpoint, the vast majority of evangelicals who lived in Australia were staunch Calvinists. On an

informal basis they came together to sponsor Keswick conventions. Again the purpose of these conventions was to promote the deeper life and not engage in church planting. To them Wesleyan Arminianism was heresy because they equated it with sinless perfection, and it appeared that they could not be convinced otherwise.

Under these conditions it is understandable why K. M. Ridgway sensed the lack of close fellowship. He became convinced that Australia needed the efforts of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America and he was ready to work within the framework of the Church once the war was brought to an end.

What added impetus to the negotiations which were initiated in 1945 was that the American leaders of the denomination began to take note of the large cities which had grown phenomenally during the war years. Prior to the war the denomination was largely rural in character; but a new day had dawned and the word "megapolis" was beginning to be used.

Even though the population of Australia was small by world standards it was concentrated in a few large coastal cities. Melbourne was a city of one and a half million people in 1945 and this was where K. M. Ridgway was proposing that the Church make a start. To do so would be consistent with the growing interest in the urban areas of the United States.

To add to the challenge in Australia was a new postwar immigration policy which was designed to appeal to the shattered European community. One of the lessons the Australians learned during the war was that it was dangerous to leave their country undeveloped. Of course, many refugees and displaced people saw Australia as a place to make a new start in life. When the government offered assistance in passage a flood of migrants began to arrive. They were dubbed "New Australians" and they, too, became a part of the missionary challenge.

Wesleyan Methodism takes Root

In the middle 1940s the missionary work of the Wesleyan denomination was divided between home missions and foreign missions. Because Australia was an English-speaking nation and its people were located principally in large urban centers,

the assignment was given to the Home Missions Department.

So it was in November 1945, Mr. Ridgway was accepted as an ordained elder in The Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1946 he began to hold services in rented facilities in Flinders Lane in the center of the city of Melbourne. Kingsley Ridgway had the heart of an evangelist and was endowed with gifts that made him very effective in that role.

Ridgway's efforts to "spread scriptural holiness across Australia" aroused some interest and Bible studies were begun in two of the suburbs of Melbourne and also in a couple of the provincial cities of Victoria. In June 1947 the American Church held its general conference and Mr. Ridgway was invited to attend and present the challenge of the new field to the American Wesleyans.

It didn't take the American Wesleyans long to recognize that Mr. Ridgway was a powerful and captivating speaker. They responded favorably and were greatly impressed with his virtues and gifts. In less formal settings they were attracted by his amiable personality. In short, he captured the hearts of his new friends and interest in Australia soared.

The thing that most Americans didn't understand at that time was that K. M. Ridgway was not a typical Australian. They accepted him as a bona fide representative of Australia and naively assumed that most Australians had the same temperament and proclivity towards spiritual values. Along the way the symbolism involved suffered some kind of breakdown. Images were formed in American minds which didn't represent the true situation, and this happened very innocently.

When statistical reports filtered back to the United States the Americans found it difficult to understand why the problems were so persistent and why the progress was so slow. This kind of reality was difficult to accept. The gnawing question was, When the picture looked so rosy why did it suddenly take on a different hue?

Following the 1947 General Conference, J. R. Swauger, secretary of the Home Missions Department, visited Australia to officially ratify the organization and to hold the first conference. He observed on his arrival that

our numbers had decreased mightily . . . The discovery that old-fashioned holiness was not going to be popular among people had

a decided effect on those who had at first been drawn by the novelty of the teaching rather than by a desire to accept its cleansing effects.¹¹²

People who were accustomed to the informal fellowship groups found it difficult to adjust to an organization where the Church protocol was firmly established. An added characteristic of the independent fellowships was that when there was dissatisfaction defection usually occurred. Under these circumstances it was very difficult for a person's spiritual roots to go down very deep. Consequently, a considerable amount of instability was created not only in individual lives but in the various fellowship groups themselves.

In the early days of The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Australia this instability was quite noticeable. It was common for the leaders of the Church to receive resignations for one reason or another. So many changes were taking place in postwar Australia that the whole society was experiencing turbulence. Don Hardgrave has written the most comprehensive history of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of Australia to date entitled *For Such A Time*. He describes this time by mentioning "a feeling of utter disillusionment and frustration (which) descended once the initial elation of victory and discharge had passed."¹¹³

Soon after the launching of the new denomination it became evident that K. M. Ridgway would require help if the project was to get off the ground. Inasmuch as he possessed the gifts of an evangelist his greatest need for assistance was in the realm of administration. The instability of the early months also underscored the need for trained workers. To be successful this training would have to be done within the context of The Wesleyan Methodist Church. The Church desperately needed workers who understood the holiness message and were in sympathy with it. They also needed to be committed to the purpose and polity of the Wesleyan denomination.

A Bible College Begins

In 1948 a vacant mansion known as Huntingtower was purchased to serve as a denominational headquarters, and it was also suitable for use as a Bible college. This purchase sent a

message to the local community that the intentions of the denomination were serious. Later that year Leo Cox, his wife, Esther, and daughters Rachel, Mary and Martha arrived from America to augment the skeleton staff. Mr. Cox's principal assignment was to open the Bible college. Soon after his arrival he was elected president of the conference. This move gave needed help to the administrative side of things, but it also provoked criticism that there was too much American control. This criticism was not always malicious but resulted from the clash of different cultures. Don Hardgrave has an interesting comparison of the American and Australian mind-sets in his book, *For Such A time*. He says, "Americans tend to recognize the outstanding leaders and to encourage them whereas this (Australian) culture works the opposite way." And then he quotes Susanne Hardgrave who says, "People who are in authority need to be knocked a bit to keep them from thinking they are someone special."¹¹⁴

In spite of the criticism, things were coming together to build a foundation for future growth. Typically, the foundation-laying of any project is slow and it is not associated with much glamour. In retrospect, the leaders of the Church in those early days should be given high marks for the attention they gave to foundation-building. Their vision encompassed some very sound principles.

It did not come as a surprise that the Bible college experienced some lean years in its early existence. There was an independent, nondenominational Bible institute in Melbourne, but it was vocal in its opposition to the holiness doctrine. The major denominations had their own schools for the training of ministers, but they were all associated with the state university system. Thus in the field of Christian education The Wesleyan Methodist Church had to pioneer a new concept. A few years later the Nazarene Church supported the same idea when they launched their Bible college. Needless to say, this educational concept was vulnerable to the charge of being an American idea, too.

The location of the headquarters on the same property as the Bible college had many positive benefits. James Ridgway writes,

As the denominational headquarters, the college has been a morale builder, giving stability to the work. As a training school it has established laity and ministers in the fundamentals of the faith, and instilled into them a sense of mission . . . and has provided the church with a band of dedicated and loyal young men and women who are faithful to the message and mission of the church.¹¹⁵

James Ridgway, the oldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Kingsley Ridgway, was one of the first three graduates of the Bible college. He was an excellent student and demonstrated many commendable leadership qualities. Sensing the importance of the Bible college's role in the future development of the church in Australia, he came to the United States for further academic training. This, of course, was a long and arduous process which eventually culminated in his being granted a doctoral degree, a distinction which proved in time to be a great benefit to the college because it enhanced its credibility.

Launching the Bible college was the outstanding achievement of Leo Cox. Curriculums were designed and academic programs put in place that would meet the needs of the infant church. A prospectus was printed and advertising was begun. It should not be overlooked that a major block of his time had to be given to the actual teaching of the various courses.

But as we have noted, the college was not the sole responsibility of Mr. Cox. Leadership in the fledgling conference cried out for attention. Circumstances dictated that the infant college and the infant conference develop hand in hand. In a sense they were twins that required the same parental care. The dual responsibilities continued with few exceptions for nearly four decades. Admittedly, this was too heavy a load for any one person. It was a great day for the Church when there was sufficient leadership to share the responsibilities. The remarkable growth patterns of the Church that followed will be discussed in later paragraphs.

In 1953 a vacuum developed in the leadership ranks. James Ridgway was in the United States enrolled in school and the Leo Cox family was concluding their service in Australia. Reinforcements were needed and the Robert Mattke family was sent to "the land under the Southern Cross." He was given the title, "American representative," in hopes that this title would be

more descriptive of the growing partnership between the Australian and American people. For at least two reasons it was publicized intentionally that the appointment of the Mattkes was of limited duration. First, the American Church wanted it to be known that its intention was to foster an indigenous Australian Church and secondly, the expectation was that when James Ridgway completed his education that he would return and furnish the necessary leadership to the Church.

As the American representative Robert Mattke served as principal of the college and its chief lecturer and he, too, was elected the president of the conference. By now a limited number of students were graduating from the college and they needed to be assimilated into the work of the Church. This influx of new workers gave encouraging impetus to the conference. K. M. Ridgway wrote following the conference in 1956: "We had a wonderful conference which closed in a blaze of glory. No place-seeking, all of one heart and soul, and all pushing ahead for the glory of God. We have a good team now—all but two pastors are graduates of the Bible college."¹¹⁶ Some additional money from the Missions Department made it possible to build several small chapels during this time which were sorely needed.

It is worthy of note that in 1959 Billy Graham and his team came to Australia for the first time. Heretofore, American evangelists and their methods had not fared well in Australia. For instance, Oral Roberts had been literally run out of the country. The big question on everyone's mind was, How will Billy Graham be received? Much to the relief of the sponsors Billy Graham had tremendous successes in Australia and in New Zealand. Venues for the crusade meetings were huge open-air sport stadiums and Australians were in the habit of going to these kinds of facilities. In addition to the converts to Jesus Christ, other long-term benefits were reaped. The things of God suddenly became a normal part of conversations and the responses to a public altar call were very encouraging. Prior to the crusades the prevailing idea was that it was sacrilegious to make any outward confession of faith apart from the occasional reciting of the Creeds. The crusades introduced Australians to a healthy kind of informality and spontaneity.

A Period of Expansion

When Don Hardgrave summarized the period from 1953 to 1961 he wrote, "This was a period of expansion from one state to four and to an overseas mission field."¹¹⁷ The four states he had in mind were New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, and Victoria. The mission field was New Guinea. Compared to the struggles of the earlier years this was a time of optimism. It was thought that the birth pangs of the new denomination were finally over.

Lending to the optimism was the fact that James Ridgway returned from America with his Canadian wife, Melva, and their infant daughter, Dora Beth. This little girl bore the name of her Grandmother Ridgway who had died suddenly on Christmas Day 1955. As was expected James Ridgway was appointed principal of the college and was elected president of the conference. The Church celebrated this milestone with great joy. Now that the leadership was in Australian hands Rev. Mattke, his wife, Jeanette, and daughter, Sharon, and their Australian daughter, Beth, were free to return to the United States.

As The Wesleyan Methodist Church was gaining ground in Australia, there was growing awareness of a need to get involved in missions other than evangelization of its own country. The island of New Guinea was a natural choice. World War II had drawn attention to its primitiveness, K. M. Ridgway had a long-standing burden for the country and fortunately it was located not far from the northern coast of Australia. In 1961 K. M. Ridgway and Walter Hotchkin were authorized to make an exploratory trip to New Guinea.

This trip verified the urgent need and the great opportunities in what was called a Stone Age society. With enthusiasm, the Australian Wesleyans sent K. M. Ridgway and the Walter Hotchkin family as their first missionaries. Walter, and his wife, Dorothy, were recent graduates from the Bible College.

At first the American Church assigned the New Guinea field to the Australian Conference to develop, but it was not long before it became evident that the challenge was beyond the reach of the Australian Church. It was not strong enough in itself and furthermore, the New Guinea field opened up faster than anyone anticipated. Consequently, American missionaries

and American funds were used in cooperation with Australian efforts.

A Decade of Setbacks

Unfortunately, the optimism in Australia that was mentioned earlier was of short duration. Another period of disappointment and decline awaited both the college and the conference. Don Hardgrave describes the period from 1965-1975 as a period of "setbacks and refining." As has been noted, K. M. Ridgway was in New Guinea and James Ridgway was to leave Australia for six years to finish work on his doctorate. This turn of events left a serious shortage in the ranks, especially at the leadership level, and the periodic waves of discontent and dissatisfaction plagued the conference once more.

To shore up the situation, Arthur and Alice Calhoon were sent from the United States. They had a wealth of previous experience working in Third World Countries. Doing what they could, they returned to the United States after three years.

It would be unfortunate not to mention the services of Aubrey and Hazel Carnell in this story. They proved their true worth, especially during months of distress. Mr. Carnell has been with the Church since its inception and was one of the first graduates of Kingsley College. He served as president of the conference; they both gave invaluable service to the college, and whenever special music was required they rendered an anointed ministry. They hold the record when it comes to the length of consistent service in the Australian Church. They retired in 1988, whereupon Mr. Carnell was honored with the title of National Superintendent Emeritus.¹¹⁸

When James Ridgway and his family returned to Australia in 1972, he found an exhausted remnant of Wesleyans. After this period of "setbacks and refining," morale was at a low point. The situation called for a bold move. Mr. Ridgway was prompted to write an inspired letter which was published in an interdenominational publication widely distributed throughout Australia. It caught the eye of a young ministerial student in The Methodist Church by the name of Don Hardgrave. After due consideration he and his wife, Delcie, transferred their membership to The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

A Breakthrough

This event marked a breakthrough in the growth pattern of The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Australia that has continued to this day. A significant minority of members in The Methodist Church were going through a traumatic time in their church life. After years of discussion, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists voted to merge into the United Church in 1977 as was done in Canada at an earlier date. Those who were evangelicals in The Methodist Church resisted this ecumenical move for years thinking they could stem the tide. When the union was consummated they knew they had lost the struggle.

Along with the Hardgraves other ministers and lay people began to join the Wesleyan Methodists. Don Hardgrave reports, Union provided an honourable reason for many Methodists, who were seeking a more biblical faith, to withdraw. A number of them joined The Wesleyan Methodist Church. Other groups making significant gains from this exodus included the Baptists and various charismatic groups.¹¹⁹

Don Hardgrave was a native of Queensland, and his dynamism spearheaded a fresh surge of growth among the Wesleyan Methodists and especially in his home state. Queensland was virgin territory for the Wesleyan Methodists as all previous efforts were concentrated in the Southeastern part of the continent. Churches multiplied and membership soon grew to the point that the Church in this state was larger than in any other state. This growth was due not only to transfers but to many professions of faith.

After so many disappointments, the older Wesleyan Methodists welcomed their new brothers and sisters with open arms. Then came the moment that had been anticipated for four decades. Don Hardgrave was elected the national superintendent in 1984, and David Wilson was appointed principal of the Bible college. The days of one person dividing his energies between the two offices were over. The national office was moved from the college property north to Queensland. Prior to this event the college was renamed Kingsley College in honor of Kingsley M. Ridgway. As to nomenclature, the official name of

the Church is The Wesleyan Methodist Church of Australia as that term is more definitive in that culture.

Both the college and the district have experienced significant growth following these developments. They have published their own hymnal, *A New Song*, and the *Australian Wesleyan* is an attractive quarterly publication. The potential in Australia has challenged a number of American pastors to migrate there and accept appointments in the Australian Church. The supporting role of these pastors has given the Australian Church a cosmopolitan experience that is most commendable. Gospel Corps workers and evangelists who give a few days or weeks of ministry have also made a contribution to the work.

Tom Blythe serves as national superintendent and presides over three districts, Queensland, New South Wales and the Southern District, all of which have their own district superintendents. Mr. Blythe immigrated to Australia from Ireland and after a successful business career answered the call to the ministry. He graduated from Kingsley College and pastored at Coffs Harbour before being elected national superintendent.

His most recent report to the Department of World Missions tells of "national growth of 11.75 percent in full membership and 15.25 percent in total membership. Total offerings exceeded \$1,000,000 for the first time and total giving for all purposes was over \$2,000,000."¹²⁰ The Fortieth National Conference of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of Australia was held at Kingswood, Warwick, April 17-22, 1990, with significant growth reported, although with lower percentages.¹²¹ These statistics point to a healthy maturing process. The Australian Church is working toward their 2000 by 2000 goal of 30 new churches by the end of the century.

This bit of history ends with a touch of abruptness as does the Acts of the Apostles. Luke seems to leave a blank page on which the story will be continued. On the previous pages are slices of the life of Wesleyan Methodism in Australia. Assembled they form a panorama of the struggles and triumphs of dauntless men and women who found divine guidance and were energized by the Holy Spirit. It is inspiring and encouraging to know that God's truth still marches on in the land of the Southern Cross.

NEPAL

Virginia Wright

Lying between India to the south and Tibet to the north, Nepal boasts the distinction of being the home of the world's highest mountain range, the Himalayas, and the world's highest peak, Mt. Everest. It is a beautiful country of mountains, forests, rushing rivers, emerald valleys and invigorating climate. Kathmandu Valley, 4,423 feet above sea level, is home to the capital city of this representative monarchy ruled over by King Birendra. Kathmandu is the country's administrative, economic and cultural center. Freedom of religion is guaranteed, but for decades it has been unlawful to cause anyone to change religions. Hinduism is the state religion with approximately ninety percent of the people in its ranks.¹²²

In spite of the fact that Nepal lived in isolation from the rest of the world for centuries, the king, who was educated abroad, was eager to bring some of the blessings of the modern world to his people. He opened the door to various agencies and governments allowing them to assist in development and humanitarian projects. It was this desire for help in lifting his people that prompted the king to give permission to foreigners to begin a hospital in Nepal.

Those foreigners were Dr. Robert Fleming, an ornithologist, and his wife, Dr. Bethel Fleming, a medical doctor. During a bird-collecting expedition to Nepal from their base in India, they set up a temporary clinic. They attracted the attention of the government and were invited to make application to operate a clinic in Kathmandu. Early in 1954 the Flemings and helpers returned to Kathmandu to set up the clinic to be run by Dr. Bethel, and to begin the United Mission to Nepal to be supervised by Dr. Robert. Miss Isla Knight, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary nurse who had been serving with Dr. Bethel Fleming in Lahour, India, was among those helpers. The government gave them a part of the Isolation Hospital in which to begin the venture.¹²³

Shanta Bhawan Hospital

In 1956 the Flemings returned to Nepal from furlough with Drs. Edgar and Elizabeth Miller to set up serious hospital operations. The government made Shanta Bhawan, a large Rana palace on the outskirts of Kathmandu, available for rent, and a church in the United States provided the necessary funds. They moved into the building, and Shanta Bhawan Hospital was underway.¹²⁴

By 1959 the United Mission to Nepal was made up of 15 member missions with 85 workers from 8 nationalities.¹²⁵ Among them were two Wesleyan nurses, Miss Isla Knight, who went in November 1956, and Miss Margaret Wright who arrived in 1959. Missionaries could not overtly make converts, but they served in the name and spirit of Jesus, acting like salt and light in the darkness of a very heathen land.

In 1960 Isla Knight was in charge of the children's ward at Shanta Bhawan, and Margaret Wright was in charge of the clinic at the United States Operations location.¹²⁶ In 1965 Margaret was at Amp Pipal, an outstation clinic three days' walk from Kathmandu. Isla Knight was moved to the "well baby clinic" one half mile from Shanta Bhawan. In 1966 Isla's service in Nepal was brought to an end by serious illness. She returned to the U.S. for surgery at Mayo Clinic and never fully regained her health. She went to be with the Lord that same year.¹²⁷

The United Mission to Nepal established another base with extensive operations in the Gorkha District, two days' trek to the west of the capital. They set up community service programs, schools, teacher training, adult literacy, agricultural demonstration schemes and health services. The project was typical of the work of the Mission.¹²⁸ A small footnote in *The Wesleyan Missionary*, May 1961, states that nine of the known 160 Christians in Nepal had been jailed for trying to make converts. In spite of that, the Christian church developed alongside the United Mission activities.

In 1970 General Superintendent Virgil Mitchell and wife visited Margaret Wright in Nepal at her outstation post at Amp Pipal. He wrote concerning the developing Christian church,

Mission and church work parallel each other. The Mission, as

such, has no organizational connection with the church. Workers of the Mission join and share as individuals in the worship, life, and work of the groups and congregations where they live . . . However, the church is being formed.¹²⁹

The next chapter in Margaret Wright's pilgrimage in Nepal took her back to Shanta Bhawan where she was assigned to the nurses' training school as clinical supervisor and classroom instructor. While home on her next furlough, she completed work toward a master's degree in nursing at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, in 1974. Upon her return, she became pediatrics instructor at the Shanta Bhawan Section of Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu where she served until retirement in 1987.

Meanwhile United Mission to Nepal (UMN) received permission from the government to relocate the hospital in order to expand the facilities. A new 140-bed hospital was built in another location in Patan, Kathmandu.¹³⁰ Other UMN outposts continued to minister to the needs of the people, and the missionaries were a moral support for the growing Christian community. National pastors were growing in number through training programs carried on by the churches, and witness teams made regular evangelistic treks through remote mountain areas in spite of persecution and imprisonment.

The Wesleyan Church decided to continue its involvement with UMN after Miss Margaret Wright's retirement. Miss Deborah Mitchell, an accountant from the Atlantic District of The Wesleyan Church, was sent in response to the personnel request of the mission. Debbie spent one year in Kathmandu in language study and orientation to the field, and then was stationed at Amp Pipal, the remote mountain area where nurse Margaret Wright spent many of her early years in Nepal.¹³¹

By 1986 there was increasing pressure on King Birendra to give the people a greater voice in the government. In the spring of 1990 that discontent boiled over in demonstrations demanding that the king disband the old partyless panchayat system and establish a truly representative form of government. On April 6 a new prime minister was installed. On April 9 the king announced the lifting of the thirty-year ban on political parties, and on April 16 he bowed to further demands, announcing that

the old system was entirely dismantled and an interim government was being formed.

Under the new freedoms, Christians in Kathmandu, representative of thousands of their brothers and sisters throughout the country, marched through the streets of Kathmandu in celebration of Easter for the first time in the history of the church in that land. The United Mission to Nepal, composed of approximately 40 member mission bodies involving hundreds of expatriate and national personnel, committed itself under God's guidance to continue its work with the people of Nepal in the development of their country.¹³²

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Joy Bray

Introduction

Lured by the hope for instant riches, gold-fevered foreigners poured into the vast, mostly undeveloped island of New Guinea in the 1920s. Undaunted, the eager prospectors endured harrowing walks over steep razorback ridges and through thick jungle. Neither fear of attack by hostile warriors nor reality of dysentery, malaria and other devastating diseases, kept them from pursuing their dream of achieving overnight wealth.

In 1926, when gold was discovered at Bulolo, another kind of prospector arrived on the scene. A young Australian, propelled by a desire to give away the riches of the gospel, traveled to the capital city of Rabaul to work for the government since no mission board would send him. Kingsley Ridgway spent evenings and weekends witnessing to the laborers who came from all over New Guinea to serve three-year terms working for plantation owners. Although the services held under his house-on-stilts did not result in an organized church, Kingsley prayed daily that the young men would take the knowledge of the gospel they had received during those meetings back to their tribal villages, often in areas untouched by outside influence. Only God knows what seed has borne fruit from those years of faithful sowing.

Papua New Guinea: Its Land and People

In the early 1500s, Spanish and Portuguese explorers landed on the islands of Papua New Guinea in the Pacific Ocean off the northern coast of Australia. They discovered a land covered with tropical rain forests and high mountain ranges. The majority of the people were Melanesians, separated by natural and tribal barriers resulting in over 700 distinct language groups. Land claims did not begin until the nineteenth century when the Dutch took control of the western half of the island. In 1884 Germany annexed northeastern New Guinea, and Great Britain took over southeastern New Guinea (Papua). By 1905 Britain gave this territory to Australia, and in 1914 during World War I, Australian troops seized the areas held by Germany in northeastern New Guinea. After World War II ended, Australia again regained control from the Japanese. Together, the two territories constitute the eastern half of the world's second largest island (after Greenland); the rest is the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. The first general elections held in 1965 paved the way to self-government, achieved eight years later. On September 16, 1975, Papua New Guinea became an independent nation.

The interior, known as the Highlands, was considered (erroneously) to be largely uninhabited and remained basically unexplored until the early 1930s. During the past 60 years, these tribal people have undergone more rapid change than almost any people in the world. Subsistence farmers whose main crop was sweet potato are now growing all sorts of fruits and vegetables, coffee, tea and other products to sell for profit. Copper and gold are exported all over the world. Pigs and shells, traditional symbols of wealth, now compete with an increasing cash flow. Transportation by foot has been replaced by trucks, cars and airplanes. The language of instruction is English, but the link between most of the population is Pidgin English, a trade language derived from Melanesian, German, Malay and English. Animistic religious ideas, including the worship of nature mixed with a strong belief in the spirit world, ruled supreme until the arrival of missionaries in the 1800s. Many of today's leaders were trained in mission schools and carry that heritage with them to their responsibilities. In fact, a significant percentage of

the 3,000,000 inhabitants would call themselves Christians today.

The Huli: Fugwa District

Kingsley Ridgway, a native of Victoria, Australia, spent several years overseas serving in Christian work in Canada, as a missionary to Egypt and as a captain in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). In 1945 Mr. Ridgway was drawn to The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. Having spent some time in New Guinea prior to World War II, he continued to carry a burden for the people of Papua New Guinea.¹³³ Initial correspondence to F. R. Birch, secretary of foreign missions, dated November 14, 1958, contained his rationale for opening this new field. "I feel I should write acquainting you with what I judge to be a good opening for foreign missionary work in New Guinea," Mr. Ridgway began, then continued:

The country is rugged, but Missionary Aviation Fellowship flies supplies in for all Protestant missions who have landing strips on their stations. Most of the food for missionaries is grown on the station itself, to keep transport costs to a minimum. Schools and clinics would give ready contacts with thousands of people, and the government supplies school accessories and medicine free . . . Contrasted with the inhospitable attitude of governments in other mission fields, and the health hazards on some fields, it would seem that New Guinea offers substantial advantages for our work . . . "134

He went on to request a \$300 annual budget to establish the mission.

Three years—and many letters—later, permission from the missions department was received to "spy out the land." Mr. Ridgway and Walter Hotchkin, missionary-elect from Australia, traveled the three thousand air miles to Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea's capital city. Boarding a Missionary Aviation Fellowship plane, they flew on to Mendi, center of the Southern Highlands region where several large tribal groups were without missionaries. Government officials suggested they settle at Koroba, home of twenty thousand Duna and Huli tribesmen. Recognizing Mr. Ridgway's previous experience with the trade language in Rabaul, authorities agreed to give the mission a

99-year land lease. Months later 34 acres were granted as agreed, along with a permit, dated August 11, 1961, to enter and live in a previously "closed" area. The Wesleyan mission work in Papua New Guinea had officially begun.

Huli men, wearing traditional wigs made of human hair, decorated with flowers, snakeskins, bird-of-paradise plumes, or anything bright, watched the two Australians kneel on the allotted land, dedicating it to God and asking for His blessing. Workers hired to help build necessary shelters paused to preen in the mirror, an amazing new attraction, while listening to gospel recordings during afternoon rains. Gradually the gospel penetrated their souls and listeners turned into believers.

On September 10, 1961, the first public service was held at Mogoro Fugwa (official name meaning "swamp") or Piangongwa (local name meaning "place of the wild dogs"). Men, afraid of women's ability to cast spells, refused to sit down while any woman was standing. After considerable confusion and delay, everyone was seated—albeit some distance apart—and the meeting proceeded. The problem was eventually solved by building a partition in the church sufficiently high to shield the women from the men's sight, so that women could move in comfort with their babies and pigs without disturbing the men!

Other obstacles arose in those early months. First-time listeners to the gospel message took John 3:16 literally: "... whosoever believeth in him shall not perish . . ." When the first believer died, people became confused, largely the result of teaching in a language and culture only slightly understood.

After a severe flu epidemic in which many died, five witch-doctors in the area announced that the deaths had been caused by angry spirits who did not like the "Jesus religion." They instructed the people to get rid of the missionaries and to stop attending church. Attendance slumped from four hundred to two hundred. Men frequently beat their wives for attending church. Fear of evil spirits tightened its deadly grip around men's and women's lives. But through the power of prayer, God's Word prevailed.

Medical Care and Women's Work. By 1962 the two wives, Jean Ridgway and Dorothy Hotchkin, joined their husbands,

along with their preschool children. These pioneer women exhibited extraordinary courage and creativity in adapting their homemaking skills to raise their children in extremely primitive conditions. In spite of prevailing chauvinistic traditions surrounding them, Jean ministered healing through her medical skills as a nurse and Dorothy taught women about the love of Jesus who created men AND women in His image. Dorothy's first male interpreter finally agreed to help her if he could speak with his back turned to the women. Jean opened the Nellie Eley Memorial Clinic, treating an average of forty cases daily, including battle wounds, axe cuts, tropical ulcers, leprosy and pneumonia. Although Jean worked forty miles away from the nearest doctor and a mile from running water, her loving, professional care, combined with the miracle drug of penicillin, turned loyalties from the local medicinemen to the God of the missionaries.

Medical work, under the direction of Fran Leak, proved to be one of the most effective tools of evangelism. By 1966 an infant welfare program operated in five village clinics, ministering to four hundred patients each month, and the Fugwa clinic treated fourteen hundred outpatients monthly.

Catechism Class. At the first catechism class for prospective believers, October 30, 1962, around twenty of the older, more influential men gathered solemnly. One man stood up and declared that he was finished with pig sacrifices for good. He was going to follow the Lord no matter what anyone else did. An unusual hush settled over the service that followed and the Holy Spirit began His work of conviction and cleansing.

Education. New areas of ministry arose. Mr. Robert Gladwin, an Australian teacher who worked for the government, offered to open a school for the mission, agreeing to one-fifth the salary he had been receiving. Under his direction, by 1964 the boarding school at Betege had grown from a dozen reluctant young pupils to seventy-five boys and five girls in three classrooms. Miss Delwynne Hughes, Miss Jan Ipsen, and Mrs. Keith Goulding, competent Australian teachers, joined the mission staff and added godly influence that continued spreading around the Huli valley.

Revival. Mr. Hariwa Akope, trained at the interdenominational Christian Leaders' Training College, returned to serve as district superintendent in 1975. Under his leadership, the church grew to maturity and strength. Early emphasis on outreach resulted in God's spiritual blessings because of their obedience. In direct result to fervent prayer, a revival swept over the Huli valley in 1975. Genuine conviction and repentance brought people to the understanding of a Spirit-filled life. More than one thousand believers were baptized during the ten-year span from 1970-1980.

After the elementary school at Fugwa was transferred from mission to government control, solid biblical teaching of early days was allowed to continue in daily religious instruction classes and many graduates have become outstanding Christian leaders in the country. The completion of the Huli New Testament in 1983 brought increased understanding as tribesmen were able to study God's Word in their own tongue. Village churches made of natural materials were gradually replaced by permanent structures.

In September 1985 Don Bray, assistant secretary of world missions and former missionary, was invited to speak at the dedication ceremony for the newly constructed Fugwa district church center. After the district superintendent's opening remarks, a war cry was heard off to the south and a surging wall of Huli warriors charged toward the crowd. Dressed in traditional clothes and armed with shield, spear, arrows, and stone axes, with faces painted for war, they charged through the assembly, past visiting dignitaries, taking their place at the northern edge of the crowd. At the conclusion of the three-hour service a fighting pick, a stone fighting axe, and an arrow were lifted up for all to see while the worship leader explained, "Now, because of Jesus, we have peace. We don't need these weapons any more." A joyous shout of praise to God echoed around the valley as two thousand worshippers celebrated their new freedom in Christ.

Churches and preaching points in the Fugwa District include Yagua, Wapia, Beanda, Yaluba, Yatimlai, Yala, Dogomu, Betege, Piangongua, Ereiba, Igabi, Dola, Puigi, Dagedage, Yagabanda and Koroba.

The Wiru: North & South Polu Districts

North Polu District. Although permission to enter the Wiru tribal area of the Southern Highlands was denied in 1962, within a year's time God opened the door. The East and West Indies Bible Mission (EWIBM) had been working in the North Wiru, but did not have the personnel to staff the South Wiru and offered Mr. Ridgway the opportunity of evangelizing that section of the valley. Missionaries followed closely on the heels of Australian government officials in entering this previously "closed" territory. A Wesleyan lady in southern California contributed the exact amount needed (\$2,230) to launch this new outreach.

Over three hundred men, women and children gathered for the second preaching service and dozens responded to the invitation to seek God. Although their understanding was limited, a genuine spiritual hunger seemed to exist and Walter and Dorothy Hotchkin were sent to Takuru to oversee the work. EWIBM-trained pastors began village churches reaching to six locations by June 1963. Average Sunday morning attendance grew to around fifteen hundred.

A revival swept across the valley later that year. Scores of men and women repented with tears and turned from their animistic worship of the past to worship the true God. Confession and restitution flourished. One pastor testified, "God gave me a look at my sinful heart and it made me literally sick, so that I had to go outside and vomit. When I came back I prayed for God to give me a clean heart, and He did it." Missionaries prayed for guidance and discernment in dealing with sincere seekers and counterfeit displays of emotion. Those who truly repented mark those days as the beginning of their walk with God.

Responding to a call to stewardship, Wiru believers brought sweet potato, taro (an edible root), bananas or pitpit (an edible celery-type vegetable) in their string bags and placed them in a pile at the front of the church. Excitement over the gospel story caused a surge of evangelistic fervor that compelled short (four to four-and-a-half-feet tall) yet sturdy men and women to climb treacherous miles of jungle trails spreading the good news of salvation from sin. In the mighty power confrontation that

followed, dead men were raised and the power of evil spirits was shattered. The church of Jesus Christ began to emerge with victory.

Nestled in the center of the Wiru valley, a mission station developed near Takuru village. A three-mile foot path and a three-mile section of rough road separated Takuru from the nearest government outpost and airstrip at Pangia. Missionaries Victor Chamberlin and Charles Kent supervised construction of a road to replace the foot path, using a bulldozer, a tractor and hundreds of New Guinean workers.

The new road opened the way for a Bible school to be opened and operated at Takuru from 1971 to 1980. The beginning class of thirteen students included five Huli tribesmen who displayed considerable courage by leaving their home and moving into "enemy territory." Through consistent teaching of God's Word, the students began to understand and experience the Spirit-filled life.

Missionaries Linda Kent and Joy Bray were among the first teachers at the newly opened English school at Takuru in 1969. Over one hundred students, ages seven to fifteen, gathered from all over the South Wiru valley to attend school for the first time in their lives. The school, located on the mission station, was later filled with capable national teachers and operation shifted from the mission to the government. The influence of godly teachers has had a lasting effect on the graduates of this institution.

Churches in the North Polu District include Takuru, Niripu, Pangia, Kauapini, Yambipini, Noiya, Pokopiko, Kuapini, Koliyoro, Uro, Undeka, Yoka, Wire, Marapini, Mamuane, Maupini and Kalipe.

South Polu District. On May 13, 1964, over two thousand gathered to watch the first forty-nine believers baptized. Alia, located across the Polu river in the same valley, had been staffed by a missionary translator but became available to the Wesleyans in 1965. Another special gift from North America made it possible for the Ridgways to move to Alia, establishing prebaptismal classes and teaching God's Word faithfully. Since the only access to Alia was a grueling eighteen-mile walk down ravines and across raging rivers on vine bridges from the

government headquarters at Pangia, it was decided to build an airstrip. As New Guinean men and women equipped with axes, spades, wheelbarrows and empty gasoline cans, dug the tops off three hills, a twelve hundred-foot cleared area emerged ever so slowly. Due to the extreme physical demands of such work, Kingsley Ridgway suffered a heart attack and had to be evacuated by helicopter, resulting in his reluctant return to Australia.

Village schools begun by Robert Gladwin and a medical clinic initiated by Jean Ridgway continued to function. An English school was eventually built on the mission property. Preaching points were established in seven locations and missionaries gave guidance to the emerging church until the mid-1980s when national leaders assumed administrative and spiritual responsibilities. Mr. Wiai Timini, after graduating from Christian Leaders' Training College in 1973, returned to his "home place" as district superintendent of the North Polu District. Through times of suffering, this man of God grew stronger, becoming one of the first ordained Papua New Guinean ministers, pastoring a local congregation at Alia, and serving as secretary-treasurer of the national conference. False teachings, sinful rebellion and carnal desires for wealth have caused the growth of the church to fluctuate. But a corps of dedicated believers testifies clearly to the sufficiency of God's grace to this present day.

Churches in the South Polu District include Alia, Tengai, Morea, Weipec, Molo and Laiyo.

The Poloba: Poloba District

During the early days of the Bible school at Taguru, word reached the students of a tribal group, two days walk through the jungle, who were unreached with the gospel. On one of their first treks to Wopasali, the students found a large river swollen by rains, covering a vine bridge which was the sole route of passage. The leader of the team, Yawijah Tukuya, dropped to his knees and asked God to part the waters, just as He did for Moses. Shortly after his prayer, the waters began to recede and the men were able to cross on the vine bridge hovering just over treacherous waters. An unsaved medical assistant, convicted in the face of God's mighty power, dropped to

his knees, confessed his sin and committed his life to the Lord.

After this incredible experience, Mr. Yawijah Tukuya, one of the first Huli converts and a promising Bible school student, felt the call of God to serve as a missionary to the Poloba tribe. Moving his aged father and mother along with his wife and preschool children to this remote malaria-infested enemy territory was a statement of courage and hope. After years of faithful witness and many personal trials, a vibrant group of believers emerged from this former stronghold of Satan.

By the mid-1970s, Yawijah was convinced that an airstrip was essential to stability and growth of the church. Over 1,200,000 square feet of land were cleared of timber by hand. Some of the trees were as high as two hundred feet and wide enough at the base to allow eight men to stand and chop at the same time. Tons of gravel had been moved from an island and brought over in bags by canoes to the shore where they were picked up by a tractor and trailer that had been flown in piece by piece by a helicopter. In November 1979 the airstrip was completed, a miracle of faith and perseverance. Also completed the same year was a Pidgin History by Missionary James Keilholtz.

Yawijah Tukuya was elected as the first Papua New Guinean to serve as national superintendent in 1984, the same year he was ordained. He continues to provide outstanding spiritual leadership for the Church today.

Churches in the Poloba District include Kepa, Tingiri, Waposali, Wetali, Kele, Soali, Nigipale, Tawi, Hala, Pio and Sao.

The Cities

Aware of the rapidly shifting population from rural to urban dwellers, the Church made a decision to begin to penetrate the cities with the gospel. In 1972 Wesleyans moved into Mt. Hagen, provincial capital of the Western Highlands. Kalvari Wesleyan Church established dual Pidgin-speaking and English-speaking congregations. Preaching points in the surrounding area grew into established churches and an established district. Churches in the Western Highlands District include Kalvari, Panga and Kuli.

The Wesleyan mission headquarters was established in Mt. Hagen as well as a hostel for missionary children who could attend school in town while their parents ministered in rural areas. Up to fifteen children at a time lived in the home with one full-time missionary couple serving as hostel parents. The hostel was discontinued when the decision to move all missionaries to urban centers was made.

In 1978 Paul Aihara, missionary from the Immanuel General Mission of Japan, conducted an urban survey, exploring the possibilities of church planting in the cities of Port Moresby and Lae. The next year he and his family moved to the coastal city of Lae to pioneer a Wesleyan church. From the opening services held in a day-care center with ten present, the church has grown to around one hundred believers meeting weekly for worship and fellowship. The day-care center was eventually purchased through funds from the Immanuel General Mission of Japan, and from North America, including a memorial gift from the Odell family of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

During Paul Aihara's furlough, missionary Mike Fullingim pastored the church in Lae. In an effort to expand the horizons of Lae worshippers, Mike posted a world map in a prominent place on the wall, placing thumbtacks at strategic places where world events of the week had taken place so that prayer could be focused on that situation. On the Sunday following the plane crash in which Roger Odell was killed, Pastor Fullingim placed a thumbtack in Reno, Nevada, asking the Lae believers to remember bereaving family members, unaware that Roger's relatives would send a sizable memorial gift that made the purchase of the day-care center property a reality.

The vision of starting a work in the capital city, Port Moresby, grew in the hearts of both the missionaries and the national leaders of the Fugwa church district. Gifts and offerings paid for travel costs for the mission coordinator and Hariwa Akope, Fugwa District Superintendent, to visit Port Moresby periodically in 1988 and 1989 to gather interested people together and to look for land.

With the help of resident Wesleyans, an available plot was discovered in a new subdivision. In July 1988 a lease was granted and plans were prepared to build a missionary house, pastor's house and church. The following year Fugwa District

took special offerings, culminating in a large Christmas offering, that resulted in a \$4000 contribution for outreach in Port Moresby. Hariwa Akope, feeling the call to plant the church in Moresby, was released by his district to pastor this new congregation.

Regular Sunday worship services are now being held as well as weekly home Bible studies in six different locations. Opportunities are unlimited in this city that is experiencing an explosion of population growth.

Other cities in the highlands and on the coast are targeted for church planting in the next decade.

The Maturing of the Church

The Wesleyan Church of Papua New Guinea was organized the same year that Papua New Guinea obtained its independence—1975. District superintendents were elected and leaders-in-training were selected for top-level management for the affairs of the Church during the first national conference held at Alia. After many years of discussion and decisions, a *Buk Stiau (Discipline)* was published and distributed. Linguist Mike Fullingim supervised the compilation and translation of numerous tapes into Pidgin English. The manual serves as a guideline for matters of faith and conduct appropriate to Papua New Guinea, including clear-cut directives for participation in pig exchanges, bride price, sing sings (traditional celebrations), and customs relating to deaths and burials.

Volunteer work teams and Wesleyan Gospel Corps personnel from America and Australia assisted greatly in the physical as well as spiritual development of the work. Visiting officials came from both countries, as well as pastors and members. Their contribution was invaluable.

By 1984 the four districts included 51 local churches, 59 church workers and 1,602 active members. New challenges and opportunities emerged. Increasing numbers of partly educated young people with no jobs found it difficult to settle back into village life. Youth workers were appointed in each district to minister to these young adults. The Fugwa District holds an annual youth camp during the Christmas (summer) holidays.

All districts plan weekend youth activities, discipleship classes and evangelistic tours.

Government leaders have actively promoted a renewal of cultural distinctives, causing some animistic practices to resurface. New Guinean Wesleyans are seeking God's answers as they maintain the biblical message of holiness in the context of their culture. In the myriad changes confronted by The Wesleyan Church in Papua New Guinea, one constant has been the stabilizing presence of pioneer missionaries Walter and Dorothy Hotchkin. Nearing thirty years of missionary service, their lives have been a "living sacrifice." In the spring of 1990, the first second-generation Wesleyan missionary (Ruth) was appointed when Dallas and Ruth Hotchkin Thomas were assigned to Papua New Guinea.

The church has always recognized the need for Bible training, but many hindrances have delayed reestablishment of a training center. The missionary coordinator conducts in-service training for pastors in each district and some students are in training in other denominational Bible schools.

Papua New Guineans are catching the vision of outreach. Missionaries and national leaders are convinced that the way to evangelize the nation is to send its own people as missionaries to other tribal groups.

Looking Ahead

The Wesleyan Church of Papua New Guinea is well established and its membership of over 2000 is preparing to reach out in greater ways than ever before. Goals for the future include the following:

1. Organization and establishment of the church in Port Moresby with members, full national support of pastor and work, funding and building the church and a national pastor's home, and outreach planting of daughter churches.
2. Completion of translation and printing of *What We Believe* in Pidgin English.
3. Establishment of the national church office and the national superintendent's residence in Mt. Hagen.
4. Establishment of full national support for a Lae pastor, funding for and building of a national pastor's home in Lae.

5. Re-establishment of a Wesleyan Bible School training program.
6. An increase of 24 churches from present 53 in 1991 to 77 in 2000 as part of the goal to have 2000 overseas churches by A.D. 2000.

The Wesleyan Church in Papua New Guinea is a testimony to the effective prayers of God's people around the world. The future of the church depends on the continued, faithful intercession of saints. "The prayer of a righteous man is powerful and effective" (James 5:16).

INDONESIA

Paul W. Thomas

Indonesia is one of the most fascinating and beautiful nations in the world. The Indonesian Archipelago is comprised of 13,677 tropical islands (almost 12,700 uninhabited), strung like a necklace along the equator in the Indian Ocean in south-east Asia.¹³⁵ It is green and fertile. The distance of the country's outer limits is about 3,400 miles from west to east, and about 1,000 miles from north to south.¹³⁶ Its neighbors are Papua New Guinea, Australia and the Philippines.

More than 180,763,000 (estimated 1990) people¹³⁷ live on these mountain-dominated islands, making Indonesia the fifth most populous nation in the world. The country varies from the uncivilized interior of West Irian to the modern industrial cities on the island of Java.

Indonesia is rich in natural resources of oil, coal, lumber, gold, silver, aluminum, iron, rubber, coconuts, spices and many others, having the potential of raising the low living standards. Indonesia is Asia's only member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).¹³⁸

Indonesian society is very complex with some 300 diverse tribal and ethnic groups.¹³⁹ The Indonesian folk saying, "*lain desa, lain adat*" (for each village, a different culture), suggests that the variation among them is enormous.

Of the 250 languages, the major ones are Bahasa Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese. Some thirteen languages are used by over one million people. The

government seeks to unify the nation through one official national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*.¹⁴⁰

As in all the world, cities are growing rapidly with people searching for more lucrative jobs in the government offices and the exploding manufacturing industries and by students flocking to the educational institutions. Rural electrification and improved telephone service are now beginning to change the life-style of many villages. In 1990 it was estimated that there were 32 million radios, 8.9 million televisions, and 763,000 telephones.¹⁴¹

Missionaries Jeff and Beth Fussner recorded some of their first impressions on the island of Java:

People, people, everywhere; streets crowded with cars, vans, public transport, betchaks (bicycle-powered rickshaws), motorcycles; driving on the left—the basic rule of the road being get there first, fast, any way you can; children . . . shy ones, friendly ones, smiling and studying us with huge eyes, laughing, playing and shouting; palm trees bending over orange tile roofs; blue volcanoes rising out of rice fields; Islam's call to prayer five times a day, at first sounding very weird and disturbing us (especially the 4:30 a.m. call!); feeling lost, bewildered and stupid because we can't understand what people say and don't know the customs yet; being touched by God's Spirit during a church service in spite of the language barrier . . .¹⁴²

Nationalism

Indonesia is intensely nationalistic and anticolonial. Although the Dutch began building a commercial empire in the islands around 1600, the outer islands were not subdued until 300 years later. Following three years of Japanese occupation (1942-45), Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945. Four years of fighting and negotiation followed with their former Dutch rulers until Indonesian sovereignty was recognized in 1949.¹⁴³

On September 30, 1965, Communists and other leftists, who had been gradually increasing in number for some time, attempted a coup that was put down by anticommunist military forces under General Suharto. The attempted coup was followed by one of the worst blood baths in history. More than

300,000 Indonesians were slaughtered and many were taken as political prisoners. General Suharto became president.¹⁴⁴

A Religious Nation

Indonesia is a religious nation, dominated by Islam with many variations. Ancient shrines, some built between A.D. 700 and A.D. 900, centuries before the arrival of Islam, are frequent sights. During the ninth century both Hinduism and Buddhism were practiced as separate religions but gradually blended into one.¹⁴⁵

The 1945 Constitution stipulates: "The State is based on the recognition of one all-powerful God," and "the State guarantees to each citizen the freedom to embrace the religion of his choice and to fulfill the religious obligations of his faith."

In reality since 1965 freedom of religion has been legally confined to four recognized religions: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Hindu-Buddhism.¹⁴⁶

Each citizen must declare his religious affiliation to the government. The vast majority are registered as Muslims. The Muslims believe that Mohammed is the highest and only commissioned prophet to whom God gave His special revelation in the Koran. The Koran is the holy book that contains the best of all religious teachings and the plan of God for time and eternity.

The *World Christian Encyclopedia* provides these statistics for Indonesia: Muslims, 87.30%; Christians 7.38% (Protestants, 4.3%, and Roman Catholics, 2.27%); Hindu-Buddhists, 3.64%.¹⁴⁷

Missionary Flora Belle Slater made this pertinent observation, verified by other missionaries:

In Indonesia the Islam religion has a foundation of Buddhism and Hinduism, which in turn were built upon animistic beliefs. Even most so-called Christians have not broken away from the ancient teachings and fears. These cause many of them, as well as those of all religions, to seek out witch doctors and other superstitious and Satanic agents. Demon power and possession is very common and is sometimes sought by those who are hungry for power, influence, and money. The "*Dukuns*" (witch doctors) are consulted frequently, and their word is valued and feared.¹⁴⁸

Restrictions Limit Missionary Methods

Missionary work must be carried on in harmony with many official restrictions, which limit one religion from proselytizing another.¹⁴⁹ No one should try to change the religion of another person. Handing out tracts or other literature publicly, calling door-to-door, or holding open-air evangelistic campaigns are forbidden. If someone should ask for literature, it may be given to him and there is no problem.

The law prohibits more than five persons to gather together without permission. A permit to build a church must have the consent of those living in the neighborhood. If the neighbors are Muslims, then protest is likely. The odds are about ninety to five in many places as in the island of Java that the neighbors will be Muslim. No public meetings or home services may be held without a special permit from local government officials.

Yet there is a growing number of Christians. How can this be?

Friendship must be relied upon as a bridge for witnessing and sharing the gospel. When a person is born again and his heart filled with the love of the Lord, he wants to share this faith and hope with others. No tools are needed. No preparations are necessary other than the knowledge one's sins are forgiven and the desire that one's family, friends or relatives will know the same forgiveness.¹⁵⁰

One important means of spreading the gospel is through one-family evangelistic Bible studies, which also fits within the regulations. Families are contacted by Indonesian Wesleyans, and the resulting Bible studies often become the nucleus of a house fellowship. This, in turn, reaches out to neighbors, friends and relatives. As the house fellowship grows and the people are baptized, a church becomes established. All of this without a church building!

The time comes when a house is too crowded. It is a mark of progress when a congregation takes the important step of building or providing a meeting place.¹⁵¹

Philippine Wesleyans Launch Out in Southeast Asia

The Wesleyan Church in Indonesia, which began in 1971, was an outreach of The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines and has been under their jurisdiction. The North American General Department of World Missions has worked in cooperation with the Philippine Wesleyan Church.

Saturnino Garcia, former Philippine general superintendent, explained the beginning of the work in Indonesia in these words:

For years now the Philippine Wesleyan Church has been feeling the burden of helping to evangelize its neighboring Asian countries. Impassioned challenges were sounded from the pulpit. Many began to feel the burden and see the need . . . The vision reached its first state of fulfillment when Rev. and Mrs. Daniel Pantangan vowed at an altar of prayer to go to Indonesia. This was in response to a clear and definite call of the Lord during a ministerial convention . . . [Mindanao, 1968]¹⁵²

Missionary offerings were raised in the Philippine Wesleyan churches to finance this venture. The cost of sending and supporting foreign missionaries was a formidable challenge to Philippine Wesleyans.

Daniel Pantangan, the first foreign missionary appointed by the Philippine Wesleyan Church, is a converted Muslim. He came from the Yakan tribe of Moros on Basilan, a small island off the northwest corner of Mindanao. Here is his testimony:

I was born in a devout Islam family. My father was a devoted Mahommedan priest. I was trained and taught in the Islam religion . . . but there was no inward peace or contentment. Instead constant fear was always before me day and night. The hunger in my heart was almost beyond description. I left home to go to high school in Kiamba, Cotabato. Through the providence of the Lord I stayed with a family who were members of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. It was there I was definitely saved and sanctified.¹⁵³

Daniel and his wife, Adelina, are graduates of the Mindanao Bible College in Davao City. They had served as missionaries to the Tagabilis Tribe in Cotabato and pastored several churches and were proven to be faithful and effective workers. Daniel was gifted in expositing the Scriptures and in personal soulwinning.

Finding A Sponsor

A church organization official recognized by the Indonesian government must sponsor anyone before permission will be granted to enter the country and carry on religious work. It was known that other groups had sought such sponsorship unsuccessfully.

In November 1970 Daniel Pantangan and Robert Smith, a Wesleyan missionary serving in the Philippines, made an exploratory trip to the island of Java in Indonesia, one purpose of which was to find a sponsor. While on the plane enroute from Manila to Jakarta, Pantangan won his seatmate, a young English-speaking Indonesian man, to Christ by using the "Four Spiritual Laws," material created and published by Campus Crusade for Christ.

Pantang and Smith traveled to several cities around Java, looking in vain for a sponsor. Several church leaders said they would be welcomed as coworkers but would not be sponsors to start The Wesleyan Church. Some said there was no need for another church in Indonesia. It looked like the trip would be unsuccessful.

Pantang, on the last scheduled day of their trip, felt led to call on the director of Campus Crusade for Christ International, Mr. Pormes. Pormes had heard of a Filipino winning an Indonesian to Christ on the plane. When he realized that Pantangan was that Filipino, he exclaimed: "I will sponsor anyone that is winning men to Christ. I will sponsor you and give you freedom to establish The Wesleyan Church in Indonesia."¹⁵⁴

The Campus Crusade for Christ International in Jakarta was officially sanctioned as the sponsoring body and other plans were finalized for the beginning of the missionary venture by the Philippine National Council in February 1971.¹⁵⁵

The Beginning in Bandung

It was remarkable how God supplied the needs and made a way for the Pantangan family in getting started.

Filipino Wesleyans, missionaries, relatives and friends

gathered at the Manila International Airport on August 4, 1971, and gave a rousing farewell to the Pantangan family. Daniel, with his wife and three children, arrived in Jakarta, the capitol of Indonesia, the same day. Jakarta was a city of five million people. The next three days were spent in processing papers.¹⁵⁶

Early in the morning of August 7 they prepared for the trip to Bandung, one hundred and twenty miles away. "The children were excited," Daniel said, "but they didn't know that I only had twenty dollars in my pocket." Daniel had prayed earnestly about the financial need during the night. Unexpectedly he encountered Mr. Jesus Maza, a faithful Wesleyan from Manila, who was sent to Indonesia by the Philippine government in connection with the 1971 Jakarta fair. Mr. Maza gave Daniel a love offering of sixty dollars, which was a tremendous and timely help.

The Pantangans arrived in Bandung, a bustling city of about two million people, in need of a place to stay. Daniel's account:

We did not have any permanent residence to which to go, but a man I had met at the train station when I first came in 1970, had graciously invited me to come to his place whenever I should come to Bandung. The new acquaintance, of course, was not a close friend, but he and his wife accepted us very well. However, after a week we had to look for a house to rent.¹⁵⁷

The custom for renting a house was to enter into a contract for two to five years and pay the entire amount at once. The eighty dollars was almost gone, and the Pantangans were unprepared to pay any advance amount. Their new friend, however, persuaded a man to rent his house to them for six months, allowing them to pay whenever they received the money!

Immediately we moved to that house with only one bedroom and no utensils. Early the next morning around six o'clock, Brother Maza arrived at our empty house. When he noticed that we did not have any utensils, without hesitation he invited me to go the store. He bought things for our immediate needs in the house. Brother Maza was certainly our Joseph in Indonesia!¹⁵⁸

The Pantangans, while having more in common with the Indonesian people racially and socially than American missionaries, nevertheless were foreigners and had to learn another language and adjust to another culture. "We are strangers in a

strange land with many strange tongues," Daniel wrote. They also had problems with the climate:

Since we arrived in August last year until February this year [1972], it rained heavily almost every afternoon. The climate during those months was very cool, especially in the evening. Wife had suffered much during those months; she had been down on bed with sickness many, many times. Now the climate is hot . . . But God has been wonderfully helping the whole family in adjusting to all this . . .¹⁵⁹

Bandung is a university center with a large student population. There are many flowers, parks, tree-lined streets, and beautiful homes and buildings built by the Dutch. It is surrounded by mountains, some of which are active volcanoes.

The Pantangans had no nucleus of believers and no co-workers. They could do very little in the beginning because of the language handicap. However, by March 1973 Daniel was teaching and preaching and Adelina was conducting Sunday school classes in *Bahasa Indonesia*.¹⁶⁰

One of their first ventures in September 1971 was the conducting of an English class primarily for university students in their front room. The Bible was used for one of the textbooks. To their surprise, other adults and government employees attended the class.¹⁶¹

Contacts were made while shopping at the market, traveling and doing business in various offices. Some of their first converts were nearby neighbors. Many were hungry for the gospel.¹⁶² The Pantangans were used of the Lord to win souls and establish a Wesleyan Church in Bandung within five years of their arrival. That was the beginning of The Wesleyan Church in Indonesia. The work was accomplished by personal soul-winning, home Bible studies, and services in their "little garage chapel," a small room measuring nine-by-twelve feet. The garage chapel was badly overcrowded long before another more suitable place was found.

Many of the converts in Bandung had a Batak Church background in North Sumatra, a neighboring island. They were nominally Christian but did not know about the spiritual reality of the new birth. Daniel wrote about his conviction of The Wesleyan Church's role in Indonesia:

As I get better acquainted with the religious life of the people, I am being assured more and more that God brought The Wesleyan Church here to Indonesia . . . The preaching of true repentance which results in complete separation from sin, salvation from the power and bondage of sin, and entire sanctification resulting in holiness of heart and life are strange doctrines even among the so-called church people. The Wesleyan Church has a tremendously great role to fulfill.¹⁶³

As mentioned before, Indonesian people are intensely nationalistic. The Church's name was "foreign" to the Indonesians and was somewhat of an obstacle in introducing the Church.

As requested by the Pantangans, Misses Flora Belle Slater and Daisy Buby arrived in Bandung in 1973. Both were veteran missionaries in their retirement years and supporting themselves. They were very effective in discipling new believers, helping to train prospective workers, and as intercessors.¹⁶⁴

Wayne W. Wright, then assistant general secretary of world missions, commented on his visit to the Bandung church in June 1975:

A visit to the new Wesleyan work in the city of Bandung, Indonesia, leaves an indelible impression of a dynamic witness amidst dead religiosity and dark paganism. . . . I vividly remember the glowing countenances of the converts who stood, one by one, to give account of God's dealing with them, and His saving, transforming power. I could not understand the words, but I got the message! Many of these converts have proven faithful through persecution and severe trial. Some of them have been driven from their homes because of their testimonies.¹⁶⁵

From some of the early converts in Bandung came the first leaders for the Indonesian Wesleyan Church.

North American World Missions Joins Forces With Philippines

The North American General Board of Administration on November 13, 1974, authorized the World Missions Department to enter Indonesia in cooperation with the Philippine Wesleyan Church.¹⁶⁶ It was the first new mission field for the American Church since the 1968 merger.

Robert and Julia Smith and family were transferred to Indonesia, arriving there on October 21, 1975. The Smiths had served in the Philippines since 1960.¹⁶⁷ Miss Freda Farmer, after four terms in Taiwan, was added to the missionary staff in January 1977.¹⁶⁸ Jeff and Beth Fussner began their first term of missionary service in August 1983.¹⁶⁹ The missionaries all began by concentrating on learning the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Their priority has been workers' training.

Missionaries are constantly on edge concerning the renewal of their visas, and the paper work involved often spreads out over six months every year.

Wesleyans in Timor and Alor

Fourteen churches and several other congregations on the islands of Timor and Alor, with an estimated constituency of 2,500, became a part of The Wesleyan Church of Indonesia in July 1977.

Timor and Alor are about 1500 miles from Java on the eastern side of the archipelago with their own unique cultures and local languages. The majority are Christians. Their Christianity, however, is often mixed with varying degrees of animism. The spread of Christianity there was the result of the unusual moving of the Holy Spirit a few years previously, part of the famed "Indonesian revival."

Contact with this group came through Missionary Robert Smith's language teacher in Bandung who became interested in the Wesleyan message while helping Smith to translate his sermon manuscripts. The teacher had been requested to help in finding a suitable denomination to which the group of churches could belong.¹⁷⁰

In response to an invitation from the church leaders in Timor and Alor, Daniel Pantangan, Robert Smith, and Robert Sitorus visited them as reported in April 1977. They were given a tremendous welcome:

As we approached the church, the pastor asked us to get out of the little truck and walk the rest of the way. To our amazement the road was lined with eager faces. They played flutes and drums as we walked between them. The church was packed and many were standing at the windows, pushing and shoving just to get a

glimpse of us. The singing, the welcomes, the warmth of their spirit was thrilling.¹⁷¹

The days that followed were filled with conferences, evangelistic services, and rap sessions with the pastors. As the visitors toured the churches, the people were alerted to their arrival by young men blowing on conch shells or cow horns. After a time of consultation and prayerfully seeking God's will, authorization was given by the official bodies in the Philippines and the United States for a formal joining of The Wesleyan Church.¹⁷²

The organizing conference was held July 1977 in the village of Mola on the island of Alor. Alor is a small island about two hundred fifty miles across the Sulu Sea from Timor. There are about 120,000 inhabitants and forty-nine local dialects!¹⁷³

Daniel Pantangan, Indonesian field superintendent and representative of the Philippine Provisional General Conference, Robert and Julia Smith, and Robert N. and Louise Lytle, general secretary of world missions and wife, were present. A proposed "Discipline" for Indonesia was studied, officials were elected, and plans were formulated. Mr. Lytle reported that God's blessing was on the conference:

Business [was conducted] during the daytime meetings, Friday, Saturday, and Monday, and a spiritual feast on Sunday with three God-blessed services. . . . God was present in each evening preaching service and on Sunday. The Holy Spirit spoke, hearts were moved, tears were shed, and smiles of new blessing from God-enlightened countenances [were observed].¹⁷⁴

Mr. Lytle noted that during the conference eight pigs, thirteen goats, and one cow were cooked along with the rice and Chinese greens in the improvised thatched kitchen/dining hall to feed the hundreds of attendants. Water from the mountain spring arrived each morning as women and girls carried it on their shoulders in eight-foot pieces of thick bamboo and deposited it in the concrete vault in the bathhouse behind the home where the guests were housed.

Lazarus Sailana was elected superintendent of the Timor-Alor Regional Conference. As a result of the organizing conference, The Wesleyan Church of Indonesia then consisted of the Bandung church on Java and the group of churches on Timor and Alor.

The Daniel Pantangan family took up residence in Kupang, Timor, to serve there as pioneer missionaries just as they had served in Bandung. Daniel was busy holding revivals, visiting local churches, conducting seminars for pastors, and shepherding the flock. Adelina was active in leading women's conventions and other ministries for the women and children.¹⁷⁵

The pastors in Timor and Alor were without any formal training for the ministry. A Bible school was established in Alor with a three-year program.

Rufo Lumahan and wife, Judy, the second Filipino missionary couple, have ministered in the Alor Bible School since 1977. The Pantangans returned to the Philippines in 1980 when their visa was not renewed.

Several buildings have been constructed at the Alor Bible School with hand-hewn lumber from the nearby mountains, the work being performed by volunteers from the Wesleyan churches under the leadership of Rufo Lumahan. A one-story brick administration building with offices and chapel space has been erected.¹⁷⁶ The average student enrollment has been about twenty to twenty-five. Some graduates have continued their studies at the Wesleyan Bible College in Magelang, Java.

The discovery of water at the Alor Bible School was considered a "miracle." Water had become a major concern. The new campus had been purchased and had to be developed. A well was the only solution to the need for water. However, about nine or ten feet below the surface was a layer of solid coral rock. Two times Rufo and the students had tried to dig a well, but about ten feet below the surface they hit such huge, hard stones they could not continue. Rufo and Z. Y. Lasibey walked around the campus, praying and asking God where they could dig. Robert Smith tells the story:

Suddenly they heard God saying, "Here. This is the spot." So they began to dig. The rocks were hard, and they had to "dig" with a hammer and chisel. Two chisels broke and several were worn down. After digging for many days, there was still no water. One afternoon Rufo again decided to go down and dig. Inside he was praying, "Oh God, according to your promise, please let me strike water right now!" He struck the chisel with a hard blow. A large piece of rock chipped off, and from beneath it, clear, cool, water began to spring up. "Water! Water!" he shouted as

students and faculty came running. Standing around their new well they all rejoiced and praised God.¹⁷⁷

The well has become a curiosity to many. Other wells around the community are dry, but the people know they can come to the campus and draw water for there is always an abundant supply. Some walk for miles to see God's miracle.

Leadership Training

The preparation of Christian workers has been the focus of missionary attention. Foreigners are suspect. The law forbids foreigners to hold any official position in the Church. Indonesians must be responsible for Church leadership and evangelistic work. Missionaries are permitted to be involved in the training of Indonesians in a Bible school or Bible college setting.

From the beginning, the Pantangans conducted doctrines classes for the new converts. A Bible training class for prospective workers was started in 1973, meeting three times a week in the garage, dining room and bedroom of the Pantangan residence in Bandung. There were seven regular students plus some special students who were attending other schools.

Daniel Pantangan and the missionaries felt led to relocate among the crowded masses of Central Java, where church growth was occurring much more than in Western Java where Bandung was located. Exploratory visits were made. They were duly authorized to transfer to Magelang, a large city in Central Java, to establish a Bible school. Magelang is a twelve-hour train ride over the mountains from Bandung.

A beautiful one-hectare (2.47 acres) plot of land was eventually purchased and developed into a lovely campus for the Wesleyan Bible College under the leadership of Robert Smith. Its precise location is alongside a major highway between the cities of Magelang and Jogjakarta in Blondo, a village of ten thousand people.¹⁷⁸ It is near the geographical center of Java, with an estimated population of eighty to ninety million people.

A time of anxiety was experienced before the purchasing of the land. Permission had to be secured from the government before the land could be purchased. Permission was given

twice and withdrawn, causing the emotions of those involved to go up and down like a roller coaster. Months passed by without any hope. Suddenly on March 30, 1979, a letter was received from the Department of Agriculture, the agency that issues land titles, stating that a letter had come to the Department from the governor, instructing them to sell the property to The Wesleyan Church! There was much rejoicing over this answer to prayer.¹⁷⁹

On the campus are a girls' dorm, a boys' dorm, a two-story administration building with offices and classrooms, a multipurpose building with kitchen, dining room, and recreation room, and two mission homes. The buildings are constructed of brick with stone facing.¹⁸⁰

The purchase of property and the erection of buildings were funded through the North American General Department of World Missions. A substantial grant for the library was made by Wesleyan Women International in 1985.¹⁸¹

From a beginning enrollment of six students in 1977, enrollment has increased to twenty to twenty-five. Students have come from Central Java, Bandung, Timor, Northern Sumatra, Kalimantan and Irian Jaya. In 1985 there were eighteen students in the ministerial program for a Bachelor of Theology degree, and seven students for Christian Education. Students are active in preaching and Sunday school work and also serve as pastors in their practicum year. Seeking to follow indigenous principles, the school requires students to pay tuition which has funded the operating expense and support of the Indonesian staff. It has usually been a tight squeeze financially.

As of 1988 there were two Christian publishers in Indonesia so that more and more textbooks are available in the national language. The Wesleyan Bible College in Blondo, Magelang, has become the center of the growing work on the island of Java.

Indonesian Leadership

Pastoral leadership for the growing number of churches is coming from the students and graduates of the Wesleyan Bible College in Magelang. Two promising church leaders, Robert

Sitorus and Johny Simamora, were converted and called to preach under Daniel Pantangan's ministry in Bandung.

Robert Sitorus was born on December 16, 1954, in Medan, North Sumatra, the second of six children. The Sitorus family were members of the Batak Tribe and were nominally Christian. At sixteen years of age, Robert's father sent him to Bandung for a high school education. The family wanted Robert to be a doctor.

Robert came into contact with the Pantangan family when the Pantangans moved into a residence just three houses away from where Robert was living. After closely observing Daniel Pantangan's personal life and attending the services, Robert was converted in July 1974 and sanctified the following November. When he announced his intention to answer God's call and prepare for the ministry, the aunt and uncle with whom he was living, and who had promised to pay his way through college, became angry. They gave him an ultimatum to stop going to the Wesleyan church or to leave immediately without anything. With only the clothes he was wearing and 100 Rupiah (25 cents) he sought and found refuge with the Pantangans. The aunt notified his parents that Robert was taken in by a false religion.

At this formative time, Robert came under the godly influence of associate missionaries Flora Belle Slater and Daisy Buby who had been involved for many years in training workers. In turn, Robert served them in many ways, including that of interpreter.

Robert began his ministerial training by enrolling in the class that was conducted in the Pantangan residence. He graduated from the Wesleyan Bible College in Magelang, the Kabakan Bible College in Mindanao, Philippines, and the Asian Theological Seminary in Manila with a master of divinity degree. He then returned to Indonesia to serve in any needed capacity.

He was elected president of the Wesleyan Bible College in Magelang and also served as a faculty member. In July 1985 he was elected assistant national superintendent. In July, 1987, he was chosen to fill the office of national superintendent and became responsible for the entire Indonesian Wesleyan church. Missionary Robert Smith commented: "Even though Robert is

young, he has had many experiences and is a mature Christian leader . . . He is a true disciple of Jesus Christ."

After the Sitorus family in Medan, North Sumatra, heard that Robert had been taken in by a false religion, two uncles, one after the other, were sent to Bandung to contact Robert. After the uncles had talked to Robert and Daniel Pantangan and attended some of the services, they notified the parents that it was not a false religion and everything was alright. The Sitorus family invited Misses Slater and Buby to visit them in Medan, which they did, accompanied by Robert. They were given a royal welcome, a bountiful Indonesian feast, and honored with beautiful handwoven shawls as a token of the family's appreciation.¹⁸²

Johny Simamora, also from North Sumatra, is another fine Christian worker. He graduated from the Wesleyan Bible College in Magelang and the Evangelical Seminary of Indonesia in Jogjakarta, Central Java, with the master of divinity degree. He has served as teacher, pastor, superintendent of the Java-Sumatra Regional Conference, and secretary of the entire work.¹⁸³

Church Planting in Java

Java is one of the most densely populated areas in the world, with an estimated population density of 1550 persons per square mile.

In spite of restrictions and an occasional setback, The Wesleyan Church is growing in Indonesia. Each situation is unique. A few examples may be given, however, to illustrate how the work has been carried on.

The Secang Story. A young man attended the Metro-Move seminar, having been invited by a missionary. He returned to his own village, from which he had been absent for several years, and began a Bible study with his relatives. An elderly grandmother and some of his sisters were saved. He developed a house fellowship and turned it over to the Wesleyan Bible College. A student was sent there as requested to continue the services. Other people were reached, including a number of teenagers. A full-time pastor was sent in 1986 and considerable growth was realized through his ministry.¹⁸⁴

A church building was being constructed when it was abruptly stopped by a government official. This was discouraging to the church people, but a meeting place in another neighborhood was found. The pastor kept busy befriending the neighbors, and eventually one man, a neighborhood leader, became a believer. His witness was very effective. At the end of the second month in the new place, 14 adults were baptized. By the third month, the congregation was ready to build again. They decided not to call it a church but to refer to it as "the pastor's home." A small bedroom and kitchen would provide for the pastor's living quarters, and the "living room" would be big enough for one hundred people. The "pastor's home" was built without protest or hindrance. The attendance doubled to about seventy in six months.

A member of the Secang church moved to another neighborhood in Jogjakarta and asked for a Bible study in his house which was conducted by a Bible college student. They were able to win a neighbor lady to Christ who was healed of cancer in answer to their prayers. Some other neighbors were reached. A Christian family from East Java moved into the neighborhood and became a part of the church. The church has grown as others have been reached.

Rosma. Another church began through a Bible college girl's patient endurance, beginning with children's ministries.¹⁸⁵ Rosma in her practicum year went to a village down the road a few miles to start a Sunday school. It was a new area without any evangelical church. She had no contacts there. It was difficult for a couple of years as she would go every week to gather the children for Sunday school, but they would only laugh and mock at her. She kept going and befriending the children. Eventually one little girl was saved, followed by several others. Rosma not only taught them the Bible but also Christian principles for living. The children would share these lessons with their parents. Finally, the parents asked, "Would you teach us also?" Rosma began a Bible study. Five couples were won to Jesus and became the nucleus of a church. Rosma graduated and continued to pastor. A house was rented for a place of worship. The congregation continued to grow and a church was established.

Suwatno. The conversion and call to the ministry of Suwatno serves as another example.¹⁸⁶ Suwatno, a young Muslim, badgered his Christian uncle to loan his Bible to him. The uncle, suspicious of his nephew's motives, finally gave in and loaned him the Bible. Suwatno's Muslim teachers had told him that the Christian's Holy Book was full of errors. He wanted to find these errors for himself and strengthen his argument against Christianity.

As Suwatno read the Gospels, he found himself being pulled between two ways. Like a majority of his townmates in Warurejo, he faithfully repeated Arabic prayers five times daily, observed the yearly month of fasting, gave gifts to the poor, and hoped to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. But all of this had not satisfied his spiritual hunger. Now as he looked for errors in the Gospels, he was captured by the great Truth. Was Jesus Christ really who He said He was, the Son of God? Was He the Savior of the world?

Suwatno took his questions to a Christian minister. He was faced with a hard choice. To follow Christ would mean to be different from his whole family and neighbors. Such a break is very difficult in Java where family and community are highly valued. For Suwatno, however, there was no other choice after his questions were answered. Courageously he made his decision to follow Christ. He enrolled in the Wesleyan Bible College in Magelang and as this is written is now serving as a pastor.

Summary

By 1988 there were nine Wesleyan congregations on the island of Java.¹⁸⁷ Only one church building had been erected, located in Jogjakarta and funded in part by the World Missions Department. Two houses have been purchased to serve as meeting places. Two more congregations worship in rented houses. One congregation worships in a building that has been purchased while the property on which the building stands does not belong to them. Other congregations meet in private homes.

In 1991 Keith and Patty Norris arrived on the field in Indonesia, joining the Fussners in the continuing challenge of adding 25 new churches by the year 2000.

KOREA

Virginia Wright

Wesleyans have been involved in the Republic of South Korea since 1982, making it one of the newest overseas missions of the Church.

It actually began with the search of a Korean pastor, Rev. Dong Suk Chung, for a conservative Methodist group with which he could affiliate. He became acquainted with Rev. Paul Kim and Korean Wesleyan pastors on the West Coast. Pastor Kim made trips to Korea and a fellowship developed between the Sam Sung Church in Seoul pastored by Rev. Chung and the Korean Wesleyan churches in California. Contact was made with Wesleyan World Missions, and in October 1981 General Superintendent J. D. Abbott and General Secretary of World Missions Robert Lytle visited in response to a request from the Sam Sung Church in Seoul.

They found that the Sam Sung Church along with seven others had already registered with the Korean government as the "Jesus Korea Wesleyan Church." Part of the *Discipline* had been translated. The leaders stated that in Korea twenty percent of the population is Christian, but the weaknesses of Korean Christianity are factionalism and Shamanism, as well as syncretism of Christianity with Buddhism and mystical Eastern religions and liberal theology. Their expressed desire was to become affiliated with a *pure* Christian church. Their purpose statement was fourfold: to propagate pure holiness doctrine, to facilitate international fellowship, to provide English language learning for their people, and to exemplify Wesleyan doctrine in holy living. Mr. Lytle summed up their findings by saying, "It is my opinion that God has opened a door of broader ministry for The Wesleyan Church."¹⁸⁸

Connors Appointed to Korea

The Jesus Korea Wesleyan Church, composed of eight churches and some 1600 adherents, made a formal request to the Department of World Missions in November 1981 to establish a denominational relationship with The Wesleyan Church

of North America.¹⁸⁹ The official response of the Church came at the May 1982 meeting of the General Board of Administration. They appointed John and Marge Connor to Korea as missionaries.¹⁹⁰

John Connor made his first trip to Korea in November 1982. He was welcomed by six of the pastors and entertained at the Sam Sung Church. During his stay of several weeks, he fellowshiped with church people, preached and met with the governing committee of the Jesus Korea Wesleyan Church several times exploring doctrinal beliefs and forms of church government. He searched for housing and a school possibility for their two children.¹⁹¹

The September issue of *Wesleyan World* reported that the Connors moved to Korea in June 1983. They found housing at a Baptist mission, obtained residence permits and enrolled in language school. During the following months, they attended churches, preached, and began to establish a working relationship with the pastors, all the while struggling to learn the language.

There was fruit from the careful teaching of Wesleyan doctrine and church polity. Some of the pastors and people embraced the doctrine of holiness and were sanctified. Work was continued on the translation of the *Discipline* and also on *What Wesleyans Believe*. One of the pastors who had returned to Korea from the Hoyne Avenue Wesleyan Church in Chicago was helpful in the translation work and interpreting the new culture.

Great difficulty was encountered after one year when all attempts at securing a visa failed, and the Connors were forced to leave Korea. They moved to Manila in August 1984 where they spent a year assisting The Wesleyan Church in the Philippines while waiting for further visa developments.¹⁹²

In April 1985 Wayne Wright, secretary of world missions, and John Connor visited Korea in order to answer questions of church government and doctrine. In-depth discussions revealed the need for more time for people of varying backgrounds to come to an understanding of new ways. A second purpose was to search for possible avenues of approach toward visa application for the Connors. It was learned that a visa could be obtained for someone involved in higher education, possibly as

a Wesleyan scholar with an existing university.¹⁹³ The Connors then returned to California where John enrolled at the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary.¹⁹⁴

Provisional Conference Organized

Meanwhile, the Jesus Korea Wesleyan Church continued its work under the Korean leadership. They reported 12 churches and several thousand members, although the form of church government and various doctrinal issues were under question. Earle Wilson, supervising general superintendent, and John Connor visited Korea in October 1985 for the purpose of setting up a provisional conference. A district superintendent and other district officials were elected, constituting a district board of administration.¹⁹⁵

During those meetings, extensive discussions surrounded three main issues: requirements for membership, composition of a local board of administration, and also the doctrine of holiness. In 1986 Wilson was asked to make a "Clarification of Interpretation of the Original Agreement."¹⁹⁶

The years from 1985 until 1989 proved to be sifting times for the fledgling Wesleyan Church in Korea. Leadership changed hands as pastors and people dealt with these organizational and doctrinal issues. Missionary Connor visited Korea again in late 1987. During that visit, one of the leading pastors was sanctified, resulting in revival in his church and in others.¹⁹⁷

John Connor received his doctor of missiology degree in June 1987. He was given the Donald A. McGavran Award for significant contributions to the church growth movement with his dissertation on the study of ethnic minority congregations of The Wesleyan Church in the United States. The Connors also spent significant time with the California Korean churches while at Fuller.¹⁹⁸

Connors Return

They returned to Korea in January 1988 on a visa permitting him to teach at Nazarene Theological College south of Seoul. They resumed work with Wesleyan pastors and congregations, taught in the Wesleyan Bible School, and resumed their study of

the Korean language.¹⁹⁹

A visit to Korea by General Secretary of World Missions Wayne Wright in April 1988 clarified the position of the department of world missions on organization.²⁰⁰ General Editor Wayne E. Caldwell was asked to deliver a series of lectures on holiness to the Korean church in August 1988 in order to further clarify the doctrinal issues. The Jesus Korea Wesleyan Church sent its first delegates to the Wesleyan World Fellowship and the 1988 General Conference. Following general conference, a crisis was reached over the long-debated issues, and several pastors left.²⁰¹

In November 1988 Lee M. Haines, supervising general superintendent, presided over the reorganizing conference. Noh Young Chae was elected district superintendent, along with other district officials.²⁰²

In February 1989 the Korean church joined together to send a delegation to the Philippine General Conference along with Dr. John Connor to observe the Church in action. This proved to be a giant step in understanding how the church functions, both spiritually and organizationally.

General Superintendent Haines returned to preside over the conference in 1989, further strengthening the position of The Wesleyan Church as a bona fide church organization. "The Essentials and Standing Rules of The Wesleyan Church in Korea" were adopted. The 1989 report showed 3 organized churches, 6 pioneer churches, 14 house fellowships, 4 ordained elders, 2 licensed ministers and 334 members. Several young people were in preparation for the ministry. Outreach was vigorous, and new converts were being trained through *What Wesleyans Believe*, written by John Connor. The 2000 by 2000 goal for Korea is 12 new churches.

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CHAPTER 13

A MERGER ENVISIONED: FORMATION OF THE WESLEYAN CHURCH

Wayne E. Caldwell

In one of the last of his many letters addressed to American Methodists, John Wesley expressed the hope that his followers would "lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world; . . ."¹

Even at the time those words were written disruptive tendencies had already appeared, and since that time Methodists have been torn by divisions and subjected to schism, fracture and fragmentation. These breaks and ruptures often have produced strife, dissension and bitterness of spirit.

But when organic unity was established between three branches of Methodism that were once divided by sharp tensions, new hope was generated that Methodists might be "one people in all the world."² The Methodist Episcopal Church, The Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and The Methodist Protestant Church were merged in 1939 in Kansas City, Missouri, to become The Methodist Church.

Wesley's goal, hope, dream is not yet a reality. It is significant that the phenomenon of fragmentation has probably been as pronounced in American Methodism as in any other group. With every union there also has been the fracture of the bodies uniting. When the United Methodist Church was formed in April 1968 in Portland, Oregon, 51 congregations, including 6,500 members and 79 ministers of the former Evangelical United Brethren denomination (also the result of a merger in 1945), withdrew and formed the Evangelical Church of North America.³

From their beginning in 1843 the Wesleyan Methodists

were always willing to have any group join them which so desired, provided they joined completely on Wesleyan terms. However, there was little serious interest in merger with another group for at least twenty years after their founding date.

When the issue of slavery was settled in the nation, many Wesleyan Methodists found no reason for the existence of a separate church and flocked back into the Methodist Episcopal Church. One of the more influential leaders of the Wesleyans who returned to the mother church was Lucius C. Matlack. After the reason for dissidence was over, Mr. Matlack cited the testimony of Bishop Thompson in 1866, as the justifiable grounds for his return to the Methodist fold, as follows:

I have no doubt that withdrawing as the Wesleyans did, when they did, for the reasons they did, and organizing just outside the lines of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the antislavery platform, they constrained a development of antislavery activity within the "old church," which they could not have accomplished by remaining members of it.⁴

In the history of The Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Conscience and Commitment*, the writers observe, that two fraternal delegates from the northern branch of the Methodist Protestant Church came to the 1864 General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection with a proposal of church union and joint ownership of Adrian College. The result was a rather serious defection of leading ministers who returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church and the loss of Adrian College.⁵

Whereas the years 1867 to 1897 were marked with discontent and uncertainty brought on by the flush of war and subsequent events, the nation and many parts of the world experienced a "progressive lurch" during the fifty-year period from 1897 to 1947.⁶ It was one of the most dramatic and climactic periods of world history. Some authorities have asserted that there were more rapid and important changes brought about in political, economic, social and cultural areas during this period than in many previous centuries combined.

In the area of religion and reform the years following 1897 fairly bristled with problems, as social and religious changes were forced by the rising economic tide. The description of some of these problems by one authority is vivid and convincing:

The immense tide of foreign immigration flooding the cities, the extraordinary mobility of population, the draining of rural districts and the abandonment of country churches, and the difficulties of financing new churches, hospitals, schools and other similar projects in a period of rapid growth created situations which taxed the enthusiasm and skill of religious leadership to the uttermost. The Sunday newspaper, Sunday excursions, Sunday ball games and Sunday moving pictures crowded in to break the erstwhile Sabbath monopoly of the church. Pastors who a few years earlier denounced Sabbath breaking in sermons on such themes as "You cannot serve God and skylark on a bicycle" now had greater competition in the automobiles and the golf course.⁷

The "social gospel" idea that man is inherently good and if given the right environment will do good, although not invented by Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918), was forwarded by this man more than any other person. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, with its Gospel of Social Concern, was founded in 1908. It took its statement of social ideals substantially from Methodism, for it was in this same year in which the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a social creed prepared by the leaders in the Methodist Federation of Social Service.

In scientific achievements there is no question that more progress was made during this fifty-year period following 1897 than in all of the previous history of the Christian era. This was particularly true in the United States. During this fifty-year period of history our nation was involved actively in three major wars—the Spanish American, and World Wars I and II. It witnessed a great economic collapse in 1929, the growth of the population to nearly 150 million and many revolutionary changes in agriculture and industry as well as in society and culture in general.

This brief summary of the major events of the period with the organization of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908 and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, with their political, economic, social and religious overtones, provides the context in which small but vibrant groups of Wesleyan-Arminian, holiness people were found reaching out to each other, yet resisting change. For in spite of the advancements made in areas of social concern there were

vast expanses of social and religious life which remained untouched.

The Methodist Church itself was perhaps ninety percent rural in 1900.⁸ The agricultural population of America was the last to feel the effects of any social change or moral reform. Wesleyans in the predominantly rural climates of the United States were even less affected by social and religious pressures.

During this time of social and cultural flux the Pilgrim Holiness Church was born. It was part and parcel of the holiness revival,⁹ which brought about sweeping changes in many areas. Organized as an interdenominational fellowship the International Holiness Union and Prayer League was not intended to be a church or a denomination. Seth C. Rees and Martin Wells Knapp met with about twelve others in Knapp's home in September 1897 in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Constitution stated that holiness of heart and life was possible by "the Scriptural regeneration of sinners and the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire for believers."¹⁰

When God's Bible School was founded in 1900 the groups, sometimes called "local unions," organized around the leadership of Rees and Knapp, associated themselves for meetings and for training with the school. At the same time the name of the organization was changed to International Apostolic Holiness Union. This name was used until 1913 when the name was again changed to International Apostolic Holiness Church. Those who had been scattered throughout various denominations were asked to join as members to help build a strong new church denomination. From Illinois, Michigan, North Carolina, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ontario, Canada, members of Holiness Unions and Camp Meeting associations were gathered into the new denomination.¹¹

EARLY MERGER INTEREST

In the Wesleyan Methodist General Conference of 1903, which met at Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 21-30, came the first attempt to consider a union with any other group in nearly forty years. Bishop W. T. Hogue, a fraternal delegate of the Free Methodist Church, gave a stirring address on the need for cooperation and unity among the smaller denominations.

Whereupon the Book Committee was authorized to appoint a committee of not less than five people to consider the relationship existing between the two denominations after the Free Methodists also named such a committee.

In the Wesleyan Methodist General Conference of 1907, meeting at Fairmount, Indiana, October 16-24, an official report was made that both churches had committees which in turn had formed a joint commission on church merger. Four years later a full report of the joint commission indicated that a very careful study and evaluation had been made. There was complete harmony on doctrinal issues but two major difficulties had been encountered. One was the exclusion of instrumental music in the Free Methodist Church and the other was the reluctance on the part of Wesleyan Methodists regarding general superintendency.¹²

More minor difficulties also were addressed by the joint commission, including differences in making pastoral appointments, terms of pastoral service, the ordination of elders and church voting. Two meetings of the commission had been held, but due to the serious illness of Bishop Hogue no further meetings were scheduled. It is evident that the memberships of both churches had strong feelings about their methods of operation. Nothing more seemed possible for progress at this time, although general considerations favorable to ultimate union were excellent. Another thirty years would pass before the Wesleyan Methodists and the Free Methodists would again enter into talks leading to possible merger.

In the 21st General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, meeting at Fairmount, June 27-July 3, 1923, L. H. Coate of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and J. A. Huffman from the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, fraternal delegates, suggested that negotiations looking toward church union with the Pilgrim Holiness and Mennonite churches were desirable. A commission was elected composed of T. P. Baker, A. E. Wachtel, E. M. Graham, E. G. Dietrich and Joe Lawrence.

After an interview with Coate and Huffman, the committee reported that they saw no insurmountable barrier to church union and suggested a joint meeting with like committees from these other church bodies at Goshen, Indiana, in June 1924. J. S. Willett and W. R. Emerson were added to the committee.

The proposal did not materialize and there was no further report.¹³ It is interesting to observe that the official history of the Pilgrim Holiness Church¹⁴ does not mention Mr. Coate, nor is there any reference to an official effort by the Pilgrim Holiness Church to approach the Wesleyan Methodists with proposals for merger at this time. It is possible that Mr. Coate was acting on his own initiative or by unofficial agreement.¹⁵

It is further notable at this juncture that it was during the 1920s that several regional holiness groups were assimilated into what was to be the Pilgrim Holiness Church. All of these groups had been spawned by the holiness revival of the nineteenth century. In 1919 the Holiness Christian Church, organized in 1882 in Philadelphia, but with its primary strength of membership in Indiana (1,485 of 2,167 total membership), joined with the International Apostolic Holiness Church with a new name being adopted by the merged body, the International Holiness Church.¹⁶

In 1921 the Pentecostal Rescue Mission, with a small membership of 400 and its main center in New York, voted to unite with the International Holiness Church. This union was consummated in 1922. In October of the same year an invitation was given to the Pilgrim Church to send delegates to a special general assembly for the purpose of union.

The Pilgrim Church was started by Seth C. Rees in Pasadena, California, May 26, 1917, as The Pentecost Pilgrim Church. Rees had been invited in 1912 to pastor the University Church of the Nazarene in Pasadena. Under his ministry a great spiritual awakening occurred among members of the student body and in the community. Due to some disagreement or misunderstanding Rees and his congregation were dismissed from the Church of the Nazarene by the district superintendent. Rees then started his own work which later was extended to Texas, to Kansas and in mission work to Mexico. One of the lasting contributions of this small group numbering only 457 members, was the change of the name to the Pilgrim Holiness Church.¹⁷

In subsequent years other groups were also assimilated into the Pilgrim Holiness Church, including the World-Wide Missionary Society and the Immanuel Mission in 1923, the Bible Home and Foreign Missionary Society in 1924, the

Pentecostal Brethren in Christ in 1924, and the People's Mission Church in 1925.¹⁸

The membership of the Pilgrim Holiness Church nearly doubled from 8,000 in 1919 to 15,000 by 1926. Although the various groups which united added 3,200 new members, the majority were added by evangelism. Many leaders of the uniting groups also added a new dimension to church life. They became district and general leaders, who wielded a significant influence on the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Paul W. Thomas, who led the People's Mission Church after the death of William Lee in 1919, was probably the most able leader of any of the groups which merged with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. In addition to the benefits of new members and leaders was the expansion of the denomination from coast to coast and border to border, as well as a notable expansion of overseas missionary work to countries not mentioned earlier, namely, Japan, China, Korea, India, British Guiana, Venezuela and Guatemala.¹⁹

Following World War I both Pilgrim Holiness and Wesleyan Methodist Churches pursued a course which brought greater administrative and organizational efficiency. From 1920 to the onset of World War II, both Churches took action that gave increased control over the economic, social, cultural, political and religious forces within the denominations which could have overturned the purpose of each denomination in maintaining a strong holiness emphasis.

The stock market crash of 1929 as well as the drought, floods and grasshopper invasion of the 1930s racked the vast agricultural areas of the United States. The Church was greatly dependent upon its agricultural base because of the concentration of membership in rural areas. All these forces were circumstances with which leaders had to cope. In addition to these facts of life, the clouds of war enveloped the world. Faced with the effects of theological liberalism and the social gospel, Church leaders challenged the membership to stand solidly on a biblical and spiritual base of dependence on God. To the credit of these men and women of faith, both Churches came through such perilous times with grace, courage and victory.

Although the observation was made twenty-five years after the 1939 three-way merger of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist

Protestant Church, Melvin H. Snyder stated that it should be made known to their people that efforts for merger in the 1950s and 60s were not part of "the popular ecumenical movement of the 'one church' stripe."²⁰

MERGER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN WESLEYANS AND FREE METHODISTS

At the 26th General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America, June 23, 1943, held at Fairmount, Indiana, during war time, L. W. Sturk was the fraternal delegate of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. E. A. Holtwick of the Free Methodist Church "concluded his fraternal address with the reading of a letter from his Church, urging closer collaboration between the Free Methodist Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, looking toward a possible merging of the two bodies ultimately."²¹ The world was blasted by war and bathed in blood at this time. It seemed to be a precipitous moment when two or more small holiness denominations might well come together for a more effective ministry.

On the matter of fraternal collaboration between the Free Methodist Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church presented by E. A. Holtwick, the 1943 General Conference elected a committee as follows: F. R. Eddy, chairman; Wm. F. McConn, Roy S. Nicholson, Sr., John D. Williams and Stephen W. Paine. Further action was taken to contact Pilgrim Holiness Church officials with the aim of seeking union with that body also. This committee worked diligently and faithfully through a number of years to discharge a difficult and delicate duty.²²

The General Conference of the Free Methodist Church in 1943 also elected a committee of five to serve on a joint commission with the Wesleyan Methodists. The committee consisted of L. R. Marston, C. V. Fairbairn, Carl L. Howland, M. L. Barton and A. W. Secord.

An informal meeting was held in Syracuse, New York, in the fall of 1943 with L. R. Marston and F. R. Eddy serving as cochairmen. Provision was made for a special subscription price for the denominational papers and for an exchange of *Disciplines* for each member of the joint committee to read and study.

The first formal meeting of the commission to consider the matter of church union was held at the Roberts Park Methodist Church, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 21, 1944. L. R. Marston served as chairman, with other members present as follows: C. V. Fairbairn, Carl L. Howland, M. L. Barton, A. M. Secord, F. R. Eddy, R. S. Nicholson, Sr., Wm. F. McConn, J. D. Williams and S. W. Paine, secretary.²³

C. V. Fairbairn reported the general openness of the Free Methodists to merger. While recognizing the real problems involved, he held high hopes of surmounting them. Carl Howland spoke of the genesis of the term "bishop" among the Free Methodists. He also mentioned the previous failure of merger efforts 25 years before. His opinion was that the nonuse of musical instruments in the Free Methodist Church had been the greatest obstacle encountered. He also mentioned that church government and the "trust clause" practice of the Free Methodists, had been hindrances. The trust clause turned most church property to local trustees while church property of the Wesleyan Methodists was held by the annual conference corporations.

Several ministerial conferences were held jointly in order to provide forums for expressions of hope that union would bring greater glory to God and greater efficiency to the propagation of scriptural holiness. R. S. Nicholson cited nine areas where some real differences lay between the two churches:

1. General superintendency
2. Church polity and ordination
3. Looseness in administration
4. Instrumental music
5. Methods of pastoral appointments
6. Time limits of pastorates
7. Insistence on members' rights to vote
8. Holiness standards
9. Women's place in ministry

F. R. Eddy stated that Wesleyan Methodists would insist on the ordination of women and the right of the congregation to vote on its pastor.

A resolution was adopted by the joint commission as follows: We are "encouraged to believe that there are no barriers to the ultimate organic union of the two churches which are

necessarily insurmountable provided that the two constituencies become better acquainted with each other's fundamental principles."²⁴

Four other meetings of the joint commission were held (October 27, 1944; October 26, 1945; October 22-24, 1946; and April 24, 1947), prior to a report that was given to the 27th General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, at Houghton, New York, June 25-30, 1947. Seven areas for special study were defined with one committee member from each denomination named to the subcommittees—pastoral placement and general superintendency, educational institutions, doctrinal standards, ordination, conference boundaries, missions and corporate problems.

The difficulties to union generally were found to fall into three groups—doctrine, conduct, where there was general agreement, and church polity, where principal concerns lay. With the schools there was concern for the competition which would result from merger. Denominational control would be vital. No school would be arbitrarily eliminated. Definite boundaries would need to be set. Schools would be encouraged to develop specialties.

Neither denomination was very active in New England, but both were strong west of New England to the Mississippi River and north of the Mason Dixon line. Wesleyan Methodists were stronger in the South. East of the Rockies and west of the Mississippi River both were active but the Free Methodists had the greater strength. On the Pacific Coast both were active, but again the Free Methodists were the stronger. In Canada the Frees had three conferences and the Wesleyans one.

At the third meeting of the commission held October 26, 1945, at the Free Methodist Church of Winona Lake, Indiana, F. R. Eddy observed that pastors, for the sake of evangelism, should be discouraged in staying more than five years at any church. Dr. Howland, however, thought that all time limits for pastors should be removed.

A meeting of both denominations at Winona Lake, Indiana, October 22-24, 1946, for the purpose of inter-church fellowship, was attended by 30 Wesleyan Methodist and 63 Free Methodist general and district officials. This was followed by the fifth meeting of the joint commission at Asbury Theological

Seminary on April 24, 1947. F. R. Eddy had prepared a statement of Wesleyan Methodist standards. Conduct was to be with simplicity, modesty and a clear-cut separation from the world. Fuller cooperation was to be encouraged as quickly as possible with the conclusion that merging was possible if there was a will to union among the representative groups.

A summary report of the committee elected to study the question of union with the Free Methodist Church was made to the 1947 General Conference, June 25-30, at Houghton, New York. The conference continued the commission and instructed it "to be prepared in 1951 to present a definite plan of reorganizing the two denominations as one without commitment to approval of union."²⁵ An interesting conclusion was reiterated at this time that there would be no arbitrary elimination of any of the several colleges of the two denominations. The committee had understood its task to explore union with the Pilgrim Holiness Church also. But the Pilgrim Holiness Board voted to discontinue any further meetings.

At the sixth meeting of the joint commission on church union, October 28, 1948, at Winona Lake, Bishop Fairbairn and Roy S. Nicholson proposed the name of the merged church—"The United Wesleyan Methodist Church of America."

An often repeated note was sounded at the seventh meeting of the commission, October 17, 1949, at Winona Lake, that there was not a single insurmountable obstacle to union if there was a will to merge. They wrote:

We view with regret the multiplication of churches, and regard separation from other bodies of Christians as justifiable upon the grounds of principle only.

John Wesley foresaw the dreadful consequences of division. "If we are united," he asked, "What can stand before us? If we divide, we shall destroy ourselves, the work of God, and the souls of our people."²⁶

The union of the Wesleyan Methodist and Free Methodist Churches not only would have set an admirable pattern of brotherly unity but it also would have been an implicit adherence to historic Methodism.

Two meetings of the joint commission were held in 1950 at Marion College, May 9, and at Winona Lake, Indiana, September 27. With the 1951 General Conferences

approaching, reports were prepared in two meetings, March 20 and May 23, to be given to the respective Wesleyan Methodist and Free Methodist delegates, meeting in June. It was noted at this time that there was a great deal of unrest among Wesleyans over the proposed merger with the Free Methodists.²⁷

Both general conferences of 1951 gave a mandate to the joint commission to prepare the manuscript for a complete "Discipline" which was to be in the hands of the Boards of Administration of the respective churches by May 1, 1954, just over a year prior to the next general conferences. At the uniting general conference there were to be 53 members of the Joint Board of Administration—28 Free Methodists and 25 Wesleyan Methodists.²⁸ It was at the 1951 General Conference that The Wesleyan Methodist Church became affiliated with the National Holiness Association.

Following the general conferences of 1951, 15 meetings of the joint commission were held, all of them in Winona Lake, Indiana, except one, July 22, 1954, which was held at Marion College, Marion, Indiana. Several items of special interest came from these 15 meetings during the quadrennium.

Probably no issue gave more concern to the Wesleyan Methodists than that of the infallibility and inerrancy of Scripture. Long and arduous discussions were held on this issue. Stephen W. Paine was one of the members of the joint commission who wrote a long and detailed explanation of the differences between the two words, inerrancy and infallibility, to show how imperative it was to have an accurate statement on the authority of the Scriptures.

Bishop Marston presented a proposed revision of the wording of Article V: "Wholly without error in the original manuscripts, . . . transmitted without corruption of any essential doctrine" F. R. Eddy made the motion and Wm. F. McConn seconded the motion that the change be adopted.²⁹

In the 21st meeting, May 25, 1954, the name "The United Wesleyan Methodist Church," was approved. This meant that the words "of America," which had been part of the proposed name, were dropped. In the meeting at Marion College it was agreed that the proposed "Discipline" would not be sent to conference presidents until after the fall meetings of the respective General Boards. Discussion of merger in the Church

periodicals was to be limited to two pages and only to what was prepared by members of the joint commission.

The 29th General Conference, held at Fairmount, Indiana, June 21-29, 1955, finally faced the issue of whether or not to merge with the Free Methodist Church. For 12 years a joint commission consisting of an equal number from the two churches had carefully studied this question. Their reports to their respective general conferences and Boards of Administration had been regular and complete. They had followed directives as closely as possible. A tentative "Discipline" proposed for the merged church had been prepared with careful wording on certain points where differences existed in terminology, such as Free Methodist bishops being elected at each general conference without a life term.³⁰

Powers were defined and limited, but many Wesleyan Methodists, fearing an episcopal form of government if merger occurred, vigorously opposed the merger. The complete "Discipline" had been prepared as directed by the 1951 General Conference but the final proposal was that it would be carefully studied by everyone involved for another quadrennium, with a final decision to be made in 1959. The vote was 62 in favor and 96 opposed. A keen disappointment was felt by those who had worked so diligently for the merger. Many supporters of the union sincerely believed that merger did not involve surrender of any principle of doctrine, Christian conduct or church polity. The general conference then authorized the statement that the vote was not to mean termination of the fellowship and cooperation which these two bodies had enjoyed.

MERGER INTERESTS OF WESLEYANS TURN TO PILGRIMS

The 1955 General Conference authorized the Board of Administration to name a committee on fraternal relations and cooperation with the Free Methodist Church. Another vote was taken to authorize the Board of Administration to elect a committee to study merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and to continue study of merger with the Free Methodists. This carried by a vote of 79 in favor and 58 opposed.³¹

The Free Methodist Church, after years of intensive study of

the question, considered the negative vote of the Wesleyan Methodists as a final decision on merger and manifested no desire to continue study. From this point on discussions were limited to the Wesleyan Methodist and the Pilgrim Holiness Churches.³²

The Mechanics of Merger

Following the 1955 General Conference a joint commission on merger was formed to represent the two churches. The Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Methodist Church named Roy S. Nicholson, Sr., J. R. Swauger, David A. Rees, Stephen W. Paine and Hollis C. Stevenson as the committee to study the question of merger. O. G. Wilson was named to the committee upon the death of J. R. Swauger, September 23, 1955. William H. Neff, Melvin H. Snyder, R. D. Gunsalus, Paul F. Elliott and R. A. Beltz represented the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Neff was elected chairman and Wilson served as secretary. It was determined by this commission that a basis of merger would be prepared for the 1959 General Conference with proposed principles by which details could be worked out at a later time.

Prior to the first meeting of the joint commission, held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, September 4-5, 1957, the general superintendent of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the president of The Wesleyan Methodist Church had met and set up an agenda with five areas to be surveyed:

1. Survey of Origins
2. Survey of Doctrines
3. Survey of Church Polity
4. Survey of Missionary Interests
5. Survey of Educational Interests

Questions asked and discussed in the first meeting were incisive and candid. How serious are we for a merger of our Churches? Is it the right thing to do? Will a merger help us get the gospel out? Are there economic advantages? Is it God's will? There is every evidence that the discussions were frank, open, brotherly, loving and with Christian understanding.

The primary accomplishment of the first meeting was the

identification of differences or problem areas, with assignment of the subjects to subcommittees. It was agreed that there were only slight doctrinal differences. The missionary interests of the two Churches at home and abroad were complementary, and they could be united in a stronger program. The colleges were well located and adjustments could be made to the profit of all. In church government there were more definite differences that needed to be addressed. The unanimous opinion again was that there were no insurmountable barriers to merger.

The joint commission was divided into five subcommittees of two members each, one from each denomination to study the following concerns:

1. Doctrine, Christian Conduct and Conditions of Membership
2. Economic Aspects of Merger
3. Ecclesiastical Polity
4. Educational Interests
5. Missionary Interests

After five months the joint commission met again, March 25-26, 1958, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Points of agreement, points of advantage, points of difference and possible solutions were presented by the five subcommittees. At the close of the second meeting a remarkable degree of unanimity in resolving differences had been achieved. But as is the case in most courtships which lead to marriage, there were many unseen and unknown problems to be worked through.

Without question the most important part of any organization is its constitution and bylaws. It was agreed in the second meeting that there would be two primary sections to the "Discipline" of the merged Church — the constitutional and statutory, which the Wesleyan Methodist Church had recognized for many years. Agreement for a third section of the *Discipline* was added several years later for the rites and ceremonies of the Church, which was called the ritual.

Clarification of the difference between constitutional and statutory law had been attempted in the Wesleyan Methodist Connection as early as 1911, when a committee had been appointed to study the matter. When they reported in 1915, there was continued confusion since the committee did not delineate specifics. In 1951 the general conference president

asked for a committee to write a constitution for the Church. In 1959 that constitution was ratified by a unanimous vote of the general conference, by a 98 percent majority of all annual conference delegates and by the members of the local churches. This constitution became the model for the constitution drawn up as a part of the basis for the merger in 1968.³³

The constitutional section would include 1) Name, 2) Articles of Religion, 3) General Rules, 4) Conditions and rights of membership, 5) Ministerial rights and duties, 6) Rights and basic duties of districts or conferences, 7) Basic judiciary, 8) How the constitution can be amended. A two-thirds vote of the general conference and a two-thirds vote of those voting in the district conferences would be necessary to amend any part of the proposed constitution. The statutory section could be amended by a majority vote of the general conference only. At this time it was also noted that the name, "Wesleyan Pilgrim Church" had been chosen for the merged Church. As with other issues, this was to be discussed and debated over and over again before a decision became final.

Another area of agreement at this time was that there would be an equal number of lay and ministerial representatives in both general and district conferences. The method of allocation would need to be worked out. Also, a board of general superintendents would be elected for four years for spiritual and administrative leadership of the Church. The general superintendents would preside at the district conferences, unless they could not be present. In that case the conference president or district superintendent would preside, or a general officer could be invited to preside by the conference or district.³⁴

Thus, the basic understanding for merger and the work of the joint commission on merger was at this point completed, preparatory to the vote of the Pilgrim Holiness Church in the general conference of 1958 and a year later by The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Other Mergers

In the meantime, on November 2, 1957, the Missionary Bands of the World, a small holiness denomination with headquarters at Indianapolis, voted to merge its churches and

mission fields with The Wesleyan Methodist Church. Started by Vivian A. Dake in 1885, the Pentecost Bands of the World were part of the Free Methodist Church for ten years, after which they separated and became known as the Missionary Bands of the World. On June 20, 1958, the Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Methodist Church voted approval of the merger. Eight churches in Indiana, a rescue home for girls in Mississippi, mission fields in Jamaica and Central India, and a campground and headquarters in west Indianapolis were merged with The Wesleyan Methodist Church. By 1959 the merger was nearly completed including overseas missions.³⁵

Previously the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association had come into The Wesleyan Methodist Church with a large portion of its members and property. It was a small holiness denomination founded in 1893 and through the years had established mission fields in South Africa and in Haiti as well as their headquarters and a Bible school in Tabor, Iowa. When they merged in 1948 the headquarters and the Bible school went to the Church of the Nazarene, but six churches in Nebraska, the mission field in Haiti and Brainerd Indian Training School at Hot Springs, South Dakota, became Wesleyan Methodist.³⁶

Merger Fails But Negotiations Continue

At the Twenty-third General Conference of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, June 10-16, 1958, it was noted that for many years a brotherly relationship had existed with The Wesleyan Methodist Church. It was projected that through merger a savings of at least \$500,000 of the Lord's money each quadrennium would be realized in administrative costs alone. It was underscored that merger would be pleasing to God and to His glory, with the obvious result in the furtherance of God's kingdom. The vote was taken and a 76 percent (321/100) favorable response was registered.

The Thirtieth General Conference of The Wesleyan Methodist Church was held at Houghton, New York, in 1959. All delegates were present at least part of the session. Intense interest was expressed over the question of merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Much unrest had occurred throughout the quadrennium. Many were upset over the failure

to merge with the Free Methodist Church and others by allegations that the proposed merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church would foist upon the Wesleyan Methodists a policy of dictatorship. Increasing rumors of secession from the Church were heard over merger and other issues, such as a more centralized form of supervisory oversight of the work of the Church already recommended in 1943 and adopted in 1947.³⁷

After the failure of the Wesleyan Methodists to approve the merger with the Free Methodists, a broad study on merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church had been called for. As noted above, the joint commission on merger carefully had studied observations on, and objections to, the procedures employed in the earlier efforts with the Free Methodist Church. The effort was to attempt to isolate the areas of critical difference and work out (propose) ways these issues could be resolved. The joint commission recommended merger and presented the proposed course which would help effect it. The discussion lasted for parts of two days. Since it involved constitutional law a two-thirds vote was needed. The vote was 108 in favor and 55 opposed. With 163 votes cast this was one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed to initially approve the merger.³⁸

It was reported that one delegate to The Wesleyan Methodist General Conference who would have voted for the merger, had missed the vote in the understanding that it was to be taken in a later session. Another report indicated that some delegates had been influenced to vote against the merger by the leaders of their conference, who themselves had decided to vote for it.³⁹

As it was following the failure of the vote regarding merger with the Free Methodist Church in 1955, no further steps were taken toward merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church at this time. The vote was interpreted as a formal closing of negotiations. However, two important actions were taken by the Wesleyan Methodists that would make the two denominations more similar. Instead of a general president, three general superintendents were elected. Also, the handling of finances was given to a general treasurer, rather than being left to the treasurers of the various departments.

Little more was done in a formal way about the failed merger vote of 1959 until 1962, when the close vote continued

to evoke considerable discussion of the issue. Some of the annual conferences had asked the Board of Administration to be permitted to take a straw vote on the merger. The Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Methodist Church recommended that each annual conference would pray earnestly and vote as intelligently as possible on the matter of merger. The vote would not bind the denomination to any action, but the result would be reported to the regular annual meeting of the Board, March 4, 1963. The full text of the recommendation was as follows:

Whereas, some annual conferences have taken action as to their sentiments pertaining to merger, and

Whereas, there have been specific requests by other conferences as to the possibility of expressing their wishes relative to merger, and

Whereas, it appears desirable at this time to give each conference an equal opportunity to express itself respecting merger

Therefore, we recommend that the Board of Administration request each annual conference to take a ballot vote at the 1962 annual session and communicate the results of the vote to the Board of Administration through the denominational representative of the following resolutions:

Be it resolved that our Church continue to pursue the possibility of union, on mutually acceptable terms, with the Pilgrim Holiness Church and other sister holiness groups of like precious faith as doors may providentially open.

We view with satisfaction the present fruitful cooperative effort with other groups in the field of (1) printing Sunday school literature, (2) providing *Aldersgate Teen Topics* for youth societies, and (3) producing Aldersgate Sunday school and doctrinal materials.

We recommend further exploration as to joining endeavors in the following areas: exchange of evangelists, indoor camp meetings, revival efforts in local churches, servicemen's ministry, church extension, world missions, and reciprocal and cooperative efforts in the educational field wherever feasible and practical.

Following this action by the Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Pilgrim Holiness Church again considered renewal of merger negotiations with The Wesleyan Methodist Church. By a strong vote the following recommendation was adopted by the Pilgrim Holiness General Conference

of 1962:

WHEREAS the 1958 General Conference by a vote of 321 for and 100 against approved a proposed merger with The Wesleyan Methodist Church, and

WHEREAS the 1959 General Conference of The Wesleyan Methodist Church by a very narrow margin failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority needed for General Conference approval, and

WHEREAS there is much interest in both groups to continue merger negotiations, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 1962 General Conference go on record as favoring continued merger negotiations, but that any changes in the original plan shall be submitted to a General Conference for approval.⁴⁰

The composite vote of the Wesleyan Methodist annual conferences in 1962, was 1,347 in favor, but 730 opposed for a 35 percent negative vote for merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church. There were, however, 21 of 28 annual conferences which had a two-thirds favorable vote and 23 which had a majority vote in favor.⁴¹

All of these evidences encouraged the two bodies to proceed with studies and to report back to the next respective general conferences of any progress made. The Thirty-first General Conference of The Wesleyan Methodist Church met at Fairmount, Indiana, June 26, 1963, acted on the straw vote of the annual conferences and passed the following recommendation:

WHEREAS, an obligation is recognized to a substantial majority of our people and our conferences who have exercised themselves favorably in principle on the subject of merger, we therefore recommend the following:

1. That this General Conference express itself in favor of continuing to pursue the possibility of union on mutually acceptable terms with the Pilgrim Holiness Church and other sister Holiness Churches of like precious faith as doors may providentially open or as may come within the best prayerful judgement of her duly elected representatives.

2. That the General Conference authorize the Board of Administration to elect a committee on Church Union which shall be authorized to cultivate and negotiate, if possible, with a like committee of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and, through the Board

of Administration, be prepared to present to the next session of the General Conference any action or recommendation arising out of these negotiations which may be deemed proper.⁴²

In a separate resolution from the floor the committee to be appointed was "to undertake its assigned work without undue delay and to pursue the same with all diligence and keep the Church advised on its progress." The vote was 124 in favor and 32 opposed for a 79 percent majority.⁴³

By November, following the Pilgrim Holiness General Conference in 1962 and the action they took, a merger commission was in place with three general superintendents (Wm. H. Neff, chairman; Melvin H. Snyder, and P. W. Thomas), two members of the general board (Melvin E. Dieter and R. C. Hawkins), one district superintendent (J. R. Mitchell), one minister (J. D. Abbott, secretary), one college president (Paul F. Elliott) and one layman (Burdette Shattuck) elected.

There is every evidence that this commission was committed to merger and that they would pursue this course with directness and candor as noted in what is recorded. In the first meeting of this merger commission some candid questions were asked, indicating the real dilemma the negative vote of The Wesleyan Methodist Church had placed on the Pilgrim Holiness leadership. "What shall we do pertaining to the Wesleyan Methodists? Sit and wait? Shall a meeting of other various holiness church committees be held for discussions?" Kenneth Geiger, the president of the National Holiness Association, might be asked to call other holiness group representatives together. "Should we continue as we are? Working with the Wesleyan Methodists only?"⁴⁴

The next day the commission moved to advise The Wesleyan Methodist Church as follows: 1. The Pilgrim Holiness Church General Board appointed a commission of nine people to serve for merger interests during the 1962-1966 quadrennium. 2. Our general board commission is ready to schedule a joint commission meeting with you. 3. Begin as early as possible so the present strong posture is not lost. The Pilgrim Holiness commission on merger also asked that overtures be made to the United Missionary Church.

In March of 1964 the Pilgrim Holiness commission on merger met in preparation for a meeting at Marion, Indiana,

with the Wesleyan Methodists with these questions to be asked: 1. What changes have developed since a survey of the 1954-1958 quadrennium? 2. What caused the failure to effect merger in the 1959 Wesleyan Methodist General Conference? The present posture of both denominations was also a matter of concern and the commission agreed it should be determined. Neff cautioned the Pilgrim Holiness committee against having an overanxious attitude in the matter of merger. The Pilgrim Holiness stance was to proceed on the basis of the 1958 agreement. If there were to be changes of the former agreement, then both groups should be allowed changes. The present negotiations were to be limited to the two denominations. Any additional enlargement of the groups to merge should be allowed by the general conferences. They did not wish an extended period of negotiations. The matter should be brought to a vote as soon as possible.⁴⁵

On March 6, 1964, the committees of the two denominations met at Marion, Indiana, with the Wesleyan Methodist committee composed of the following: B. H. Phaup, chairman; V. A. Mitchell, secretary; H. K. Sheets, Donald C. Fisher, Stephen W. Paine, Hollis C. Stevenson, Roy S. Nicholson, Sr., Kenneth Dunn and C. Wesley Lovin. B. H. Phaup and Wm. H. Neff were named cochairmen, and Melvin E. Dieter secretary for the joint commission.

The question was immediately asked as to why the Wesleyan Methodist vote had failed in 1959. Roy S. Nicholson named nine different areas of problem and concern: 1) Absences from the general conference of those who earlier had been committed to merger. 2) The question of control over the ministers, that there would be less liberty to express different views in general conference. 3) The fear that merger would divide college territories and deter student recruitment. 4) The name of the merged Church could not be guaranteed because it was a constitutional matter. 5) Amending of the constitution gives a voice to the local church which would have been surrendered. 6) Amending the statutory section now can be effected by a majority vote of the general conference. 7) The surrender of the right of a conference president to preside at the annual conference. 8) District superintendents are not now *ex officio* members of the general conference. 9) The matter of holding

property was a considerable issue.

The question was then raised as to why the Pilgrim Holiness commission came with a ten-point proposition for merger which was earlier the basis for vote on merger. The reply was that the Pilgrim Holiness Church had twice voted positively on the basis of the ten points, and unless there was a departure from these ten points there would be no need for the Pilgrim Holiness Church to vote again. The ten-point proposition was a compromise by both Churches and was the basis for earlier votes. H. K. Sheets and Stephen W. Paine responded that there was good accord and almost a ratification. Changes on the commission and a new rapport could change the whole matter. B. H. Phaup noted that the Pilgrims have the support of their general conference behind them and the Wesleyan Methodists must work toward that goal.

The eighteen men who made up the joint committee on merger were men of integrity and spiritual discernment. They faced their task with unusual warmth and brotherly love for each other. In this first meeting of the joint commission, following the 1962 and 1963 General Conferences, H. K. Sheets exhorted that a preoccupation with church machinery should be avoided. "A flow of the Spirit and welling up of divine love is needed if a genuine union is to be realized."

One of the accomplishments of the March 6, 1964, meeting of the joint commission was the identification of five points which needed further study as outlined by Stephen W. Paine. Subcommittees were appointed to study these five points as follows: 1) Name - J. R. Mitchell and C. W. Lovin. 2) Constitutional process - Roy S. Nicholson and Melvin H. Snyder. 3) Prerogatives of superintendents - P. W. Thomas and H. K. Sheets. 4) Effect on the general or district boundaries - Donald C. Fisher and R. C. Hawkins. 5) Schools - Stephen W. Paine and Paul F. Elliott.

On May 11, 1964, the joint commission met at the Pilgrim Holiness Headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana, to hear the reports of the five subcommittees. The subcommittees reported in a joint session, then the denominational commissions adjourned to discuss what had been reported. They then returned together as a joint commission and heard each denominational report. There was a call for continued study of

some of the issues, even to the extent of enlarging some of the subcommittees, including the "name." This was in view of a progress report made by B. H. Phaup of merger negotiations with the Alliance of Reformed Baptist Churches of Canada.

At the close of these sittings of the joint commission and subcommittees it was recorded by the secretary of the Pilgrim Holiness commission on merger as follows:

One closing word could be added. It seems that there is a willingness on the part of each denominational commission to give itself to objective study in an honest attempt to arrive at a workable foundation on which can be built a merged institution for the glory of God, the salvation of the lost, and the evangelization of the world.⁴⁶

In a meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Commission on Church Union late in 1964, H. K. Sheets said he had detected impatience on the part of the Pilgrim Holiness Church over the slow pace at which merger negotiations were proceeding. S. W. Paine urged that the committee should not be too disturbed if full agreement was not reached immediately. He stated that due process should be used even if it took longer. V. A. Mitchell shared correspondence from the field that there was either great enthusiasm for the merger or vigorous opposition against it.⁴⁷

NEW CHURCH NAME

One of the less significant, yet constitutional, symbolic and emotion-filled decisions that had to be made was the choice of a name which was to identify the merged groups. Testimony to this is found in the many suggestions and changes of conclusions which were made.

As early as the second joint commission meeting on union, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in March 1958, there was a remarkable degree of unanimity reported, including the name then proposed as the "Wesleyan Pilgrim Church." After the failure by one vote for merger by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1959, and the subsequent mandate of the 1963 General Conference to proceed with all diligence toward merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church, the first of five areas for study set forth by Mr. Paine, as noted above, was the name. As noted earlier J. R.

Mitchell and C. Wesley Lovin were the subcommittee members assigned to study this issue. On May 11, 1964, Lovin reported for the subcommittee that the name was to be "The Wesleyan Pilgrim Church," as had been projected six years earlier. In the same meeting that name was approved by the Pilgrim Holiness representatives.

However, in the meeting of December 7, 1964, the subcommittee reported to the joint commission that ten names had been considered: The Wesleyan Pilgrim Church, The Pilgrim Wesleyan Church, The Wesleyan Methodist Pilgrim Church, The United Holiness Church, The United Wesleyan Pilgrim Church, The Wesleyan Church, The Pilgrim Church, The United Wesleyan Church, The Wesleyan Holiness Church and The United Methodist Church.

Hollis C. Stevenson suggested that "United Methodist Church" should be considered as the name of the merged Church, primarily because it was familiar and had the greatest potential for attracting the most prospects. B. H. Phaup noted that the name "Evangelical Methodist Church" had not attracted a large following. Other comments were made on the subject of the name and Stephen W. Paine stated that a much more significant problem with the divorce and remarriage questions would have to be faced.⁴⁸

Had the name "United Methodist Church" been chosen, it would have been an interesting matter to face, since the merger of The Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church resulted in the use of that name just a few weeks prior to the merger of The Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1968.

Both the California and Wisconsin Conferences had voted unanimously in favor of retaining "Methodist" in the name, whatever the rest of the name might be. The same request had come from several other areas as well.⁴⁹ In the same meeting it was noted that both Pilgrim and Holiness were surrendered in the names that had been suggested. It was urged that contention by insistence on a certain name should be avoided.

William Neff asked why the name "Methodist" was objectionable to some Wesleyans. Lovin replied that if some part of the name were to be given up it would be Methodist rather than Wesleyan. Neff then suggested that the name be the

"International Holiness Church." Melvin Snyder urged that "Holiness" be a part of the name. Melvin Dieter stated that Salvation Army people had urged him not to surrender the name "Holiness." H. K. Sheets preferred the name "United Wesleyan Church" and J. R. Mitchell stated that he did not think the Pilgrim Holiness people would vote for "Holiness" in the merged name.

There was no consensus that a canvass of the churches should be taken in the choice of a name, as someone suggested. The committee then proposed "United Wesleyan Church" with "United" relating to the joining of the two bodies and "Wesleyan" keeping the historic position on doctrine and holiness. C. Wesley Lovin then stated that the two choices for the name should be - "The Wesleyan Pilgrim Church" or "The United Wesleyan Church." The decision at that time was to study the names for further reports.⁵⁰

The minutes of the May 6, 1965, meeting of the commission indicate that the name to be recommended by the subcommittee was "The United Wesleyan Church." The next day V. A. Mitchell asked what the Pilgrim Holiness reaction to the name "Methodist" would be. M. H. Snyder thought there would be adverse reaction to it. The Pilgrim Holiness general superintendents had begun to "sell" the name "United Wesleyan Church."

In a meeting December 3, 1965, B. H. Phaup reported that there was a merger problem by the deletion of the name "Methodist" from the name of the merged Church. In another meeting of the Joint Commission, January 31 - February 1, 1966, the Pilgrim Holiness members of the commission reported they had approved the name "United Wesleyan Church." However, R. S. Nicholson, C. W. Lovin, S. W. Paine and H. K. Sheets of The Wesleyan Methodist Church all stated their favor for the name "United Wesleyan Methodist Church." A long discussion followed until Kenneth Dunn suggested that the name of the merged church be simply "The Wesleyan Church." By March 1966 it was apparent that the name had been settled and that the suggestion of Dunn had been approved. In the basis for merger the name was to be "The Wesleyan Church." What might seem inconsequential to the casual observer often becomes a matter of deep distress and prolonged soul-searching before the finest of Christian leadership resolves the issue, as in

the case of the name for a merger of groups with deep roots in history.

THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION

A careful and diligent study was made of the Articles of Religion by the subcommittee on constitutional law. It was noted that in nearly every case The Wesleyan Methodist Church articles were stronger than those of the Pilgrim Holiness Church. This was due in part to a longer period of time over which they had been refined or, what is more likely, that they were more nearly like the articles from the parent Methodist Episcopal Church, which in turn came largely from the articles of The Church of England.

Thus, the following evaluation was made regarding the Articles of Religion:

I. Faith in the Holy Trinity - the Wesleyan Methodist article was strongest and was retained.

II. The Son of God - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained but the words "very God" were added to describe Christ.

III. The Resurrection of Christ - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

IV. The Holy Ghost - the Wesleyan Methodist and Pilgrim Holiness articles were identical.

V. The Sufficiency and Full Authority of the Holy Scriptures - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

VI. Old Testament - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained for the Pilgrim Holiness Church did not have this article.

VII. Relative Duties - the *Pilgrim Holiness Manual* did not have such an article, thus, the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

VIII. Original or Birth Sin - the Wesleyan Methodist article used "wholly gone from original righteousness," while the Pilgrim Holiness article used "very far gone from original righteousness." It was decided to use the exact words of Wesley which, after later investigation, were found to be "very far gone."

IX. The Atonement - this was the name of the Pilgrim Holiness article, while the Wesleyan Methodist article was "One Oblation." After study it was agreed to retain the Pilgrim Holiness terminology as being most appropriate.

X. Free Will - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

XI. Justification of Man - both articles were nearly identical,

thus there was little to change.

XII. Good Works - the Pilgrim Holiness Church did not have this article, thus the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

XIII. Sin after Justification - The Wesleyan Methodist Church had this article and it was retained.

XIV. Regeneration - the *Pilgrim Holiness Manual* had no such article, thus the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

XV. Entire Sanctification - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained, but the words "This work is effected by the baptism of the Holy Spirit," were added. There was some question about adding the need for daily cleansing, but that never became a part of the statement.

XVI. Eternal Security - only the *Pilgrim Holiness Manual* had this article and it was not retained.

XVII. The Sacraments - the Wesleyan Methodist article was retained.

XVIII. The Church - this was a new article to both churches. It was proposed by the Wesleyan Methodists and after considerable study it was included as shown in the *Discipline* of 1968.

XIX. Rites and Ceremonies of the Church - the Wesleyan Methodist article was revised but it was not retained as an article. It was placed in the third section of the *Discipline* as agreed upon later.

XX. On Speaking in Such a Tongue - only the Pilgrim Holiness Church had this article. It was agreed that it should not be included with the Articles of Religion, but an official statement would be prepared on speaking in tongues and be placed in the Special Directions of the *Discipline*.

XXI. Resurrection of the Dead - only the *Wesleyan Methodist Discipline* had this article and it was retained.

XXII. Judgment of Mankind - the Pilgrim Holiness article was Destiny. After careful study it was determined that Destiny could not be incorporated with the Wesleyan Methodist article which was retained.

XXIII. Destiny - this was the Pilgrim Holiness article which was retained in addition to the Wesleyan Methodist article on the Judgment of Mankind.

XXIV. Healing - only the Pilgrim Holiness Church had such an article. It was agreed that this article should not be retained, but that the Wesleyan Methodist statement should be retained in the Special Directions of the *Discipline*.⁵¹

It should be noted that the article on "The Gifts of the Spirit," was added after due deliberation, while the articles on

"Baptism," "The Lord's Supper," and "The Second Coming of Christ," were all retained from *The Wesleyan Methodist Church Discipline*, and became part of the *1968 Discipline of The Wesleyan Church*.

One of the principal problem areas of merger was the location of headquarters. An event often called "an act of God" came with suddenness and surprise which was to make a major impact on the decision of location. On Palm Sunday, April 11, 1965, a devastating tornado struck The Wesleyan Methodist Church Headquarters building in Marion, Indiana. Now the questions had to be faced, "Should the headquarters be rebuilt?" "Would this preempt the merged location with the Pilgrim Holiness Church?" Many other questions were posed. A special session of the Wesleyan Methodist Board of Administration was held June 1, 1965. It was imperative that merger issues should be decided as soon as possible. There should be a vote on merger without a lengthy time of delay between the votes of the two Churches.

Studies indicated that the decision on the Wesleyan Methodist headquarters could not wait for a year. To wait would entail intolerable losses. So the Board of Administration voted to reconstruct the building at once. A building committee was named, including Virgil A. Mitchell, Alton E. Liddick, Donald C. Fisher, David A. Rees and George L. Walquist.

Lawrence Olsen, an experienced Wesleyan Methodist contractor, was employed by the Board of Administration to undertake the enormous task of rebuilding. If merger was approved and the merged group wanted to use the building, it could be enlarged. Reconstruction began October 4, 1965, with a change from a steel panel-glass outer wall to brick and block. The west wing was occupied by the publishing equipment in January 1966 and the east wing was ready for use by the various officers and departments in April and May of the same year. By the time of the 1966 General Conference in June the indebtedness was only \$17,000 more than it had been prior to the tornado.

The regular session of the International Conference of the Pilgrim Holiness Church was in 1966, while the Wesleyan Methodists were to meet in 1967. The Wesleyan Methodist Board of Administration voted to convene a special session of

the general conference in June 1966. The conference was scheduled to meet in Houghton, New York, the same week as the Pilgrim Holiness Church met in Winona Lake, Indiana.

In the 120-year history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church only two triennial general conferences were held. The first came from 1864 to 1867 when the 1864 General Conference voted to meet in October 1867 rather than eight months later in June 1868. The urgency of merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church one hundred years later, hastened on by the tornado, was the cause for the 1963-1966 triennium.

It has been observed that serious problems arose over the supervision of the Church during the Wesleyan and Free Methodist merger considerations from 1943 to 1955. The proposed merger failed due to the 1955 General Conference vote. In 1959 the merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church almost succeeded. By 1963 opponents of the merger became more determined to defeat the merger or withdraw.

A bold challenge to the authority of the Wesleyan Methodist General Conference and of the general superintendents, even defiance of constitutional law, was brought by the annual conferences of Allegheny and Tennessee. The attitude had also spread to Alabama and had infected some people in the Ohio Conference. Ministers, members and churches refused to acknowledge their subordination to the *Discipline* or to the officials of The Wesleyan Methodist Church as interpreted by the designated authorities. In 1964 the Allegheny Conference annulled its Corporation Charter, omitting any reference to The Wesleyan Methodist Church except to retain the doctrinal statements. The general superintendents ruled the action unconstitutional. In Tennessee the conflict was even more intense with actions of the annual conference being ruled out of order, null, and void by the general superintendents.

When the delegates were seated for the Thirty-second General Conference in 1966, charges were registered against the Allegheny and Tennessee Conferences that they had contravened the *Discipline* and had become insubordinate to the denomination. A committee to adjudicate the charges was elected composed of eight elders and seven laymen representing fifteen different conferences other than Allegheny and Tennessee. All four college areas were represented. The

general conference voted to sustain the rulings of the general superintendents against Tennessee on three counts by unanimous vote and on one ruling against Allegheny by a 95% vote.

The committee elected to adjudicate the issues presented a unanimous report and recommendation that Allegheny be placed under "discipline" until the violations were corrected. The vote again was 95% in favor of the report. By unanimous vote all the officers of the Tennessee Conference who had failed to appear were removed from office. The general superintendent assigned to the conference was authorized to convene representatives of the people who were loyal to the Church and proceed to reorganize the conference.

MERGER WITH REFORMED BAPTISTS

For many years the Alliance of the Reformed Baptists of Canada had refreshing contacts with Wesleyan Methodists in camp meetings and other areas of activity, such as using imprinted material. Thus an uncomplicated merger was effected during the 1966 Wesleyan Methodist General Conference by the unanimous vote of 145-0, and immediately following by an overwhelming vote of the Reformed Baptists. The name of The Wesleyan Methodist Church was taken by the Reformed Baptists on September 25, 1966. The Canadian brethren set as a target date September 1967 to bring their financial program and other aspects of merger into alignment.

At the 1963 General Conference H. Ralph Ingersoll, general superintendent, and N. E. Trafton of Bethany Bible College, Sussex, New Brunswick, had been fraternal delegates. During the triennium 1963-1966, 87 percent of the Reformed Baptist Churches and 77.5 percent of their members cast votes in favor of merger with The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Located primarily in the Maritime Provinces of Canada and in the State of Maine, the denomination grew out of a controversy over preaching of entire sanctification in the Free Christian Baptist Church. Some of their preachers had been sanctified in a National Holiness Association Camp Meeting in 1882. So a meeting at Woodstock, New Brunswick, November 1-3, 1888, attended by some 75 people formed the Alliance of Reformed Baptists of Canada. Twenty-two churches were orga-

nized in a few months with 540 members. In 1894, 25 acres of land were purchased at Brown's Flat, New Brunswick, and Beulah Camp was established as a center for spiritual retreats and camps.

In 1901 missionary work was begun in South Africa, then in Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia. In 1922 Riverside Camp was established at Robinson, Maine. In 1945 the Holiness Bible Institute was established at Woodstock, New Brunswick. It had a high school and a three-year Bible course to offer. In 1947 the name was changed to Bethany Bible College when it was moved to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. In 1965 Bethany Bible College was moved to Sussex, New Brunswick.

Baptism by immersion only, was one of their beliefs. They also had a strong position on divorce. An annual conference was formed, now known as the Atlantic District. There was no overlapping of mission work with The Wesleyan Methodist Church, but there were some areas of work in common with the Pilgrim Holiness Church when merger was contemplated, and then effected.

The admission of the Atlantic Annual Conference brought into The Wesleyan Methodist Church 60 churches and 2,400 members, new mission fields and a Bible college. The consummation of the union was smooth. There were ties with other Canadian churches which also helped with immediate identification on local and general levels of the Church.

MOVING CLOSER TO MERGER

Merger between The Wesleyan Methodist and the Pilgrim Holiness Churches moved forward slowly. A cursory review of the various meetings of the joint commission on merger over the three-year period from 1963 to 1966, shows that no less than 60 separate days with dozens of sittings were spent hammering out the details of merger. This does not take into account the many days and hours that were spent by the subcommittees of the commission, the separate boards and committees of the two merging denominations, travel time, secretarial time, and research time taken by other dozens of people in assembling the data needed for the most exacting evaluation that could be given upon which to make intelligent decisions.

Meetings were held alternately at Marion and Indianapolis, Indiana, headquarters throughout the merger negotiations. Within three years the joint commission on merger had worked out an agreement on basic principles by which it could be effected.

The Wesleyan Methodist representatives thought that the 1959 basis of merger was inadequate. They felt that a rather full constitution should be worked out for people to study before a merger vote was taken. The Pilgrim Holiness Church officials believed it was adequate. J. R. Mitchell observed that if the Wesleyans voted down the merger, it would be a deep wound. He asked if there was anything short of adopting *The Wesleyan Methodist Discipline* the Pilgrim Holiness Church could do to satisfy the Wesleyan Methodists to vote favorably.⁵²

It was, however, agreed that a restudy of the basis for merger should be made, although this obviously slowed down the process and made it necessary to have many additional meetings. For example, all of *The Pilgrim Holiness Manual* was constitutional and could be amended by a two-thirds vote of the general conference, while *The Wesleyan Methodist Church Discipline* was divided into constitutional and statutory law and needed to be amended differently, as noted above. Accordingly, some of the more significant agreements for the merged Church, where there had been various differences include the following potpourri of decisions:

1. The Wesleyan Methodist Constitution was rewritten with changes in terminology and adjustments to polity, so that in the new Church constitutional law could be amended by a two-thirds favorable vote by the general conference and a two-thirds aggregate vote of the annual conferences. No vote would be needed by the local churches as required previously by Wesleyan Methodists.

2. Twenty-four Articles of Religion were agreed upon as reviewed above.

3. The general rules were restated to make them more applicable to contemporary issues, elementary principles were given in detail, the powers and restrictions of the general conference were written out, a supreme judiciary was agreed upon, the privileges and conditions of membership were stated, the organization and government of the districts of the Church were

detailed, and the constitutional rights and regulations of the ministry were outlined.

4. Statutory law and the ritual section of the "Discipline" could be amended by a majority vote of the general conference only.

5. Each person could enter the united Church with the same membership status as held before merger in either of the two merging bodies.⁵³

6. There would be an equal number of lay and ministerial members elected to the general and district conferences, according to a formulā to be worked out.

7. It was not the intention of the commission to recommend that any school be arbitrarily eliminated by reorganization or realignment of the districts or areas where they were located. It was not the design that nonspiritual faculty members would be hired or that unsaved students would be recruited in order to expand the schools.

8. All district or conference boundaries would remain as they were, although this would result in overlapping for a period of time. The realignment of district and local church boundaries should be by mutual consent and districts should be formed along state lines if possible, with encouragement to merge or realign as quickly and as feasibly as possible.

9. There would be various general departments as determined by the general conference, with each department headed by an executive officer.

10. A general secretary and a general treasurer were authorized, although the two offices might be combined if deemed advisable.

The agenda of the 1966 Wesleyan Methodist General Conference called for the vote on merger on the second day, at 8:30 a.m. The agenda was shifted to the evening of the second day to give the committee a chance to report on the charges against the Allegheny Conference. B. H. Phaup read the report of the Board of Administration. The annual conferences and the local churches would receive the preamble to the merger documents, the history of merger efforts, a legal resolution ordering adoption of the Basis for Merger with Basic Principles and the proposed Constitution of The Wesleyan Church for ratification if the general conference vote was favorable.

The vote was taken a little past midnight, June 16, 1966. A positive majority of 79.75 percent, with 130 of 163 votes yes and 33 no, was registered. General Superintendent Phaup telephoned the result to General Superintendent Wm. H. Neff of the Pilgrim Holiness Church meeting in general conference session at Winona Lake, Indiana. Later the same day the Pilgrim Holiness Church cast 302 votes, with 229 yes and 73 no, for a 75.83 percent majority.

Twenty-six annual conferences of The Wesleyan Methodist Church cast 2,118 votes, with 1,653 yes and 465 no, for a majority of 78.05 percent. The Allegheny and Tennessee Conferences did not vote on the merger for they were under disciplinary action as noted above. Canada and South Ohio were unanimous in support of the merger, while Alabama, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio and Oregon failed to have a two-thirds favorable vote.

In the local Wesleyan Methodist churches the total votes cast were 17,639, with 13,856 yes and 3,783 no, for a 78.55 percent majority approval.⁵⁴ Garl Beaver, general secretary, reported on December 22, 1966, that the aggregate vote of all Wesleyans was probably the largest that had ever been taken, with some 45 percent of all those eligible to vote on the merger doing so.

PLANNING FOR THE MERGING CONFERENCE

Foundational to the positive vote of The Wesleyan Methodist General Conference of 1966, the subsequent votes of the conferences and the local churches and the vote of the Pilgrim Holiness Church on merger, were the years of patient, careful, prayerful study and planning.

When it was apparent that all levels of both denominations had delivered the needed two-thirds positive majority for merger, or soon would do so, the boards of general superintendents of both Churches began to meet and plan the next steps for the Merging General Conference. Among the numerous details that needed almost immediate attention were the matters of a date and place for the Merging General Conference and a final general or international conference to close out, by due and legal process, the affairs of the two denominations.

By November 3, 1966, the general superintendents had projected the Merging General Conference for the spring of 1968. It had already been determined that the joint commission on merger would no longer be needed. It was mandated by the Basis for Merger that all members of the Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Methodist Church and all members of the General Board of the Pilgrim Holiness Church would form the Polity Committee.

The Wesleyan Methodist members of the Polity Committee were B. H. Phaup, V. A. Mitchell, Donald C. Fisher, George A. Huff, H. K. Sheets, George E. Failing, E. L. Kierstead, Paul L. Kindschi, Alton E. Liddick, Robert W. McIntyre, C. Wesley Lovin, Mildred J. Scott, Stephen W. Paine, Hollis C. Stevenson, David A. Rees, Kenneth Dunn, William F. Tice, Warren Best, Roy S. Nicholson, Sr., J. B. Hilson, W. E. Hobson, Jr., M. A. Lively, C. W. Dunbar, Donald C. Calhoun, Jack N. Martin and George L. Walquist.

Members of the Pilgrim Holiness General Board serving on the Polity Committee were: Melvin H. Snyder, Paul F. Elliott, J. D. Abbott, D. Wayne Brown, E. L. Wilson, W. N. Miller, O. D. Emery, Armor D. Peisker, Raymond J. Halt, Mark Storey, D. W. Lacy, J. R. Mitchell, Clyde Marshall, Orville Awe, Melvin E. Dieter, Paul D. Dieter, Calvin Hendrick, Roy Ankrim, H. K. Busby, C. B. Colaw, W. L. Surbrook, R. S. Shelton, Thomas Lee and W. A. Massey.

The six general superintendents rotated the responsibility of chairman, while McIntyre and Peisker were named secretaries of the Polity Committee and served from the time of the first meeting of the full committee, May 11-12, 1967, throughout the months needed to consummate the merger and to finalize all details.

Federation of Holiness Churches

In the midst of innumerable challenges for the two merging denominations, a call came from Bishop Myron Boyd of the Free Methodist Church, serving as the executive director of a study conference on Federation of Holiness Churches, to meet in Chicago, November 30 - December 2, 1966, at the La Salle Hotel. The letter of invitation was addressed to H. K. Sheets,

stating that the National Holiness Association had voted in the convention of 1965 to elect a committee to set up plans for such a study. The 1966 convention of the NHA had continued the directive and also had approved the time and place as stated.

Each denomination affiliated with the NHA was urged to send to the meeting general superintendents or bishops, each general church department executive, plus two representatives from each department, plus the presidents of each college and seminary of the denominational affiliate, each academic dean and a member of the college or seminary board. The purpose of the conference was "to study the possibility of setting up a Federation of Holiness churches whereby we could all maintain our identity as denominations, but work in harmony with a federation in which we could have proper representation as finally approved by all groups."

Representatives from eleven denominations attended this historic meeting and indicated the total number of local churches which were at that time extant:

1. Brethren in Christ - 189 churches
2. Churches of Christ in Christian Union - 200 churches
3. Church of God (Holiness) - 150 churches
4. Church of the Nazarene - 4,889 churches
5. Evangelical Friends (Ohio Yearly Meeting) - 90 churches
6. Evangelical Methodists - 150 churches
7. Free Methodist Church - 1,289 churches
8. Missionary Church Association - 128 churches
9. Pilgrim Holiness Church - 861 churches
10. United Missionary Church - 225 churches
11. The Wesleyan Methodist Church - 1,100 churches

With a total of 9,271 churches and a Sunday school enrollment of 1,280,396, these groups made quite an imposing force for holiness and the Wesleyan message of full salvation. In addition to the denominations, two missionary organizations also were represented - the Oriental Missionary Society organized in 1901 and the World Gospel Mission dating from 1916.

The study was not for the purpose of merger, but for working in closer harmony in order to cut down overhead expense, and in order to wield a greater influence in the church world. The conference was divided into four areas of study:

administration, publications, missions and higher education. Three questions were posed for the representatives meeting in each of the four areas of study: 1) What progress has already been made by the denominations represented? 2) Are there further immediate steps which might be taken which would be of mutual assistance and further the building of Christ's kingdom? 3) What long-range steps can be envisioned toward which the groups can work?

Papers were read and discussions engaged with a number of recommendations made for further exploration and implementation. More progress had been made in the area of publications than in any of the other three areas, due in part to the formation of the "Holiness Denominational Publications Association," through the NHA in April 1957. Twenty-one editors and 35 executives of eight holiness denominations had met at the Free Methodist Headquarters, Winona Lake, Indiana, to organize the HDPA. Lloyd Knox was elected as chairman. He served until 1960, when A. F. Harper was elected.

The Association became the Aldersgate Publications Association, with membership held by the following churches: Churches of Christ in Christian Union, Church of the Nazarene, Congregational Methodist, Evangelical Friends Alliance, Evangelical Methodist, Free Methodist, The Missionary Church and The Wesleyan Church. Harper continued to serve as chairman for many years.

A final summary statement was issued, but very little was ever implemented of the recommendations made in the Federation of Holiness Churches Conference of 1966. The summary read:

We urge a structuring that shall keep all of us on the stretch and which will not permit us to be content with "business as usual." We call on our leaders assembled at this historic conference to become "futuristic" in the knowledge "the future of the future is in the present."⁵⁵

Questions About Merger

Issues which had to be faced squarely and problems which had to be worked through prayerfully engaged the Polity Committee so completely that they had little time to give to the

matter of federation concerns. In fact, scores of people from both of the merging denominations were called upon to help gather data for the use of the Polity Committee in answering the endless stream of questions that arose concerning the merger. Many significant matters had to be resolved.

1. *The Place and Date for the Merging General Conference.* B. H. Phaup and M. H. Snyder made the study and recommendation that the closing conferences of the two denominations be held at Anderson, Indiana, June 25, 1968, with the merging conference to be held Wednesday, June 26. Warner Auditorium of The Church of God, Anderson College, seating 7,500, a chapel seating 1,100 and Park Place Church seating 800-900 were available. Housing and room rates were reasonable, a new cafeteria facility was adequate and the total complex could be reserved through Sunday, June 30, with the promise to extend the time for 24 hours to complete business, if needed.

2. *The Number of Delegates for the General Conference.* The number of delegates to be seated for the general conference was set at 500, with 250 from each denomination including overseas delegates. Each church was to establish a formula for ministerial and lay delegations. Because it was customary for the Pilgrim Holiness International Conference to include many ex officio members, the total number of delegates then was raised to 900, 450 from each denomination. Finally, the number of delegates was set at 648, half from each denomination with equal lay and ministerial members. Each denomination would bear the costs of its delegations through the merging conference and determine the formula for selecting the delegates.

3. *The Preparation and Writing of the "Discipline."* It is interesting to note that a careful set of guidelines was established for all subcommittees of the Polity Committee which included fairness, simplicity, brevity, originality and validity. In addition, the two writers who were named to write the "Discipline," one from each denomination - Lee M. Haines and Paul W. Thomas - were given specific directives as to how they were to proceed and relate to the Polity Committee:

A. The writers were to be counseled by the boards of general superintendents, jointly.

B. The subcommittees were to feed materials agreed upon,

if available, directly to the writers when the writers needed them.

C. Writers were to coordinate, align and fill in the materials, then submit them to the general superintendents for scrutiny and recommendation.

D. The writers were to have a copy ready to mail to members of the Polity Committee one month prior to the November 1967 meeting.

E. The subcommittees were to study the prepared text for which each was responsible and recommend to the Polity Committee any changes or corrections which were to be made.

F. Two general superintendents, Melvin H. Snyder and B. H. Phaup, were to represent the board in overall direction to the writers.

G. The writers were free to counsel with the chairman of each subcommittee as needed.⁵⁶

At a meeting September 14, 1967, the writers of the "Discipline" stated that the copy of the basic units of government would be ready in time to mail to members of the Polity Committee, 30 days prior to its meeting in November. The sections on ritual and forms and the judiciary were to be prepared following that. The writers were given special commendation for their work by the committee on "Discipline." Much of the material was ready for distribution by General Superintendents Phaup and Snyder on October 11, 1967.

The excellent work done by writers Haines and Thomas was further extolled at a joint meeting of the board of general superintendents, November 7, 1967, when action was taken to ask both writers to attend all sessions of the Polity Committee so as to be available to answer questions and to observe developments and actions of the committee. New sections were to be prepared and released after meeting with the various subcommittees.

4. *The Coordination of Schools of Higher Education.* The joint commission on higher education was composed of H. K. Sheets, Paul Kindschi, George E. Failing, Robert W. McIntyre, Kenneth Dunn, Paul F. Elliott, J. D. Abbott, O. D. Emery and Armor Peisker plus the administrators of each college as advisory members. Stephen W. Paine, of Houghton College, gave a disclaimer that the expansion of the schools was to include

nonspiritual faculty or a preponderance of unsaved students. It was thought that certain institutions should be utilized as Bible schools and that the Church-related academy had a value that should not be lost. In a meeting of the joint board of general superintendents in November 1966, it had been suggested that a study of educational concerns should be made with Free Methodist and Friends officials.

The commission's work was to develop a philosophy of education for the merged Church, to identify the various school zones with maps and to gather data on Church support of each school, the value of properties, assets, liabilities, number of faculty and their qualifications, the enrollment of each school, library holdings and all other relevant material.⁵⁷

A movement was launched in the 1960s to strengthen the educational work of the Church by merging Eastern Pilgrim College and Owosso, and Frankfort Pilgrim College with Southern Pilgrim College, Kernersville, North Carolina. Although Paul Elliott was instructed to serve as liaison between Eastern Pilgrim College and Owosso College to arrange for merger as quickly as possible the effort did not succeed. A "Decade of Progress" was then launched by Eastern Pilgrim College with expansion of facilities and programs in view. This also largely failed.⁵⁸

With merger pending between the Wesleyan Methodist and Pilgrim Holiness Churches it was thought that the consolidation of Eastern Pilgrim College and Owosso College would prepare the schools for what was certain to be a reduction in the number of institutions that the merged church could support. Owosso College, however, was urged to continue until merger would define its course.⁵⁹

A professional study was also called for, which was to be done by the Kerr Foundation. Six basic questions were formulated as guidelines for the research to be done:

A. How many institutions and of what type can the merged Church sponsor?

B. How can our present educational and financial resources best be utilized to carry out the educational programs of the merged Church?

C. In what form shall the merged Church develop and maintain all Christian ministries of the merged Church?

D. Should the merged Church maintain educational institutions which cannot attain accreditation for the programs offered?

E. Should the Christian educational support be from the general Church or from the patron zones?

F. What is the philosophy of education for the merged Church? Are there distinctives?

It is a matter of record that the ten institutions of higher education which The Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Pilgrim Holiness Church were supporting had a combined debt of 4.5 million dollars, with a total value of 13 million, had a total enrollment of 3,164 college and 89 high school students and held a combined total of 196,570 books in their libraries. Many other data were also collected and are on record.⁶⁰ It may be noted that when deep loyalties are developed, when great sacrifice has been made to see a college through tough times, and when several generations of one's family have attended a given school, the ties that bind are not easily broken. When merger had actually occurred between the Wesleyan Methodist and Pilgrim Holiness Churches, there was probably more difficulty and more disappointment over the merging of schools than over any other issue.

5. *The Realignment of Conferences or Districts.* It was a hope that all overlapping boundaries would be realigned within three quadrennia. If they were not, the General Board would then need to take whatever action it deemed necessary to resolve the differences over boundaries.⁶¹

Three basic directives were established for determining district boundaries: 1) economics, 2) number of churches, and 3) geographical areas. Where feasible it was deemed natural for boundaries to follow state and county lines. The two secretaries of Church extension, W. N. Miller and C. Wesley Lovin, prepared maps showing existing boundaries, membership concentration and financial strength. The two men working as a committee were asked to prepare a blueprint of ideal district boundaries.

The blueprint, which was presented to the Polity Committee on January 4, 1968, by Miller and Lovin, included 28 different groups of conferences and districts in the United States and Canada, which had a combined total of 1,961 local churches and 71,422 full members. The largest number of

churches (321) was concentrated in the State of Indiana, where the most members (10,994), also lived. The next largest concentrations of members and churches, respectively, were: Michigan (8,479 and 162), North Carolina (8,289 and 152), Ohio (5,061 and 169), New York (3,858 and 110) and Pennsylvania (3,541 and 101). The smallest numbers of churches were found in the states of Delaware (17), New Jersey - including New York City (21), Central Canada (22), and Tennessee (30). The states with least memberships were Tennessee (593), Delaware (687), Georgia (715), Alabama-Mississippi (720) and Central Canada (726).

6. *The Quadrennial Financial Plan.* Paul F. Elliott, R. A. Beltz and C. Wesley Lovin brought a nine-point plan to the Polity Committee which was refined and generally accepted for the Merging General Conference to adopt.

A. There was to be one fund known as the United Stewardship Fund (USF), with district treasurers remitting receipts from the local churches on a monthly basis. Pastors would be responsible for collection of the assigned share in the local churches.

B. The USF-General was to be five percent (later reduced and approved at 4.5 percent), and the USF-Educational Institution Fund (approved at 2.2 percent) from all local churches based on the previous year's receipts. Moneys borrowed or from the sale of property were to be exempted.

C. Districts were to apportion the USF amounts to each local church not later than two weeks after the annual conference.

D. General departments of the Church would give projected budgets to the General Board of Administration 30 days prior to the close of the fiscal year.

E. USF moneys were to be distributed by the general treasurer. The GBA was to set the missions budget which would be raised by a self-denial offering to be taken in all the churches in November each year, and by deputational work.

F. The general treasurer was to receive unsolicited moneys and see that they were used as designated by the donors.

G. Local churches would have open doors to people from the colleges, from world missions and to people who would visit to explain the USF.

H. A period of adjustment would be necessary; therefore the financial plans of the Pilgrim Holiness and Wesleyan Methodist Churches were to remain in effect until the close of the annual conferences following the Merging General Conference.

I. Two special offerings were authorized annually, for world missions in November and for Church extension at Easter. No deputational work for missions would be done four weeks prior to Easter, and none was to be done for Church extension in November.⁶²

Prayer for Merger

No fewer than 48 sittings of the Polity Committee are recorded from the middle of February to a few days prior to the Merging General Conference in June 1968. In addition to these times when minutes were faithfully recorded, there were many other dozens of meetings by the various subcommittees with hundreds of hours consumed by scores of people. In spite of the busy days, perhaps even because of the pressure placed on those authorized to prepare for the merger, much time was also given to prayer. Special calls were issued to the whole membership of both denominations. A Sunday of prayer was set early in the preparation for the merger. Another day of prayer was called for the third Sunday in June in 1967, which was the first anniversary of the positive vote for merger. It was urgent that the whole membership should feel the importance of prayer for the uniting of the two bodies. The call to prayer was issued by identical publication in *The Wesleyan Methodist* and the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*. The subjects of prayer were for boundaries, stewardship, education, development, unity, evangelism, spiritual enrichment and for the Merging General Conference. Each Wednesday prior to the merging conference was set aside as a day for prayer and fasting.

The sensitivity of these men for events of significance in the nation, as well as in the pressing issues of merger, is seen in the record of April 9, 1968. In midmorning, during the fourth sitting of the Polity Committee, attention was called to the funeral of Martin Luther King, Jr., who had been assassinated April 4 in Memphis, Tennessee. The committee felt that the domestic help

of Essex House would appreciate an expression of respect, so a recess from 10:30 to 12:30 was taken. The following statement was issued as the reason for the recess:

The urgency and dangers of the hour and the potential threat to the nation, the deep need for divine interposition in the life and events of these awesome days, and the call of the president of the United States and the Congress for prayerful concern on the part of all responsible citizens.

Location of Headquarters

One of the more tangible, yet most difficult, decisions that needed to be made was the location for the new Church headquarters. A committee of ten was named on November 10, 1967, with five from each denomination, including George Walquist, E. L. Kierstead, B. H. Phaup, V. A. Mitchell and Paul L. Kindschi for the Wesleyan Methodists and Melvin H. Snyder, J. D. Abbott, Paul F. Elliott, O. D. Emery and R. J. Halt serving for the Pilgrim Holiness Church. Their first meeting was held November 11, 1967, at the Essex House in Indianapolis, Indiana. A standardized form was prepared for the preliminary study which was to be made. Any seven members would constitute a quorum of the committee to proceed in any decision to be made. A comprehensive study was made of every imaginable detail of the location:

Present facilities, square footage, rooms, offices, printing and publishing area, warehouse, expansion possibilities, acreages, contiguous buildings, present condition of properties, state of repair, air conditioning, heating, major repairs needed, parking space, outside facilities, restaurants, hotels, motels, utility and equipment service, telephone, electricity, gas, steam, printing, elevators, values, debts, wage scales, travel accessibility, church geography, population, railways, busline, mail delivery and collections, trucking, supply houses, employment supply, financial institutions, tax structure, bookstore opportunities, gross sales, housing, churches, public schools, Christian schools, general community life, culture, shopping.

In January 1968 a letter was sent to several holiness denominational leaders inquiring as to their interest in exploring the possibility of a building or building complex in which several

holiness denominations might establish or reestablish their headquarters. By January 25, 1968, nine replies had been received from these inquiries. Five were not interested, one was indifferent and three stated some interest in the possibilities - Evangelical Methodist, Free Methodist and Holiness Methodist.

There is no evidence that anything ever materialized from these overtures. It was concluded that the study committee would not have time to make a decision and present a final plan for the location by the time of the Merging General Conference. It was determined rather, that both buildings should continue to be utilized for an indefinite period after the merger. There was to be close correlation and coordination until the integration processes could be reached in one location. The Polity Committee recommended that the General Board of Administration be authorized to make the final decision on the permanent headquarters by a two-thirds vote and to effect the change to permanent facilities as soon as it was advisable.⁶³

Other Matters Needing Resolution

To a less determined and persistent corps of workers the adjustments needed to effect a merger not only would have seemed staggering but impossible. For example, the Pilgrim Holiness Church denied a district the right to receive, ordain or appoint any minister who was a party to a divorce or remarriage, even if that person was the "innocent party." A minister was also forbidden to perform a marriage ceremony if a divorced person was involved. Not only on the matter of divorce and remarriage, but with regard to protecting the matter and manner of any minister intruding or interfering with the ministry of another minister, the Pilgrim Holiness Church was more specific and constricting than was The Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Projection of Evangelism

The vision and burden for The Wesleyan Church can be summarized by the dynamic of the overarching purpose of any church in the salvation of the lost. This emphasis was not lost in the formation of one body out of two. In fact, the projection

of evangelism for the first quadrennium of the new Church became the signal call to work, for the whole membership. It is well stated in the following challenge:

EVANGELISM IS THE ANSWER

This Merging General Conference is the fulfillment of a dream. The Wesleyan Church is being launched by merging two historic holiness denominations. It provides great excitement and expectation for many of us. However, merging two denominations will not of itself assure success or fulfill our expectations. It is not enough to multiply statistics. It is not sufficient to adopt a form of church government. It is not safe to be merely satisfied with our doctrinal purity. Evangelism is the answer for the fulfillment of the purpose for which we are merging. Without evangelism the church we are launching will soon die. The church that ceases to be evangelistic will cease to be evangelical. It is evangelism that keeps the doctrines of the Church clear and her standards high. It is evangelism that forges out our weapons of defense and justifies our existence. It is evangelism that raises up great defenders of the faith. It is evangelism that produces recruits for the ministry, Christian workers for our churches, and financial supporters of the gospel.

The need for spreading the message of scriptural holiness was never greater than now. World conditions are constantly worsening. A secular and materialistic spirit is sweeping over the world at a staggering rapidity. Our culture must be penetrated and this materialism must be defeated. We need greater strength to resist these invasions of evil and stronger determination to persevere in righteous living. We must find new and better ways to communicate to our generation. Evangelism is the answer.

The church needs a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Bringing two denominations together does not in itself produce this outpouring. Evangelism results from and contributes to an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Thus evangelism is not an option but an obligation; not a plan but a passion; not a method but a mandate! Evangelism is the answer.

Merging two denominations into one does not of itself produce oneness. Union does not necessarily mean unity. Adopting a General Conference theme does not automatically make for oneness. Evangelism is the answer. There is legitimate room for differences of opinion in certain phases of church life. However, evangelism is NOT one of these. Evangelism - winning souls to

Christ - is one task in which all Christians can and will unite. This work must consume the time and claim the efforts of all.

To set the course of The Wesleyan Church more definitely, to multiply ourselves faster, to perpetuate ourselves longer, to proclaim our message more clearly, to demonstrate the validity of our standards more meaningfully and to intensify our passion for souls more effectively, evangelism is the answer.

There are many important functions of the church, but none supersede evangelism. Evangelism must precede all else because it is fundamental to and imperative for the success of every phase of our church life. The church is nearest to Christ when she is engaged in soulwinning. Progress can be measured by the number of souls won to the Lord and by the success the church has in conserving these converts.⁶⁴

Following this statement of philosophy and purpose an eight-point plan for guiding the Church in its evangelistic thrust through the first quadrennium was presented and approved by the Polity Committee. The committee on evangelism was composed of Paul F. Elliott, Virgil A. Mitchell, who was the draftsman and chief architect of the statement and plan, E. L. Wilson, C. Wesley Lovin and Alton E. Liddick. Thus, a new Church was launched with the apparent blessing of believers on earth and the Triune God in heaven!

NOTES

¹Letter of John Wesley to the Reverend E. C. of Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1791. *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. XIII (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, a reprint classic), p. 152. Wesley died March 2, 1791, after 65 years in the ministry.

²Wayne E. Caldwell, "The History of the Kansas Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America," 1871-1968, a dissertation presented to the Iliff School of Theology, 1969, Denver, Colorado, p. 2.

³Reported by Robert W. McIntyre in "Events on the Religious Scene," *The Wesleyan Advocate*, July 29, 1968, p. 16. See also Caldwell, "History of the Kansas Conference," p. 3.

⁴Caldwell, "History of the Kansas Conference," p. 115-16.

⁵Ira Ford McLeister and Roy Stephen Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*, 4th rev. ed.; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 1; Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter, eds. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1976), pp. 71-73.

⁶John D. Bright, *Kansas, The First Century* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1956), p. 31.

⁷Harold Underwood Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice*, Vol. XI of *A History of American Life, 1898-1914*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Dixon Ryan Fox, 12 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931), p. 204.

⁸Walter G. Muelder, *Methodism and Society in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2 of

Methodism and Society, edited by Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, 4 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1961), pp. 23, 41.

⁹Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas, *An Outline History of the Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Indianapolis, Ind., The Wesley Press, 1990). For the background and discussion of the period of the Holiness Revival see pp. 35-58 and chart on p. 60.

¹⁰Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 130.

¹¹Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, pp. 133-140, *passim*.

¹²"Book Two, Minutes of the Joint Commission," S. W. Paine, Secretary, 11th meeting, May 23, 1951, Winona Lake, Indiana. A more complete review of the 1907 efforts is given to the joint commission as historical background.

¹³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 163.

¹⁴Paul Westphal Thomas and Paul William Thomas, *The Days of Our Pilgrimage: The History of the Pilgrim Holiness Church*; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 2; Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines, Jr., eds. (Marion, Ind., The Wesley Press, 1976).

¹⁵The reference in *Outline History*, p. 182, is assumed to be from the records of the Wesleyan Methodist Church as noted above in *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 163.

¹⁶Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 145-46.

¹⁷Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 148.

¹⁸See Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, pp. 148-150, for a summary of these groups which extended the Pilgrim Holiness Church in ministries to Maryland, Panama, Africa, Mexico, Alaska, to the British West Indies (Barbados, St. Kitts, and Montserrat), to the American Virgin Islands (St. Thomas and St. Croix), Ohio, Oregon, Washington, Colorado and Kansas.

¹⁹Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 150-51.

²⁰"Minutes of the Committee on Church Name," December 7, 1964.

²¹McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 193.

²²McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 204.

²³"Minutes of the Joint Commission," Book One, p. 1.

²⁴"Minutes of the Joint Commission," Book One, p. 4.

²⁵McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 216.

²⁶"Minutes of the Joint Commission," Book I, page 4, S. W. Paine, secretary.

²⁷McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 228.

²⁸"Minutes of the Joint Commission," Book II, S. W. Paine, secretary.

²⁹"Minutes of the 19th Meeting of the Joint Commission," December 15, 1953.

³⁰McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 231-32.

³¹McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 232-34.

³²McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 233.

³³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 257-58.

³⁴"Minutes of the Joint Commission on Merger," March 25-26, 1958.

³⁵McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 242-43.

³⁶McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 224-25, 361, 438. It should be noted that the Hephzibah Children's Home in Macon, Georgia, had no connection with Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association. The Hephzibah Home was operated by the five Wesleyan Methodist conferences of the southern area from 1922-1930 and by The Wesleyan Methodist Church from 1930 to 1968 and since then by The Wesleyan Church.

³⁷McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 244.

³⁸McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 249-50.

³⁹Howard A. Snyder, "Unity and the Holiness Churches," unpublished thesis, (Wilmore, Ky.: Asbury Theological Seminary, 1966), p. 234.

⁴⁰*The Wesleyan Methodist*, "The Pilgrim Vote," July 18, 1962, p. 13.

⁴¹"Minutes of the Commission on Church Union," June 25, 1963.

⁴²"Report of the Committee on Church Union," November, 1959 - July, 1963. "Summary of the Minutes of the Executive Board of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of

America," from the files of B. H. Phaup.

⁴³McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, p. 321.

⁴⁴"Minutes of the Commission on Merger," November 11, 1963.

⁴⁵"Minutes of the Pilgrim Holiness Commission on Merger," March 6, 1964.

⁴⁶J. D. Abbott, "Minutes of the Commission on Merger of the Pilgrim Holiness Church," May 13, 1964.

⁴⁷"Minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Commission on Church Union," December 7, 1964.

⁴⁸"Minutes of The Wesleyan Methodist Commission on Church Union," December 7, 1964.

⁴⁹"Minutes of the Commission on Church Union," May 7, 1965.

⁵⁰"Minutes of the Joint Commission on Merger," December 7, 1964.

⁵¹"Minutes of the Joint Commission on Merger," meeting in Marion, Indiana, December 7, 1964, M. E. Dieter, secretary.

⁵²"Minutes of The Joint Commission on Merger," December 3, 1965.

⁵³At one point in the discussion on membership, Kenneth Dunn observed that one-half a day had been given to a discussion of how to keep members out, rather than how to take them in, "Minutes of the Committee on Membership," January 31, 1966.

⁵⁴McLeister and Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment*, pp. 257-306, *passim*.

⁵⁵*Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, "Report of Federation Meeting, November 30 - December 2, 1966," Armor D. Peisker, editor, January 14, 1967, p. 3.

⁵⁶"Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Board of General Superintendents," May 26, 1967.

⁵⁷Thomas and Thomas, *Days of Our Pilgrimage*, pp. 268-71.

⁵⁸"Minutes of the Commission on Higher Education," November 2, 1966.

⁵⁹"Minutes of the Commission on Higher Education," November 19, 1966.

⁶⁰"Minutes of the Joint Commission on Higher Education," May 5, 1967.

⁶¹"Minutes of the Pilgrim Holiness Commission on Merger," December 2, 1965.

⁶²"Minutes of the Polity Committee," January 29, 1968, with approval given February 26, 1968.

⁶³"Minutes of the Polity Committee," January 24, 1968.

⁶⁴"Evangelism Is the Answer," brochure distributed at the 1968 Merging General Conference with quadrennial theme: "One That the World May Believe," June 21, 1968, copies of which are in The Wesleyan Church Archives, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Chapter 14

THE EMERGING SYNTHESIS: THE WESLEYAN CHURCH, 1968 - 1992

Robert E. Black

In many ways 1968 was the dark night of the American soul. When delegates and visitors to the Merging General Conference gathered in Anderson, Indiana, in the fourth week of June, their business there seemed overshadowed by the headlines and undermined by the public mood.

Martin Luther King, Jr., had been murdered in Memphis on April 4 and Scotland Yard had just caught his killer, James Earl Ray, at the Heathrow Airport, London, June 8. Robert Kennedy had been gunned down in Los Angeles June 5, barely three weeks before the conference began. The war in Vietnam was tearing the country apart, and President Lyndon Johnson had announced that he would not seek reelection. The Democratic National Convention in Chicago, scheduled for later that summer, would dissolve into riots in the streets and chaos in the hall.

In the terrible context of those days, the Anderson conference met to create a Church. Official records of the conference make few references to political and social upheaval, but there was an underlying sense of urgency to the proceedings. After all, John Wesley had proved that the gospel made a difference in his day; a Church which not only bore his name but also perpetuated his spirit could make a difference in its day as well.

It is fitting that a "Wesleyan" Church would be a merged Church. John Wesley was the master of synthesis. As Howard Snyder demonstrates in his study of Wesley's churchmanship, the father of Methodism often found truth in combinations others sought to separate: faith and works, divine sovereignty and human freedom, revelation and reason, revival and reform, the

individual and the social, the assurance of salvation and the possibility of falling from grace.¹ He valued both *ecclesia* (the established church) and *ecclesiola* (the "little church," as expressed by the vigorous religious societies of his day), and the result was Methodism. That balanced approach produced what H. Richard Niebuhr called "the Church of the Center," and Niebuhr uses Wesley as a model of it.² The Wesleyan Church was born in the spirit of Wesley-an synthesis.

This is not really a history of the Church since merger; it is still too early for that. The perspective of time is lacking, and at such close range a chapter like this one is more journalism than history. But, history or not, it is still "His-story" — the continuing story of His Church as reflected in the life and witness of one young branch of it.

MERGER AND ITS AFTERMATH

"One—That The World May Believe"

"For the first time in history," the merger brochure announced, "two denominations committed to the Wesleyan message are uniting."³ Given the early merger histories of the Church of the Nazarene and of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and even the 1966 affiliation of the Reformed Baptist Church of Canada with the Wesleyan Methodists, that statement seems somewhat overreaching, but if by denomination is meant a sizable church of larger-than-regional scope, it is accurate.

Church mergers were big news in 1968. The Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church merged that year, the Consultation on Church Union (COCU) was hard at work on an ultimately unsuccessful plan to unite its ten cooperating churches in a twenty-five million member Protestant super-denomination, and negotiations were underway on a half-dozen other ecclesiastical fronts, most of which eventually broke down.⁴ In that ecumenical melee, the Wesleyan Methodist-Pilgrim Holiness merger attracted little attention outside holiness circles,⁵ but for the 122,340 members of the two denominations involved, it was a historic event with far-reaching consequences.

History closed the books of the two antecedent Churches

on June 25, 1968, as they met in separate locations on the campus of Anderson College in Anderson, Indiana, to dissolve their corporate structures in anticipation of the impending merger. Four former general superintendents - P. W. Thomas, R. G. Flexon, W. H. Neff, and W. L. Surbrook — addressed the Pilgrim delegates, and on the Wesleyan Methodist side it was General Conference President Emeritus Roy S. Nicholson who offered the motion to adjourn the final session of the Church's governing body "sine die."⁶

History opened the book on the new Church the following day. The June 26 Service of Merger, rich in symbolism and celebratory in tone, captured the meaning of the moment for the four thousand-plus officials, delegates, members and friends in attendance.

A dual line of march converged on Warner Auditorium during the processional that Wednesday morning and entered the building as one body. As the general superintendents of both Churches clasped hands over a table bearing a Bible, hymnals, the *Pilgrim Holiness Manual*, the *Wesleyan Methodist Discipline*, and "The Basis for Merger and Constitution," they repeated in unison, "Lord of the Church, we are united in Thee, in Thy Church, and now in The Wesleyan Church. Amen." Together the congregation of new Wesleyans celebrated the Lord's Supper, and the Church was born.⁷

Anderson was a strategic choice to play host to the conference. Situated midway between the headquarters cities of Marion and Indianapolis, it offered convenient access, obviously, but also a symbolic centrality which made the site itself a parable of merger. The fact that the sponsoring body, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), was a partner in the Wesleyan tradition made the selection ideal.

The theme for the conference and the following quadrennium was equally well-chosen: "One — That the World May Believe." Again, the emphasis was very Wesley-an. Wesley's "personal definition of the Church"⁸ was a paraphrase of the hymn to unity in Ephesians 4 — "'one body,' united by 'one Spirit;' having 'one faith, one hope, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in them all.'"⁹ The minutes of the proceedings at Anderson confirm that twentieth-century Wesleyans knew that hymn, too. An unforced spirit of unity characterized the entire conference.¹⁰

With Surbrook and Nicholson in the chair as co-conveners until the election of the general superintendents, the conference agreed that parity was to be the order of the day for those elections and for the election of area representatives to the General Board of Administration, placing an equal number from each of the former Churches in those positions. Parity was encouraged but not mandated in balloting for general officers, and the results continued to be equitable and balanced.

The first generation of leadership for the merged Church:

General Superintendents — B. H. Phaup, Melvin H. Snyder
J. D. Abbott, V. A. Mitchell

General Secretary-Treasurer — D. Wayne Brown

General Editor — Robert W. McIntyre

General Secretary of Extension and Evangelism — C.
Wesley Lovin

General Secretary of World Missions — Ermal L. Wilson

General Publisher — Raymond J. Halt

General Secretary of Sunday Schools — Paul L. Kindschi

General Secretary of Youth — O. D. Emery

After the close of the conference, an eighth general officer, Melvin E. Dieter, was elected by the General Board of Administration to serve as General Secretary of Educational Institutions.¹¹

The general conference was building on the labors of two task forces which had laid the groundwork for merger. One was the joint commission on merger, whose job it was to formulate the "Basis for Merger" and the "Constitution" and so to sketch the shape of The Wesleyan Church in broad outline — basic doctrines, standards of conduct, form of government, and other principles of polity. These documents were approved by the general conferences of the former Churches in 1966, setting the stage for merger. Management of the myriad details fell to the Joint Polity Committee, which was comprised of the General Board of the Pilgrim Holiness Church and the General Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Methodist Church and its twelve-member Polity Executive Committee.

The final word came, of course, from the 640 delegates to the Merging General Conference, equally divided between the former denominations and equally divided between clergy and laity. Their agenda was filled with major issues, among them

the adoption of the Discipline.

The Discipline was prepared by two writers, Paul William Thomas from the Pilgrim Holiness Church and Lee M. Haines from The Wesleyan Methodist Church, in close cooperation with the Joint Polity Committee and its executive committee. Each of the Discipline's twelve sections was debated and approved separately by the Merging General Conference. It is hardly surprising, then, that this assignment occupied most of the business sessions.

Sound decisions were made in the area of finances at this inaugural conference. The United Stewardship Fund (USF) was adopted as the Church's general financial plan, and the first assessments were set at 4.5 percent of each local church's previous year's income for the USF-General Fund and 2.2 percent for the USF-Educational Institutions Fund. (Those figures have been adjusted from time to time.)

A strong pension plan was set in place for the new Church, too — one which all ministers were urged to join and to which all employing churches or agencies were expected to contribute. The administration of all previous pension plans was also consolidated in the pension office. Here is one of the real success stories of the new denomination. Under the management of Roy A. Beltz and John E. Storey, the latter who served from 1970 to 1980, the former Wesleyan Methodist plan was brought from a large deficit to full funding, with total assets by 1980 of over 13 million. Leland K. Crist became executive secretary in 1982 and served until 1990, when Robert L. "Bobby" Temple succeeded in office June 1, 1990.¹² Assets reported by Mr. Temple by the fall of 1991 had climbed to \$45,500,000 with 950 receiving benefits up to over \$840 per month.

The Wesleyan Investment Foundation (WIF) was at this time a program of the General Department of Extension and Evangelism. Under Executive Secretary John A. Dunn, the foundation would build assets of more than \$33 million by 1988¹³ and would itself spin off a successful financial agency, the Office of Estate Planning, in 1980.

Merger announced is not merger accomplished, however, and the newly elected General Board of Administration had a number of important decisions to make after the rise of the First General Conference.

Headquarters Location

In November 1968 the General Board selected the former Wesleyan Methodist headquarters at Marion, Indiana, as the center of operations for the new Church and approved a plan for remodeling and enlarging the building.¹⁴ Renovations eventually totalled \$312,000, of which \$220,000 was recovered from the sale of the former Pilgrim headquarters building in Indianapolis in 1972.¹⁵

Headquarters relocation was considered again in the 1970s but was rejected by the GBA. In 1986 a revived proposal passed.¹⁶ Renamed the International Center, Church headquarters was moved to northeastern Indianapolis amid considerable controversy. The 1988 General Conference sustained the ruling of the general superintendents that the General Board of Administration did indeed have the authority to make the move without a vote of the general conference but went on to require a two-thirds majority in the GBA for buying, selling, or leasing denominational headquarters in the future.¹⁷

The College Question

At merger the Wesleyan Methodist Church sponsored five colleges and an academy: Houghton College and Houghton Academy in New York, Central Wesleyan College in South Carolina, Miltonvale Wesleyan College in Kansas, Marion College in Indiana, and Bethany Bible College in New Brunswick. The Pilgrim Holiness Church also brought five colleges into merger: Eastern Pilgrim College (which would become Penn Wesleyan) in Pennsylvania, Southern Pilgrim College (later Kernersville Wesleyan College) in North Carolina, Owosso College in Michigan, Frankfort Pilgrim College (Frankfort Wesleyan) in Indiana, and Central Pilgrim College (Bartlesville Wesleyan) in Oklahoma. College mergers and the realignment of their boundaries was a difficult but necessary task, a task assigned to the newly established General Department of Educational Institutions.

Within the first quadrennium Kernersville Wesleyan and Frankfort had merged with Penn Wesleyan as United Wesleyan

College, Owosso with Marion, Miltonvale with Bartlesville Wesleyan. Kernersville Wesleyan Academy was established on the Kernersville campus.

Closing a college is always a painful experience, but the Miltonvale-Bartlesville merger was especially sensitive. The schools were comparable in size, and the Western Area could adequately support only one. The decision of the combined boards of trustees of the two schools was to capitalize on Bartlesville's city campus, and it sparked strong opposition from many alumni and friends of Miltonvale. Dr. Leo G. Cox accepted the arduous assignment of the BWC presidency, and with Christian grace and diplomacy he helped build a bridge between the two college constituencies.

Both academies were restructured over time,¹⁸ and the Church poured its energies and resources into the colleges (or, in the case of Marion, the university; Marion became Indiana Wesleyan University in 1988). In May 1990, United Wesleyan College would graduate its final class, leaving the Church with a liberal arts college in each administrative area and a Canadian Bible college — half the number in operation at merger.

As evidence of its support for higher education, the denomination doubled the annual financial support for its colleges in 1988.

One statistic with long-term significance for the future of the Church has been the Wesleyan enrollment in seminaries and graduate schools of religion. Wesleyan ministerial students in graduate-level programs more than doubled in number over the first two decades of the new Church,¹⁹ and the percentage of pastors with seminary training is increasing at a steady rate.²⁰

Periodically the Church has explored the feasibility of establishing a denominational seminary, but the proposal has yet to find strong support. Asbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky, remains the Church's primary provider of graduate ministerial education, and secondary relationships exist with Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri; Western Evangelical Seminary, Portland, Oregon; Wesley Biblical Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi; Evangelical School of Theology, Myerstown, Pennsylvania; and Azusa Pacific Graduate School of Theology, Azusa, California.

Merger with the Free Methodists

In a surge of merger enthusiasm at the Anderson conference, union with the Free Methodist Church was proposed and a rapid timetable set. The General Board of Administration was authorized to present a basis for merger to the Free Methodists in time for consideration by their general conference the following summer!²¹

That proved unrealistic, but the resulting study commission, the Committee on Merger Exploration (COME), brought a largely positive report to the 1972 Wesleyan General Conference at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, and a possible Wesleyan-Free Methodist merger was once more on a general conference agenda.

As early as 1903 the idea of merger with the Free Methodists had surfaced among Wesleyan Methodists,²² and serious talks between those two groups were held again from 1943-55. The Pilgrim Holiness Church briefly considered entering the merger picture at that time as well.²³ With the success of the Pilgrim Holiness - Wesleyan Methodist merger, the waters of holiness ecumenism seem to have been stirred, and expectations were running high among both Free Methodists and Wesleyans in the years between 1968-72.

The Wesleyan General Board expressed two concerns with the COME report at Lake Junaluska, however, and the general conference agreed to refer them to the merger committee "for further exploration." One was the statement on Scripture, which did not speak to the issue of inerrancy beyond "things necessary to our salvation."²⁴ The general conference instructed the GBA not to accept a doctrinal statement on the Scriptures substantially different from the present *Discipline* of The Wesleyan Church or the proposed 1951 merger statement on the Bible which had been hammered out with the Free Methodists. Both of these statements affirmed that the original manuscripts of the Bible were without error.

The second concern involved the statement on higher education, particularly the election of trustees.²⁵ Since the Wesleyan Methodists had lost Adrian College early in their history as a result of divided loyalty among the college trustees, Wesleyans were uncomfortable with any arrangement which

did not require the entire governing board to be members of the denomination. Free Methodist policy called for two-thirds to belong to the denomination, and the COME Report compromised with three-fourths.²⁶

The Wesleyan hesitancy at Lake Junaluska was matched by the Free Methodist General Conference of 1974, which did adopt an Article of Religion on Scripture acceptable to the Wesleyans but then postponed approval of the merger itself until after the 1976 Wesleyan General Conference. The outcome was "a remarkable cooling of enthusiasm" on both sides, as Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas put it in their historical overview.²⁷ The 1976 Wesleyan General Conference at Wichita, Kansas, approved a GBA recommendation that the merger document be filed with the board of general superintendents "until such time as merger studies may again be pursued."²⁸

There would be no "United Wesleyan Methodist Church," as the new denomination would have been called under the COME proposal.²⁹

Merger speculation refuses to die, however. A 1988 resolution to "network" with other holiness denominations in a variety of cooperative ventures was greeted with enthusiasm by merger proponents.³⁰

By the Second General Conference in 1972, the dust from merger had largely settled. For both former Churches, there had been adjustments to make.

Pilgrims had a new headquarters, three of their five colleges had closed their doors, and the new name was a bigger leap for them than for their Wesleyan Methodist counterparts.

Wesleyan Methodists, on the other hand, had to start thinking in terms of districts rather than conferences and district superintendents instead of conference presidents. Having a centralized local church board in place of various committees with authority in different areas was new to them, and so was the possibility of a pastoral call of longer than two years.

Neither Church had worked with a percentage-based budget for general and district assessments before, and both Churches had to deal with district realignment, a concept which would be no problem for some and a major headache for others.

Denominational merger meant district mergers. Several overlapping districts realigned immediately in the summer of 1968, and others followed in quick succession. By the end of the first quadrennium, only five districts in North America were not as yet realigned. With the creation of two districts in North Carolina in 1979, the process was complete. The Church was merged.

AGENDA FOR A NEW CHURCH

For years merger had occupied the time and energy of the former Churches and the new Church, too, but merger was never an end in itself. It was a means to an end. The goal from the beginning was greater Kingdom effectiveness. With merger accomplished, what would The Wesleyan Church accomplish? The first two decades indicated definite directions.

Evangelism and Church Growth

When the 1988 General Conference at Knoxville, Tennessee, changed the name of the General Department of Extension and Evangelism to Evangelism and Church Growth, it was affirming a course set years before. Across the Church there was an increasing interest in growing. In addition to four denominational conferences on evangelism in the Church's first twenty years,³¹ the General Department of Youth devoted one of its quadrennial conventions exclusively to youth evangelism. In the year after PACE '86 (People Answering the Call to Evangelism), nearly 8,000 new converts were reported by name as a result of personal commitments made at the Urbana conference by thousands of Wesleyan teens.

The Church employed a full-time director of evangelism in 1970. The first to hold that position was Joe C. Sawyer, who would succeed C. Wesley Lovin as general secretary of the department in 1976.

Church planting was given high priority in the new Church. A cooperative program among the departments of Youth, Extension and Evangelism, and World Missions saw the establishment of a number of new congregations which served as laboratories for innovative approaches to church planting and

as models for the rest of the Church.

In 1969 the average Wesleyan Church had 41 members. By 1987 that figure was almost 65.³² In 1969 only two churches averaged more than 500 in Sunday school attendance: Skyline Wesleyan in Lemon Grove, California (1,391), and High Point, North Carolina, First Wesleyan (622).³³ By 1987 fourteen churches averaged more than 500 in the Sunday morning worship hour, which by that time had surpassed Sunday school as the largest attendance statistic in the denomination and thus had become the yardstick for measuring church growth.

Wesleyan Sunday school attendance began to decline late in the 1970s, in line with national trends, but overall the growth graph for the Church is up. From 1968-1987, the net gain in total membership was 71,031 (an annual growth rate of 3.3 percent).³⁴ More than half the membership of The Wesleyan Church at the end of that period was new growth, being neither a "former Pilgrim" nor a "former Wesleyan Methodist," only a Wesleyan.

Family and Societal Concerns

"Wesleyan," in eighteenth-century England, meant social reform alongside evangelism. Wesleyan Methodism in America has historical roots in abolitionism and women's rights. But with the major exception of prohibition, little in the way of social ministry had gripped either the Wesleyan Methodist Church or the Pilgrim Holiness Church for the better part of a century. There were signs in the '80s that the pendulum was swinging back toward a balance between evangelism and social action — a Matthew 25 hermeneutic of soul and body.

In 1984 the General Board of Administration created a task force on public morals and social concerns to increase awareness within the Church on social issues and to speak for the Church on matters of "public righteousness."³⁵ An annual Moral Awareness Sunday was designated and position papers produced on such topics as abortion, pornography and euthanasia.³⁶

An urban/ethnic study committee spotlighted urban ministries during the quadrennium which followed, and Asian-American congregations, mainly Korean and Haitian, affiliated

with the Church in several districts in the decade of the '80s. Still, denominational demographics remain preponderantly white and middle class.

The advisability of ethnic districts — the predominantly Black South Ohio District and the Wesleyan Indian District — was debated in 1984, and one year later the churches of South Ohio voted the dissolution of the district. Most of the twelve congregations joined the districts in which they were geographically located,³⁷ although one or two became independent.

Several matters relating to the family deserve mention. A new Article of Religion on "Marriage and the Family" was adopted in 1984 (along with another on "Repentance and Faith"), and that same general conference in Columbus, Ohio, heard the recommendations of a panel which had been convened to study the biblical teachings on marriage and divorce.³⁸ "While the Church maintained a high view of God's purpose for marriage," Haines and Thomas later wrote, "it also sought to minister redemptively in a world where man's failures are constantly evident."³⁹ As a result, a door for ministry to the divorced was opened without devaluing traditional — and biblical — family values.

Missions and the Mission of the Church

In what presiding officer O. D. Emery called "a historic moment in the life of the Church," The Wesleyan Church of the Philippines was officially declared to be an independent body by action of the 1988 North American General Conference.⁴⁰ Under the new arrangement, the Philippines functions as a full-fledged general conference bound to other Wesleyans worldwide by mutual commitment to the denomination's "Essentials" and by the Wesleyan World Fellowship.

The Essentials of The Wesleyan Church are definitive for Wesleyan faith and practice. They were created in 1972 and incorporated into the Charter of the Wesleyan World Fellowship twelve years later.

In the Wesleyan World Fellowship, The Wesleyan Church has a progressive and creative approach to the Christian mission in the world, far removed from the paternalism which is often typical of Western missionary work. Established in 1972, the

WWF has as its goal the creation of independent overseas bodies, related to the North American Church but not dependent on it. Two provisional general conferences were formed during the WWF's first quadrennium — the Caribbean in 1974 under the leadership of General Superintendent A. Wingrove Taylor, and the Philippines in 1975, with Saturnino Garcia as general superintendent. The Philippines didn't have long to wait for full standing.

Global developments of significance during this period include the urban outreach of the Metro-Move program which has impacted twelve cities overseas; the expansion of the Church outreach into four new fields (Indonesia, 1975; Liberia, 1978; Korea, 1981; and West Germany, 1988); and the continuing contribution of Wesleyan Women International (formerly the Wesleyan Women's Missionary Society), the women's auxiliary of The Wesleyan Church.

LIFE IN THE CHURCH

Other initiatives in the first two decades contributed to the Church's developing profile. No radical new turns were taken, but the denomination seemed intent on building on its tradition without living in the past.

Youth Ministries

Youth ministries caught the attention of the Church from the beginning. Twice, in 1972 and again in 1980, the denomination rejected moves to incorporate the General Department of Youth in a larger Christian education department for fear it would deemphasize youth ministry. The total number of volunteers who ministered through YES Corps, LIFE Corps, and Year of Service numbered in the thousands by 1988, and the quadrennial youth conventions ignited under the leadership of general secretaries David Keith, Keith Drury and Tom Armiger to become the largest gatherings of Wesleyans anywhere for any purpose. (The three Urbana conventions in 1978, 1982, and 1986 averaged 7,500 in attendance while 8,600 attended IMPACT '90 in Cincinnati, Ohio.) The impact on the local church level is most apparent in the dramatic increase in the number of youth pastors across the denomination.

Discipline Changes

In 1980 the Articles of Religion were rewritten in contemporary English and the General Rules reorganized as "Membership Commitments." Much of the language had remained virtually unchanged from its origin in the sixteenth-century Church of England or in English Methodism of two hundred years ago. (Perhaps these changes would have been helpful to the 1848 New England Conference of Wesleyan Methodism, which proposed in all seriousness that a commentary be written on the Discipline!)

Neo-Pentecostalism and Wesleyanism

Wesleyans had always found glossolalia, or "speaking in tongues," to be unacceptable in public worship. In 1976 the use of a private ecstatic prayer language was rejected as well, and by an overwhelming vote.⁴¹ A motion to modify the wording of the Church's position to soften the tone without changing the intent passed the 1988 General Conference and was written into the Essentials,⁴² but districts in the United States and Canada voted down any modifications to the Constitution of the North American General Conference on that score. Clearly, Wesleyans were keeping their theological distance from Neo-Pentecostalism.

Publications and Broadcasts

Publications continued their important and influential role in Wesleyan life. The *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* and the *Wesleyan Methodist* in 1968 merged as *The Wesleyan Advocate*, and in 1984 the Church supported the general officer status of the editor by voting down a proposal which would have abolished his general conference-elected position in favor of an "editor in chief" hired by the General Board.

Hymns of Faith and Life, a cooperative venture with the Free Methodist Church, appeared in 1976, as did the first two volumes of the Wesleyan History Series: *Conscience and Commitment*, a fourth edition of the Wesleyan Methodist history by I. F. McLeister and Roy S. Nicholson, and *The Days of*

Our Pilgrimage, the Pilgrim history by Paul Westphal Thomas and Paul William Thomas. Both histories were edited by Melvin E. Dieter and Lee M. Haines.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church sponsored a radio broadcast known as "The Wesleyan Hour," with programs beginning February 5, 1945. The broadcast was supervised by a radio commission with headquarters at Apollo, Pennsylvania, directed by C. F. Clifton. Due to indebtedness incurred the Book Committee discontinued the program and directed the radio commission to liquidate the indebtedness.⁴³

On October 5, 1975, "The Wesleyan Hour" came on the air again after a twenty-eight-year lapse. The speaker and director from the beginning and continuing through sixteen years as of October, 1991, is Norman G. Wilson. There are 173 North American and 24 overseas releases of the program each week.

New Leadership

Every age sees the passing of stalwarts and the rise of new leaders. In the first twenty years of the new Church, the loss of men like B. H. Phaup, Melvin H. Snyder, Paul F. Elliott, H. K. Sheets and W. L. Surbrook means that their mantles are passed to a new generation of leadership. General superintendents elected since the merging conference are Robert W. McIntyre (1973), O. D. Emery (1980), Earle L. Wilson (1984), Lee M. Haines (1988), and H. C. Wilson, (1988).

In a pre-merger article in the *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate*, General Superintendent Melvin Snyder described his vision for the merged Church. The three things he called for — organizational mobilization, spiritual mobilization, and mobilization for evangelism⁴⁴ — are essential to the Church's witness in every generation.

They are indispensable for a Church of the Center which bears the name "Wesleyan."

The Future Shape of The Wesleyan Church

Joseph W. Seaborn II

When the leadership of any denomination engages in the privilege and duty of self-evaluation, it invariably discovers that the shape of the Church in the present is determined primarily by two institutional energies which engage in continual interplay.

From the past, there is the rather well-defined reservoir of experience which serves to highlight ministry methodologies which have already met with varying degrees of success or failure. And from the future, because of its different set of needs, there is such an unmistakable call for a new assortment of ministry responses that the Church must disallow as a matter of principle any simple transposition of the older forms.

Any denomination which shapes its future methodologies primarily on the basis of forms which have served ably in the past is running no less risk than one which spawns a sprawling list of untested options in the hope that enough of them will be assimilated to make the Church a viable organism in the future.

While extreme proponents of both antiquity and novelty are often celebrated as radical, and their dogmatic posture touted as an example of decisive spiritual leadership, both extremes lose much of their glamour and appeal once the initial ring of confidence has been lost in the echo of present realities.

Churches which have remained viable for any noteworthy period of time have discovered that the course of wisdom is to keep minding and mining both reserves of reverence, both the past with its indisputable expressions of success through what might now be described as obsolete forms, as well as the future with its inevitable demands for change.

Over the decades, the Christian church in its several institutional expressions has discovered that a balance of appreciation in both directions is all but impossible to strike and even more difficult to maintain, but to do anything less than constantly seek the elusive center of the moving fulcrum is to court disaster.

At any given time in the history of The Wesleyan Church, including the present, the patterns of the past have been

allowed to stymie the efficiency of the Church, while at the same time in another area, the emphasis on avant-garde methods has been in danger of degenerating into creativity without a cause.

If the church were strictly a divine institution without any influence from the human dimension, such maladroit progress would be intolerable and the ungainly patterns a major discredit to the character of God. But because of the human component in the church, because the church will never enjoy a single case of human omniscience, the only reasonable procedure is one of restrained spontaneity, of thoughtful enthusiasm, of deliberate creativity. It is all that we can do, but it is also the very least we can do.

As the previous pages of reflection attest, The Wesleyan Church has fared remarkably well in its discovery and maintenance of that illusory but critical balance between time-honored traditions and untested variations. It has been willing on the one hand to declare its confidence in a God of continuity who cautions His people against removing the ancient landmarks while at the same time positing its faith in a God of divine spontaneity who celebrates when His followers become all things to all people.

In one sense The Wesleyan Church of the future has no choice. If it is going to continue its ministry and mission to a new generation, it will have to simultaneously laud the expressions of the past while searching for more suitable forms for the future. If it is to strengthen its service and its mission of integrating holiness into the fabric of the future, it will need to recognize and respond to a number of emerging trends.

Leadership Accountability

While the following litany of projections is by no means exhaustive, it does offer a number of areas of reorientation which are likely to significantly alter the shape and direction of The Wesleyan Church in the next two generations.

Figuring into all the energies which will come to bear on The Wesleyan Church of tomorrow will be an ever narrowing gap between the performance and evaluation of our leadership. In the incipient days of any movement, when momentum is growing and the enthusiasm which results from newness is

adding its strength to the pace of growth, concern about quality control at the several levels of leadership is of relatively minor importance. Usually a few charismatic leaders so dominate the scene that the quality of lower level managers is of little consequence no matter how gifted or incompetent they are. But once a Church has been in motion, even consistent forward motion, for a longer period of time and the first flush of excitement has long since dissipated, it becomes increasingly incumbent upon the organization to examine itself in terms of efficiency and effectiveness among the rank and file.

The 1980 General Conference asked the board of general superintendents to take early steps toward leadership accountability by instituting the Day of Dialogue with district superintendents. Intended to call district leaders to a higher level of accountability for their work, the concept has since been widened to include a number of other levels of leadership in the Church. In time the concern for quality control will likely result in postordination training for Wesleyan pastors in order for them to remain current in the face of rapidly changing ministry demands.

As The Wesleyan Church moves steadily toward multilevel accountability over the next decade, we are likely to see most if not all administrative centers of the Church reduced to leaner staffing and more restricted budgets. In part this shift will be made possible by advancing technologies and the maturing of the information age. It will also be prompted by a recognition that representative decision-making in the future will not require physical proximity but will be increasingly achieved by teleconferences and regional networking — and for far less expense.

Even major assemblies such as the general conference of The Wesleyan Church are likely to be more streamlined, with policy and polity being hammered out by fewer and yet a more diversified group of representatives from around the world. In all probability, with the deemphasis on denominationalism, a new generation will need to be schooled in loyalties to local ministries. Discipleship and involvement in district and general programs will be necessary else The Wesleyan Church with its global influence may become a revolving door of opportunity seen only by members coming or going with short-term commitments to the Church if not to the Master.

Ministry Centers

Another shift in The Wesleyan Church, also resulting in measure from societal changes, will have to do with the ministry centers of our denomination. In tandem with the continuing population shifts toward urban centers, The Wesleyan Church with its emerging policy of maximizing the impact of its resources, will also gradually gravitate toward larger population centers as well. Because of the Church's obvious limitations in personnel and resources, this trend will lead to either a decrease in the number of rural Wesleyan churches or an increase in the number of churches which adopt the model of the circuit pastor. Given the present feelings of many rural people regarding the acceptability of a circuit pastor, it appears that the balance may initially tip in the direction of closure rather than "circuitry."

Perhaps a change in the perception of the itinerant pastor will occur and lead to better integration of congregations under a single leader. But the exact nature of the response to a circuit model of ministry remains to be seen.

In a more positive vein, many of the rural congregations which are currently situated on the periphery of urban and suburban centers will be annexed into or become the bases of larger Wesleyan congregations as these centers of population continue their outward expansion.

The shift of resources toward larger population centers will help to accelerate a pattern that is already emerging in the Church — the burgeoning of congregations which number in the hundreds and thousands. In 1991 there were nineteen churches averaging more than 500 in their Sunday morning attendance. By the turn of the millennium, there will likely be fifty or more Wesleyan congregations of that size.

Full-service Ministry. Among the advantages enjoyed by the larger church is its capacity for what is being termed "full-service ministry." Larger Wesleyan churches are already offering a range of ministries which respond to the several dimensions of a family's needs — spiritual, social, emotional, mental and physical. As churches grow larger they are able to create a

holistic community offering schools for children and teenagers, homecare facilities for senior citizens, social ministries for working men and women, sports programs and a diverse array of other services designed to respond to the full spectrum of needs represented by members of the congregation. Given the increasingly fragmented nature of families joining our congregations, it is evident that many of these ministries will need to focus on social concerns and compassion-oriented services.

Many Wesleyan churches are presently well advanced in their aim to be "full-service" ministry communities. Even a glance at the church news in *The Wesleyan Advocate* indicates that a growing number of Wesleyan congregations are moving rapidly in the same direction.

Ethnic Integration. As the center of gravity in the Church moves toward larger centers of population, the Church will also realize a greater ethnic integration. To a large degree this inclusion will result from the natural expression of cultural diversity in cosmopolitan settings. But in significant measure, this inclusion will be the outcome of a deliberate policy on the part of the Church to create a congregation with a global mind-set.

As ethnic integration emerges as a hallmark of The Wesleyan Church of the future, The Wesleyan Church around the world will also be coming on apace. Present perceptions that the North American Church is the strongest member of the Wesleyan world family will give way to a more egalitarian reality in which other national or continental Wesleyan bodies will generate their own more complex infrastructures and world outreach programs.

Already the structure is in place which can help create the climate for greater global unity and networking of resources and personnel. The Wesleyan World Fellowship has as its purpose the provision of "an inclusive fellowship and mutual understanding among the various Wesleyan Arminian churches which have originated from within or have otherwise affiliated with The Wesleyan Church."⁴⁵

Role of Women. The Wesleyan Church is dealing with the reemerging role of women in ministry and more specifically their involvement in positions of pastoral leadership, although

there is greater room for emphasis and change at this point. The Wesleyan Church will undoubtedly make a bold and positive step toward the full involvement of women at all levels of spiritual formation during the decade of the '90s. For persons even minimally acquainted with the nineteenth century roots of the Church, that shift will not be so radical. It will only be a return to the openness which marked the earlier days of the Church's history when there were women in ministry in most levels of service.

Leadership Authority. During the next two decades The Wesleyan Church will also need to set itself to the task of restating its mission and focusing its purpose against the backdrop of several emerging variables in society. Among the more significant of those evolving realizations is that of an ambivalence in society regarding the ownership and exercise of authority in leadership. While corporate giants and even many smaller enterprises will likely always be under the autocratic eye of an individual or an oligarchy at the top of an hierarchical model, there is also another parallel confluence which is calling for decentralization of power with its corollary implication of greater power of decision at the local level.

Worship Styles. Hardly any area of the Church's life is likely to become as diversified in the decades ahead as that of worship styles. The positive variations that already exist both within and among local churches will undoubtedly undergo ever greater elaboration as choices and options in worship become a characteristic of the times. More and more Wesleyan churches will find themselves experimenting with Sunday evening Christian education programs; Christian education and discipleship classes in homes, restaurants and workplaces; Saturday evening worship services; and multi-Sunday morning services designed to suit different worship preferences and cultural backgrounds.

Traditional church revivals and district camp meetings will increasingly be replaced by retreats, Bible conferences, community crusades and multiperformance evangelism events during peak visitor seasons of the Christian year. This proliferation of diversity in worship and Christian education formatting will

largely arise out of the needs and social preferences of the constituency.

Further Merger. One of the perennial issues which will always be a part of the ongoing development of The Wesleyan Church is that of merger. Will there be more? When will they occur? How do they originate?

In spite of general perception, church mergers are less the result of official decisions than they are of public sentiment. Because of their high risk nature, mergers are rarely owned in advance by any official group of a church. If mergers occur, they are set in motion by a few timely comments which in turn create pools of common perception. These in time lead to a consensus which may issue in official action. But if nearly five hundred years of history in Protestant churches tells us anything about the nature of mergers, it has to be the fact that merger dreams can both mushroom and vanish with equally astonishing speed.

Even after the subject of merger has progressed in discussion to a rather mature stage, the possibility can be aborted by as simple a thing as a strategically placed comment or an overriding call for inner renewal before further outward alignments. Given these characteristics of a merger sentiment, one should not be surprised if The Wesleyan Church has merged with another denomination by the turn of the millennium or if it ceases to seriously entertain the thought for many years.

Currently there are a number of holiness bodies in several regions of the world such as Pakistan, Africa and Korea who would welcome the opportunity to blend their forces with those of The Wesleyan Church. In all likelihood these lower profile mergers will precede any mergers with more widely known and proximate bodies such as The Church of the Nazarene or The Free Methodist Church.

Meeting the Challenge

Whether it merges or divides, The Wesleyan Church must never forget its dream and destiny of spreading scriptural holiness throughout the lands. As we stand at the edge of a new millennium, the unfolding evidence is indicating that the

holiness message is finding a new and more enthusiastic response among those in search of a radical experience in these uneasy times.

Will The Wesleyan Church with her noble history of social holiness and evangelistic zeal step boldly into the next millennium with her mission fully intact and her ability to make a difference unimpeded? Will she respond to the rapidly changing demographics which are altering society as a whole? Will our sons and daughters rise up and do greater works than we have done through this organism called The Wesleyan Church?

We believe they can. We believe they will. If the Church dealt with slavery and scandal yesterday, she can deal with abortion and euthanasia today and tomorrow. If she triumphed over legalism and isolationism in the past, surely she can manage urbanization and fragmented families in the future. If she claimed the power of the Holy Spirit and marched boldly through the land mines of social injustice and congregational stress in the past, in the power of Christ she can surely do it again.

If God allows another millennium to begin before He alters the flow of history with Christ's return, He will undoubtedly find The Wesleyan Church with its yet unborn generation of leaders just as poised as ever to claim the world for Christ. And in that day, perhaps they will be able to say with even more accuracy than the past generation that The Wesleyan Church met the challenge of change at the turn of the millennium and truly became a global church.

NOTES

1Howard A. Snyder, *The Radical Wesley and Patterns for Church Renewal* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980), pp. 143-152.

2H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 115-120, 218ff.

3The undated brochure entitled "The Wesleyan Church: Our Merger Story" was produced jointly by the Pilgrim Holiness and Wesleyan Methodist Churches.

4For a summary, see "The Last Word on 1968" in *Christianity Today*, January 3, 1969, pp. 36-37.

5Even the conservative *Christianity Today* gave little space to the merger, covering it in a round-up story on "Church Conventions" in its July 19, 1968, issue.

6*The Wesleyan Advocate*, July 15, 1968, pp. 14-15.

7*Minutes of the First General Conference of The Wesleyan Church, Uniting Conference for the Pilgrim Holiness Church and The Wesleyan Methodist Church into The*

Wesleyan Church, June 26-July 1, 1968, Anderson, Indiana (Marion, Ind.: The Wesleyan Publishing House, n.d.), pp. 3-12; *The Wesleyan Advocate*, July 15, 1968, pp. 4-5.

8Methodist Scholar Albert Outler's phrase. The reference is from Wesley's sermon entitled "Of the Church," which he preached in 1785.

9John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, Albert Outler, ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986), 3:50.

10There were dissidents, of course. A majority of the Allegheny, Tennessee and Alabama Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, for example, did not join in merger but proclaimed themselves to be the perpetuators of the "historic doctrines, principles, and usages" of the denomination in the "Statement of Intent" approved in a meeting of the leaders of those conferences in Knoxville, October 17, 1966, and published in *The Wesleyan Methodist's* February 1 issue of the following year (p. 17).

11The general conference referred his election to the General Board of Administration because neither of the former denominations had such a department, and the selection of a "properly qualified person" should be given appropriate time. *Minutes of the First General Conference . . . 1968*, pp. 49, 74.

12Lee M. Haines and Paul William Thomas, *An Outline History of The Wesleyan Church*, 4th rev. ed. (Indianapolis, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1990), p. 191.

13*Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, p. 354.

14"Minutes of the Second Session of the General Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Church," November 11-15, 1968, p. 19.

15*Minutes of the Second General Conference . . . 1972*, pp. 210-12.

16"Minutes of the General Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Church," May 6-7, 1986, pp. 415-18.

17*Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, pp. 50, 183-85.

18Kernersville Wesleyan Academy became a ministry of First Wesleyan Church, High Point, N.C., in 1980; Houghton Academy became a subsidiary of Houghton College in 1984.

19The 1987 figure was 137, compared to 65 in 1976. Earlier figures are unavailable.

20See Lee M. Haines's study entitled "Developing Guidelines for Curriculum Design for the Basic Training of Pastors for The Wesleyan Church in an Era of Change — the 1980s and 1990s" (D. Min. thesis, Bethel Theological Seminary, 1981), pp. 63-67.

21*Minutes of the First General Conference . . . 1968*, p. 77.

22*Minutes of the Sixteenth Quadrennial Session . . . 1903*, p. 72.

23See Wayne E. Caldwell's summary in Chapter 13, *passim*.

24*Minutes of the Second General Conference . . . 1972*, pp. 48-51, 153.

25*Minutes of the Second General Conference . . . 1972*, pp. 49, 157.

26*Minutes of the Second General Conference . . . 1972*, p. 158.

27Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 188.

28*Minutes of the Third General Conference . . . 1976*, p. 159.

29"Minutes of the joint session of the Board of Administration of the Free Methodist Church and the General Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Church," May 8, 1974, p. 75. The previous entry in the name game had been "Wesleyan Evangelical Church." See the "Proposed Articles of Agreement and Constitution," dated April 19, 1974.

30*Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, p. 78.

31The conferences were held in Cincinnati (1968), Atlanta (1975), Charlotte (1980), and Tampa (1987).

32Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 198.

33"Statistical Report of The Wesleyan Church," 1969, no page numbers.

34*Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, p. 210.

35"Minutes of the General Board of Administration of The Wesleyan Church," November 1984, pp. 38-39.

36The general superintendents had spoken to selected issues earlier in *Shepherds*

After My Own Heart, (Marion, Ind.: Wesley Press, 1983), pp. 81-107.

37 *Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, p. 193.

38 Wilber T. Dayton, Wayne E. Caldwell and Carl Schultz, *Marriage: The Biblical Perspective* (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1984). The findings and recommendations of the study were submitted to general conference delegates in 1984. A new article (VII. Marriage and the Family, *The Discipline*, 1988), para. 109, p. 23 was added to the Articles of Religion and several other amendments of the *Discipline* were made by the 1984 General Conference.

39 Haines and Thomas, *Outline History*, p. 190.

40 *Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, p. 106.

41 *Minutes of the Third General Conference . . . 1976*, pp. 161-62.

42 *Minutes of the Sixth General Conference . . . 1988*, pp. 40-59.

43 Ira Ford McLeister and Roy Stephen Nicholson, *Conscience and Commitment: The History of The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*, Fourth Revised Edition; Wesleyan History Series, vol. 1; Lee M. Haines, Jr., and Melvin E. Dieter, eds. (Marion, Ind.: The Wesley Press, 1976), p. 215.

44 Melvin H. Snyder, "Let us Make Merger Mobilization," *Pilgrim Holiness Advocate* 47 (April 8, 1967): 1, 4, 9.

45 *The Discipline of The Wesleyan Church*, 1988 (Indianapolis: Wesleyan Publishing House, 1989), 1902:2, p. 454.

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